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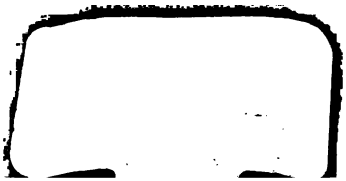
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JAPAN

AS IT WAS AND IS.

BY

RICHARD HILDRETH,

AUTHOR OF

"History of the United States," etc.

BOSTON:
PHILLIPS, SAMPSON & COMPY.
NEW YORK: J. C. DERBY.

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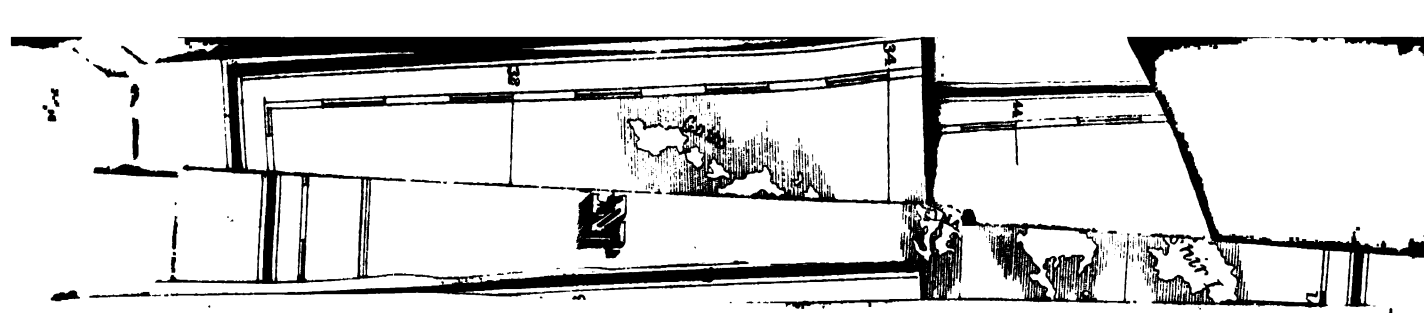
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ADVERTISEMENT.

In collecting materials for a biography of the first explorers and planters of New England and Virginia, I was carried to Japan, where I happened to arrive (in the spirit) almost simultaneously with Commodore Perry's expedition. My interest thus roused in this secluded country has produced this book, into which I have put the cream skimmed, or, as I might say, in some cases, the juices laboriously expressed, from a good many volumes, the greater part not very accessible nor very inviting to the general reader, but still containing much that is curious and entertaining, and, to most readers, new; which curiosities, novelties, and palatable extracts, those who choose will thus be enabled to enjoy without the labor that I have undergone in their collection and arrangement — the former, indeed, a labor of love for my own satisfaction; the latter, one of duty — not to say of necessity — for the pleasure of the reading and book-buying public.

Instead of attempting, as others have done, to cast into a systematic shape observations of very different dates, I have preferred to follow the historic method, and to let the reader see Japan with the successive eyes of all those who have visited it, and who have committed their observations and reflections to paper and print. The number of these observ-

ers, it will be found, is very considerable; while their characters, objects and points of view, have been widely different; and perhaps the reader may reach the same conclusion that I have: that, with all that is said of the seclusion of Japan, there are few countries of the East which we have the means of knowing better, or so well.

The complete history of the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch relations with the Japanese is not to be found elsewhere in English; nor in any language, in a single work; while in no other book have the English and American relations been so fully treated. Many extraordinary characters and adventures make their appearance on the scene, and the reader will have no ground to complain at least of want of variety.

How little the history of Japan and of its former relations with Portugal and Holland are known — even in quarters where information on the subject might be said to constitute an official duty — is apparent in the following passage in a letter addressed from the State Department at Washington to the Secretary of the Navy, in explanation of the grounds, reasons and objects, of our late mission to Japan, and intended as instructions to the envoy: "Since the islands of Japan were first visited by European nations, efforts have *constantly* been made by the various maritime powers to establish commercial intercourse with a country whose large population and reputed wealth hold out great temptations to mercantile enterprise. Portugal was the first to make the attempt, and her example was followed by Holland, England, Spain and Russia, and finally by the United States. *All these attempts, however, have thus far been unsuccessful;* the permission enjoyed for *a short period* by the Portuguese, and that granted to Holland *to send annually a single vessel* to the port of Nagasaki, hardly deserving to be considered exceptions to this remark."

From Kämpfer, whose name has become so identified with Japan, but into whose folios few have the opportunity or courage to look, I have made very liberal extracts. Few travellers have equalled him in picturesque power. His descriptions have indeed the completeness, and finish, and, at the same time, the naturalness and absence of all affectation, with much of the same quiet humor, characteristic of the best Dutch pictures. I have preferred to introduce entire the work of such an artist, rather than to run the risk of spoiling it by attempting a paraphrase; only, as I had so many other volumes on hand, the substance, or at least the spirit, of which was to be transferred to mine, and as folios are no longer in fashion, I have found it necessary in quoting him to retrench a little the superabundance of his words. It is from his work also that the ornamental title-page is copied, stated by his editor to be after a style fashionable in Japan, where dragons are held in great repute. Kämpfer says, that heads of these imaginary animals are placed over the doors of houses all over the East — among the Mahometans of Arabia and Persia, as well as in China and Japan — to keep off, as the Mahometans say, the envious from disturbing the peace of families. Perhaps the Japanese authors surround their title-pages with them in hopes to frighten away the critics.

The outline map, copied principally from that given in the atlas of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, contains, with the observations annexed to it, and the note H of the appendix, about all that we know of the geography of Japan — all at least that would interest the general reader. The contour of the coast is that delineated in our sea-charts, and though probably not very correct, is much more so than that of the Japanese maps; which, however large and particular, are not much to be relied upon, at least in this respect.

The division into provinces of course rests upon Japanese authority.

In giving Japanese names and words, I have aimed at a certain uniformity; but, like all other writers on Japan, have failed to attain it. The Portuguese missionaries, or at least their translators into Latin, in representing Japanese names, employed *c* with the force of *k* before the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u*, and with the force of *s* before *e* and *i*; which same sound of *s*, in common with that of *ts*, they sometimes represented by *x*. In the earlier part of the book I have, in relation to several names known only, or chiefly, through these writers, followed their usage; though generally, in the representation of Japanese names and words, I have avoided the use of these ambiguous letters, and have endeavored to conform to the method of representing the Japanese syllables proposed by Siebold, and of which an account is given in the Appendix.

The daguerreotype views and portraits taken by the artists attached to Commodore Perry's expedition, the publication of which may soon be hoped for, will afford much more authentic pictures of the externals of Japan than yet have appeared; and, from the limited stay and opportunities of observation enjoyed by those attached to that expedition, must constitute their chief contribution to our knowledge of the Japanese empire.

Boston, *June* 1*st*, 1855. R. H.

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GLOSSARY.

Amida. — Under this name is worshipped, in Japan, the primitive Buddha, representing, in fact, the primal deity.

Adofuki. — A Japanese travelling trunk, or valise.

Bas. — Japanese for a bridge, as Jodo *bas*, bridge over the river Jodo; Nipon *bas*, bridge of Japan.

Bikuni. — An order of begging nuns.

Bonzes. — A Chinese term, applied to Buddhist priests.

Bujio, Bunyo, Banyo. — An officer or deputy, representing the Kubo, and deriving his commission from him.

Daimio. — Prince of the highest rank.

Dai bods. — Great Buddha (dai signifies great), the name of a colossal image of Buddha, near Miako.

Dairi, otherwise *Mikado.* — The hereditary emperor of Japan, but superseded, as to actual power, by the Kubo.

Djogun. — See *Siogun.*

Dosiu, or *Doosen.* — Soldiers in the immediate service of the Kubo, or Siogun.

Dono. — A particle appended to names of persons, with much the force of our Mr.

Feiji, or *Feke.* — The name of a family celebrated in the legendary annals of Japan.

Fira-kana, or *Hira-kana.* — Easy, or woman's writing, syllabary for writing Japanese in common use. See p. 546.

Gawa, river, as Jodo *gawa*, Jodo river. As most Japanese towns are seated on rivers, this word, *gawa*, forms the ending of many names of towns.

Ganting or *Goka*, otherwise, according to Siebold, *Syo.* — A dry measure, the sixteenth part of a cubic Japanese foot, holding about three English ale pints. Half a syo or ganting of rice is reckoned by the Japanese a sufficient daily allowance for a man. See pp. 54, 185.

Gobanjosi. — Government overseeing officers. The Japanese officers employed at Desima to inspect the Dutch and their trade.

Gokei. — Long strips of white paper, emblems of the divine presence of the Kami. These symbols are found in all Japanese houses, kept in little portable mias.

Hara kari. — Suicide by cutting one's self open.

Itsibo, or *Itsibu.* — A quarter (*itsi*, one; *si*, four; *bo*, or *bu*, part), a coin, the fourth part of a kobang.

Ifay. — Tablets commemorative of the dead.

Iko siu (siu means sect, or observance). — The sect or observance of the worshippers of Amida, the most numerous and powerful ecclesiastical body in Japan.

Joriki. — An inferior order of military nobles.

Jama, or *Yama.* — A mountain, as Fusi-no-*Yama*, mountain of Fusi, *no* being the sign of the possessive or genitive case.

Jamabo, or *Yamabo.* — Mountain priests, an order of devotees, half Buddhist and half of the ancient Japanese creed.

Kambang. — Public sale of Dutch goods, held at Desima.

Kami. — A god, or spirit. The national gods of Japan. The corresponding Chinese-Japanese term is *Sin*. Kami is also employed as a title of honor. See p. 551.

Kamisimo. — A garment of ceremony, worn on festivals and other solemn occasions. It consists of two parts, a short cloak, without sleeves, called *katageno*, and breeches like a petticoat sewed up between the legs, called *vakama.*

Kappa. — A cloak of oiled paper — a Japanese term borrowed from the Portuguese.

Kandarin, or *Candarin.* — The tenth part of a mas, equal to 5.83 grains troy.

Kango. — A close litter, or chair, borne on men's shoulders.

Kas, or *Cas.* — The tenth part of a kandarin, or hundredth of a mas, near six tenths of a grain troy. The same term, frequently written *cash*, and sometimes, in the plural, *casses*, is applied to coins of copper and iron, current in China, Japan, and Eastern Asia generally, intended to represent the value of a kas of silver. The corresponding Japanese

term is *seni*. The Dutch call them *pitjes*. As the dollar contains about seventy-one kandarins of silver, it should represent upwards of seven hundred of these kas.

Kata-kana, man's writing. A syllabary employed for explanations of Chinese characters. See p. 546.

Kati, or *Catty*. — A weight of sixteen tael, or a hundred and sixty mas, equal to about a pound and a third avoirdupois, the common weight in retail transactions throughout the far East.

Ken, or *Kin*. — A measure of length, containing six Japanese feet (*siak*, or *sasi*), or, according to Siebold, six *siak*, three *bun* (the *bun* being the tenth of the *siak*). Klaproth makes it equal to seven feet, four and one half inches, Rhineland measure; but Siebold states the Japanese *syak* as equal to eleven inches eleven lines, English measure, and Kämpfer always speaks of the *ken* as a fathom, or six feet.

Kitu, or *Kitoo*. — Homage, or reverence, performed by one person to another.

Kobang, or (properly) *Koban*. — A gold coin. For its weight and value see p. 55, 209, 383.

Kobu, *kosi*, or *nosi*. — A sort of edible sea-weed (*Fucus saccharinus*), strips of which are attached to presents and complimentary notes.

Kokf, or *Koku*. — A quantity of rice, equal to one hundred gantlings, or somewhat more than four and a half bushels. The integer for estimating landed revenues. See p. 54, 197.

Kokonots. — The sixth Japanese hour, closing at noon and midnight. For the Japanese division of the day, see p. 266, note. It appears, from Siebold, that the names given to the six Japanese hours, *kokonots*, *yats*, *nanats*, *muts*, *itsuts*, and *yots*, are the vernacular Japanese numerals for nine, eight, seven, six, five, and four, the number of strokes on a bell by which these hours are respectively indicated. For ordinary use, and especially in speaking of weights and measures, and always for numbers above ten, the Japanese employ the Chinese numerals.

Kubo, or *Kubo-Sama*. — General, or lord general, originally the fifth officer in rank in the household of the Dairi, but for several centuries past the real, reigning emperor of Japan.

Kuge. — The family and courtiers of the Dairi.

Kuli. — Ordinary day laborers.

Li, or *Ri*. — A mile, or league (six times that of the Chinese), of which there are twenty-five to a degree of latitude, equal to upwards of two and a half of our miles.

Mas. — The tenth part of a tael, equal to about fifty-eight grains troy.

Mia. — Temples for the worship of the Kami.

Matz. — A street; also a measure of length, otherwise *tsiju*, equal to 60 ken, or 360 feet.

Matsuri. — Religious shows and exhibitions.

Namada. — A short prayer in Sanscrit, the *pater noster* of the worshippers of Amida.

Nengo. — A period of time used in dating. See p. 85.

Norimon. — A superior kind of kango.

Ottona. — The superior officer of a street.

Offari. — Indulgence box, a sort of charm, purchased of the priests.

Picul. — One hundred katti, or one hundred and thirty-three and a third pounds avoirdupois. The common weight in the far East for heavy articles and wholesale transactions.

Quanwon. — A Buddhist saint, represented by a many-handed image, and much worshipped in Japan.

Quan. — A hearse.

Saki. — An intoxicating drink, a sort of beer, made from rice.

Sama. — Lord, appended to names and titles, with much the force of the French Monsieur, or our Mr.

Seni. — See Kas.

Seomio. — Princes of the second class.

Siaka. — The Japanese equivalent of Buddha, or Fo. See p. 65, note.

Sima. — Island, a common termination of Japanese names of places.

Siogun. — The Chinese-Japanese term corresponding to kubo.

Sinto. — Doctrine of the *Sin*, or *Kami*, the ancient and aboriginal religion of Japan.

Siudo. — The doctrine of Confucius, as received in Japan.

Sokano. — Eatables offered to visitors by way of refreshment.

Shuet. — Name given by the Dutch to circulating lumps of silver, stamped at the mint to certify their fineness, but passing by weight, which averages about five ounces.

Tael. — A weight used in the far East equal to five hundred and eighty-three troy grains, or about an ounce and a fifth troy, or an ounce and a third avoirdupois. Sixteen tael make a katti. The tael and its subdivisions — the mas, kandarin, and kas — are especially used in weighing the precious metals. Silver passing by weight in the far East, and forming there the standard of value, accounts are kept in these denominations. The tael was commonly reckoned by the Dutch as corresponding to the European crown ($1.25), which made the mas equal to the Spanish eighth of a dollar.

Tira. — A Buddhist temple.

Tono. — A general term, including all the Japanese nobility.

Tsitats. — The first day of the month, observed as a holiday or Sunday. See p. 536.

Tundi. — A Buddhist abbot.

Tenwo, or *Teno*. — August of heaven, a title bestowed on the Dairi.

Uta. — A brief poem, or distich.

HISTORY OF JAPAN.

CHAPTER I.

EARLIEST EUROPEAN KNOWLEDGE OF JAPAN. — JAPANESE HISTORIES. — MARCO POLO'S ACCOUNT OF THE MONGOL OR TARTAR INVASION. — ACCOUNTS OF THE SAME EVENT GIVEN BY THE CHINESE AND JAPANESE ANNALISTS, A. D. 1281 OR 1283.

THE name JAPAN, pronounced in the country itself *Nïpon* or *Nïfon*, is of Chinese origin — in the Mandarin dialect *Jih-pun*, that is, sun-source, or Eastern Country.

The first account of Japan, or allusion to its existence, to be found in any European writer, is contained in the *Oriental Travels* of the Venetian, Marco Polo, first reduced to writing in the Latin tongue, about A. D. 1298, while the author was detained a prisoner of war at Genoa. ZIPANGU, ZIPANGRI, CYAMPAGU, CIMPAGU, as different editions of his work have it, is his method of representing the Chinese *Jih-pun-quo*, sun-source kingdom, or kingdom of the source of the sun. The Japanese chronicles go back for many centuries previous; but these chronicles seem to be little more than a bare list of names and dates, with some legendary statements interwoven, of which the authority does not appear very weighty, nor the historical value very considerable.

Marco Polo resided for seventeen years (A. D. 1275—1292) at the court of Kublai Khan (grandson of the celebrated Ghingis Khan), and ruler, from A. D. 1260 to A. D. 1294, over the most extensive empire which the world has ever seen. This empire stretched across the breadth of the old continent, from the Japanese,

the Yellow, the Blue and the China Seas (embosoming the Caspian and the Black Seas), to the Levant, the Archipelago, the River Dniester, and beyond it. Not content with having added Anatolia and Russia to the western extremity of this vast kingdom, — the Greek empire being reduced, at this moment, to the vicinage of Constantinople and the western coasts of the Archipelago, — Kublai Khan, after completing the conquest of Southern China, sent an expedition against Japan; in which, however, the Mongols were no more successful than they had been in their attempts, a few years before, to penetrate through Hungary and Poland (which they overran and ravaged, to the terror of all Europe) into Germany, whence Teutonic valor repelled them.

The accounts given by Marco Polo, and by the Chinese and Japanese annalists, of this expedition, though somewhat contradictory as to the details, agree well enough as to the general result. As Marco Polo's account is short, as well as curious, we insert it at length, from the English translation of his travels by Marsden, subjoining to it the statements which we have of the same event derived from Chinese and Japanese sources. We may add that Columbus was greatly stimulated to undertake his western voyages of discovery by the constant study of Marco Polo's travels, confidently expecting to reach by that route the Cathay and Zipangu of that author — countries for which he sedulously inquired throughout the Archipelago of the West Indies, and along the southern and western shores of the Caribbean Sea.

"Zipangu," says Marco Polo, "is an island in the eastern ocean, situated at the distance of about fifteen hundred miles from the main land, or coast of Manji.* It is of considerable size; its inhabitants have fair complexions, are well made, and are civilized in their manners. Their religion is the worship of idols. They are independent of every foreign power, and governed only by their own kings. They have gold in the greatest abundance, its sources being inexhaustible; but as the king does not allow of its being exported, few merchants visit the country, nor is it frequented by much shipping from other parts. To this circumstance we are to

* The true distance is about five hundred miles; but, possibly, by miles Marco Polo may have intended Chinese *li*, of which there are nearly three in our mile.

attribute the extraordinary richness of the sovereign's palace, according to what we are told by those who have access to the place. The entire roof is covered with a plating of gold, in the same manner as we cover houses, or, more properly, churches, with lead. The ceilings of the halls are of the same precious metal; many of the apartments have small tables of pure gold, considerably thick; and the windows, also, have golden ornaments. So vast, indeed, are the riches of the palace, that it is impossible to convey an idea of them. In this island there are pearls, also, in large quantities, of a pink color, round in shape, and of great size, equal in value to white pearls, or even exceeding them. It is customary with one part of the inhabitants to bury their dead, and with another part to burn them. The former have a practice of putting one of these pearls into the mouth of the corpse. There are also found there a number of precious stones.

"Of so great celebrity was the wealth of this island, that a desire was excited in the breast of the grand Khan Kublai, now reigning, to make the conquest of it, and to annex it to his dominions. In order to effect this, he fitted out a numerous fleet, and embarked a large body of troops under the command of two of his principal officers, one of whom was named Abbacatan, and the other Vonsancin. The expedition sailed from the ports of *Zaitun* and *Kinsai*,* and crossing the intermediate sea, reached the island in safety; but, in consequence of a jealousy that arose between the two commanders, one of whom treated the plans of the other with contempt, and resisted the execution of his orders, they were unable to gain possession of any city or fortified place, with the exception of one only, which was carried by assault, the garrison having refused to surrender. Directions were given for putting the whole to the sword, and, in obedience thereto, the heads of all were cut off except of eight persons, who, by the efficacy of a diabolical charm, consisting

* Marsden, the English translator and annotator of Marco Polo, supposes that *Zaitun* was the modern *Amoy*, and *Kinsai* either *Ning-po* or *Chusan*. The Chinese annalists, on the other hand, seem to make the expedition start from Corea, which is much more probable, as that province is separated from Japan by a strait of only about a hundred miles in breadth. It was by this Corean strait, that, three hundred years later, the Japanese retorted this invasion.

of a jewel or amulet introduced into the right arm, between the skin and the flesh, were rendered secure from the effects of iron either to kill or to wound. Upon this discovery being made, they were beaten with a heavy wooden club, and presently died.

"It happened, after some time, that a north wind began to blow with great force, and the ships of the Tartars, which lay near the shore of the island, were driven foul of each other. It was determined thereupon, in a council of the officers on board, that they ought to disengage themselves from the land; and accordingly, as soon as the troops were disembarked, they stood out to sea. The gale, however, increased to so violent a degree, that a number of the vessels foundered. The people belonging to them, by floating upon pieces of the wreck, saved themselves upon an island, about four miles from the coast of Zipangu. The other ships, which, not being so near to the land, did not suffer from the storm, and on which the two chiefs were embarked, together with the principal officers, or those whose rank entitled them to command an hundred thousand or ten thousand men, directed their course homeward, and returned to the grand Khan. Those of the Tartars who remained upon the island where they were wrecked, and who amounted to about thirty thousand men, finding themselves without shipping, abandoned by their leaders, and having neither arms nor provision, expected nothing less than to become captives or to perish; especially as the island afforded no habitations where they could take shelter and refresh themselves. As soon as the gale ceased, and the sea became smooth and calm, the people from the main island of Zipangu came over with a large force, in numerous boats, in order to make prisoners of these shipwrecked Tartars; and, having landed, proceeded in search of them, but in a straggling, disorderly manner. The Tartars, on their part, acted with prudent circumspection; and, being concealed from view by some high land in the centre of the island, whilst the enemy were hurrying in pursuit of them by one road, made a circuit of the coast by another, which brought them to the place where the fleet of boats was at anchor. Finding these all abandoned, but with their colors flying, they instantly seized them; and, pushing off from the island, stood for the principal city of Zipangu, into which, from the appearance of the colors, they were suffered to enter unmolested. Here they

found few of the inhabitants besides women, whom they retained for their own use, and drove out all others. When the king was apprised of what had taken place, he was much afflicted, and immediately gave directions for a strict blockade of the city, which was so effectual that not any person was suffered to enter or to escape from it during six months that the siege continued. At the expiration of this time, the Tartars, despairing of succor, surrendered upon the condition of their lives being spared. This event took place in the course of the year 1264." *

The above account Marco Polo no doubt derived from the Mongols, who endeavored, as far as possible, to gloss over with romantic and improbable incidents a repulse that could not be denied. The Chinese annalists, who have no partiality for their Mongol conquerors, tell a much less flattering story. According to their account, as given by Pere Amiot, in his *Memoires concernant les Chinois*, the fleet consisted of six hundred ships, fitted out in the provinces of Kiang-nan, Fou-kien, Ho-nan and Chan-tong. The army, sailing from Corea, landed first on the island of Kiu-tchi, whence they proceeded to that of Tousima, where they learned that the Japanese had long been expecting them with a great army. On approaching the coast of Japan, they encountered a furious tempest, which sunk their vessels; so that of the whole army scarcely one or two in every ten persons escaped.

In the *Histoire General de la China*, compiled by Father Malela, from Chinese sources, the story is thus told: "The sixth month (1281) Alahan set out on the expedition against Japan; but scarcely had he reached the port of embarkation when he died. Atahai, appointed to succeed him, did not arrive till the fleet had already set sail. In the latitude of the isle of *Pinghou* [Firando] it

* Marsden remarks upon this date as evidently wrong. Indeed, it is given quite differently in different early editions of the travels. Marsden thinks it should be 1281. That is the date assigned to the invasion by the Chinese books. The older Japanese annals place it in 1584. In the chapter of Marco Polo which follows the one above quoted, and which is mainly devoted to the islands of south-eastern Asia, he seems to ascribe to the Japanese the custom of eating their prisoners of war — a mistake which, as his English translator and commentator observes, might easily arise from transferring to them what he had heard of the savage inhabitants of some of the more southern islands.

encountered a violent tempest, by which most of the vessels were driven on shore. The officers, selecting those least damaged, themselves returned, leaving behind them in that island more than a hundred thousand men. The soldiers, finding themselves thus abandoned, chose a leader, and set themselves to work to cut down trees to build new vessels, in which to escape. But the Japanese, apprised of their shipwreck, made a descent upon the island with a powerful army, and put them to the sword. They spared only ten or twelve thousand Chinese soldiers, of whom they made slaves; and, of the whole formidable invading army, hardly three persons returned to China."

Father Gaubil, in his *Histoire de la Dynastie des Mongoux*, compiled also from Chinese sources, states the number of Chinese and Corean prisoners at eighty thousand, and of the Mongols who were slain at thirty thousand.

Kämpfer, in his elaborate work on Japan, gives the following as from the Japanese chronicles, *Nipon Odaiki*, and *Nipon Okaitzu*: "Gonda succeeded his father in the year of Syn-mu 1935, of Christ 1275." "In the ninth year of his reign, the Tartar general, Mooko, appeared on the coasts of Japan, with a fleet of four thousand sail, and two hundred and forty thousand men. The then reigning Tartarian emperor, Lifsu [Kublai Khan], after he had conquered the empire of China, sent this general to subdue also the empire of Japan. But this expedition proved unsuccessful. The *Kami*, that is, the gods of the country, and protectors of the Japanese empire, were so incensed at the insult offered them by the Tartars, that, on the first day of the seventh month, they excited a violent and dreadful storm, which destroyed all this reputed invincible armada. Mooko himself perished in the waves, and but few of his men escaped."

Siebold, in his recently published *Archives of Japan*, gives the following as the account of this invasion contained in the esteemed Japanese chronicle, *Niponki*:* "So soon as Kublai Khan had ascended the Mogul throne, he turned his eyes upon distant Japan. This nation, like *Kaou-le* (one of the kingdoms of Corea), must

* As this chronicle, which is the oldest Japanese history, is stated to have been originally published A. D. 720, it must be from a continuation of it that Siebold, or rather his assistant, Hoffman, translates.

become tributary. Accordingly, in the year 1268,* he summoned the ruler of Nipon to acknowledge his sovereignty. No notice was taken of this summons, nor of others in 1271 and 1273, the Mogul envoys being not admitted to an audience, but always dismissed by the governor of Doisaifu. Hereupon a Mongol fleet, with a Corean contingent, appeared off Tsusima [a small island half way from Corea to Japan]. The mikaddo [ecclesiastical sovereign] appointed prayer days, but the siogun [the temporal sovereign] had previously made along the coast every necessary preparation for defence. The hostile army did not venture upon a decisive attack. Its movements were governed neither by energy nor by consistency; and after hovering about a while, without any apparent definite purpose, the squadron disappeared from the Japanese seas, merely committing some hostilities upon Kiusiu, at its departure."

A Japanese encyclopedia, of quite recent date, quoted in Siebold's work, besides giving Kublai Khan's letter of summons, asserts that the Mongol fleet was met and defeated, after which, other Mongol envoys being sent to Japan, they were summoned into the presence of the siogun, by whom a decree was promulgated that no Mongol should land in Japan under pain of death. And it is even pretended that under this decree the persons composing two subsequent missions sent by Kublai Khan, in 1276 and 1279, were all put to death. This was followed, according to the same authority, by the appearance of a new Mongol-Corean fleet, in 1281, off the island of Firando. This fleet was destroyed by a hurricane. Those who escaped to the shore were taken prisoners and executed, only three being saved to carry to Kublai Khan the news of this disaster. All these additions, however, to the story, — the letter of Kublai Khan, the murder of the ambassadors, and the double invasion, — may safely enough be set down as Japanese inventions.

* This is the equivalent, it is to be supposed, of the Japanese date mentioned in the chronicle.

CHAPTER II.

PORTUGUESE EMPIRE IN THE EAST. — DISCOVERY OF JAPAN. — GALVANO'S ACCOUNT OF IT. — FERNAM MENDEZ PINTO'S ACCOUNT OF HIS FIRST VISIT TO JAPAN, AND ADVENTURES THERE. — JAPANESE ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST ARRIVAL OF PORTUGUESE, A. D. 1542–5.

VASCO DE GAMA, by the route of the Cape of Good Hope, entered the Indian Ocean in November, 1497, and, after coasting the African continent as far north as Melinda, arrived in May, 1498, at Calicut, on the Malabar or south-western coast of the peninsula of Hindostan, — a discovery speedily followed, on the part of the Portuguese, by extensive eastern explorations, mercantile enterprises and conquests. The trade of Europe with the East in silks, spices and other luxuries, chiefly carried on for two or three centuries preceding, so far as related to their distribution through Europe, by the Venetians, aided in the north by the Hanse towns, and, so far as the collection of the articles of it throughout the East was concerned, by the Arabs (Cairo, in Egypt, being the point of exchange), was soon transferred to the Portuguese; and Lisbon, enriched by this transfer, which the Mahometan traders and the Venetians struggled in vain to prevent, rose rapidly, amid the decline of numerous rivals, to great commercial wealth and prosperity, and the headship of European commerce.

The Portuguese, from the necessity of the case, traded sword in hand; and their intercourse with the nations of the East was much more marked by the insolence of conquest, than by the complaisance of traders. Goa, some three hundred miles to the north of Calicut, which fell into their power in 1510, became a splendid city, the vice-royal and archiepiscopal seat, whence were governed a multitude of wide-spread dependencies. The rule of the Portuguese viceroy extended on the west by Diu, Ormus and Socotra (com-

manding the entrances into the Gulf of Cambay, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea), along the east coast of Africa by Melinda to Sofala, opposite the south part of Madagascar. Malacca, near the extremity of the peninsula of Further India, occupied in 1511, became the capital of their possessions and conquests in the far East, and soon rose into a magnificent seat of empire and commerce, second only to Goa. Among the most valuable dependencies of Malacca, were the Moluccas or Spice Islands. The islands of Sumatra, Java and Borneo,—in the occupation of which the Mahometans had preceded them,—Celebes, Mindanao, and even New Guinea, were coasted, and commercial and political relations established, to a greater or less degree, with the native chiefs. The coasts of Pegu, Siam, Cambodia, and the southern parts of China, were visited as early as 1516; but the usual insolence of the Portuguese, in attempting to establish a fortified post not far from Canton, resulted in the imprisonment and miserable death of an ambassador of theirs, then on his way to Pekin, while it gave a new impulse to the suspicious policy of the Chinese, which allowed no intercourse with foreigners, and even forbade the Chinese junks to trade to foreign ports. In spite, however, of this prohibition, numerous Chinese merchants, self-exiled from home, were established in the principal trading marts of the south-eastern seas; and with their aid, and sometimes that of the corsairs, by whom the coasts of China were then, as now, greatly infested, and by bribing the mandarins, a sort of commerce, a cross between smuggling and privateering, was carried on along the Chinese coast. The principal marts of this commerce were Ningpo (known to the Portuguese as Liampo, on the continent, opposite the isle of Chusan, in the suburbs of which city the Portuguese managed to establish a trading settlement) and Sancian, an island near the entrance of the bay of Canton, where the Chinese merchants from Canton met the Portuguese traders, who, during a few months in each year, sojourned there in temporary huts while the trade was going on. Down, however, to the year 1542, nothing had yet been heard of Japan, beyond Marco Polo's mention and brief account of it.

The first visit of the Portuguese to Japan is ascribed to that year, 1542, by Antonio Galvano, in his little book, first published, after his death, in 1557, containing a brief chronological recital

of discoveries by sea and land, from the flood to the year of grace, 1555, particularly the recent ones of the Spanish and Portuguese, in which Galvano had been an active participator, having greatly distinguished himself as the Portuguese governor of the Moluccas. With a disinterestedness as uncommon then as now, more intent upon the public service than his own enrichment, after repeatedly refusing the regency of the Moluccas tendered to him by the natives, and putting into the public treasury the rich presents of spices which were made to him, he had returned to Portugal, in 1440, a poor man; and so vain was his reliance on the gratitude of the court, that he was obliged to pass the last seventeen years of his life as the inmate of a charitable foundation, solacing his leisure by composing the history of exploits in which he no longer participated. His account of the discovery of Japan, which he must have obtained at second hand, as it happened after he had left the Indies, is thus given in Hackluyt's translation:*

"In the year of our Lord 1542, one Diego de Freitas being in the realm of Siam, and in the city of Dodra, as captain of a ship, there fled from him three Portuguese in a junco (which is a kind of ship) towards China. Their names were Antony de Moto, Francis Zimoro and Antonio Perota. Directing their course to the city of Liampo, standing in 30° odd of latitude, there fell upon their stern such a storm, that it set them off the land; and in a few days they saw an island towards the east, standing in 32°, which they do name Japan, which seemeth to be the isle of Zipangry whereof Paulus Venetus [Marco Polo] maketh mention, and of the riches thereof. And this island of Japan hath gold, silver, and other riches."

Upon the strength of this statement of Galvano's, Maffei, in his elegant Latin *Indian History*, first printed in 1589, and whom subsequent writers have generally followed, ascribes to the three Portuguese above mentioned the honor of the discovery of Japan, though it was claimed, he says, by several others. Of these others

* Galvano's book in the translation, published by Hackluyt, in 1601, may be found in the supplement to Hackluyt's collection of voyages, London, 1811. The original work was printed by the pious care of Francis de Sousa Tauares, to whom Galvano left it, on his death-bed.

the only one known to us is Fernam Mendez Pinto, who, in his *Peregrinations in the East*, first published in 1614, about thirty-six years after his death, seems to represent himself and two companions as the original Portuguese discoverers.

Pinto's veracity has been very sharply called in question;* but the main facts of his residence in the East and early visits to Japan are amply established by contemporary letters, written from Malacca as early as 1564, and published at Rome as early as 1566, including one from Pinto himself. In the introduction to his Peregrinations he describes himself as the child of poor parents, born in the city of old Montemayor, in Portugal, but placed in the year 1521, when he was about ten or twelve years old, — he fixes the year by the breaking of the escutcheons on the death of king Manuel, a ceremony which he witnessed, and the oldest historical fact he could remember, — through the interest of an uncle, in the service of a noble lady of Lisbon. Having been with her for a year and a half, some catastrophe occurred, — he does not tell what, — which led him to fly in terror for his life; and, finding himself upon a pier, he embarked on a vessel just about to leave it. That vessel was taken by French pirates, who threatened at first to sell him and the other captives to the Moors of Barbary; but having taken another richer prize, after much ill treatment, they put him and several others ashore on the Portuguese coast. After this he passed into the service successively of two noblemen; but finding their pay very small, he was prompted to embark to seek his fortune in the East; and, in pursuit of that object, landed at Diu in 1537.

It was by the daring and enterprise of just such adventurers as Pinto, that the Portuguese, who, up to this time, had few regular troops in the East, had already acquired so extensive an empire there; just as a similar set of Spanish adventurers had acquired, and still were extending, a vast Spanish empire in America; the two nations, in their circuit round the globe, meeting at the Moluccas, the possession of which, though about this very time, as we shall see, contested by the Spaniards, the Portuguese succeeded in maintaining, as indeed they had been the first to visit and occupy them.

The Turks at this time were the terror and dread of all the

* See Appendix, Note D.

Christian nations. In the West, they had lately occupied Hungary, laid siege to Vienna, and possessed themselves of all the fortresses hitherto held by the Venetians in the Archipelago and the Morea. Having acquired the superiority over Egypt by dethroning the Mameluke sultans, and, by the renunciation of the caliphs of Bagdad (long exiles in Egypt), the headship of the Mahometan church, they were now carrying on, with renewed energy, by way of the Red Sea, the perpetual war waged in the East, as well as in the West, by the Mussulmen against the infidels; and had, indeed, just before Pinto's arrival at Diu, besieged that city in great force. Going to cruise against these Mussulmen enemies, after various adventures and a visit to Abyssinia, — with which secluded Christian or semi-Christian kingdom the Portuguese had opened a communication, — Pinto was captured at the entrance of the Red Sea, carried to Mocha, and there sold to a Greek renegado, and by him to a Jew, from whom he was redeemed by the Portuguese governor of Ormus, who furnished him with the means of reaching Goa. At this centre of Portuguese enterprise and adventure, Pinto entered into the service of Dom Pedro de Faria, captain-general of Malacca. Perceiving his superior intelligence and adroitness, Faria sent him on numerous missions to the native princes of those parts, by intermeddling in whose domestic affairs, the Portuguese generally contrived to find a foothold for themselves. Despatched on one of these missions, he was shipwrecked, made a slave of, and sold to a Mussulman, who carried him to Malacca, whence he was again sent on a new mission, provided with money to redeem certain Portuguese captives, and taking with him also a small sum, which he had borrowed at Malacca, to trade upon for himself. While occupied with this mission, Pinto met, at Patana (on the east shore of the Malay peninsula, and some four hundred miles to the north of Malacca), with Antonio Faria, a kinsman of his patron's, sent thither on a political mission, but who had also improved the opportunity for trade, by borrowing at Malacca twelve thousand crusados,* which he had invested in cloths. Finding no market

* A Portuguese coin, as corresponding to which in value the Spanish translator of Pinto gives ducats, which, of silver, were about equal to a dollar of our money.

there for these goods, Faria was induced to despatch them to Lugor, on the same coast, further north; and Pinto, with his small adventure, was led by the hope of a profitable trade to embark in the same vessel. He arrived safely near Lugor; but the vessel, while lying in the river below that city, was boarded by a Saracen corsair. Pinto with two others plunged into the water and escaped, wounded, to the shore; and having succeeded in reaching Patana, he communicated to Antonia de Faria information of their mutual loss.

Overwhelmed by this news, and afraid to face his creditors at Malacca, Faria, with the remnant of his fortune and the assistance of his friends, fitted out a small cruiser, in which he embarked in May, 1640, with several Portuguese, and Pinto among the rest, nominally to seek out the pirate who had robbed him, but in fact to recruit his fortune as he might. After many adventures, — the acquisition of great wealth by numerous captures of richly-laden corsairs and others, its loss by shipwreck, the getting of a new vessel, the meeting with the corsair who had robbed them at Lugor, the taking of his vessel, another shipwreck, and the sack of a Chinese town, where some of their shipwrecked companions were detained as prisoners, — they put into Liampo, finding on some islands at no great distance from that city, and known as the Gates of Liampo, a Portuguese settlement of a thousand houses, with six or seven churches, and with regular Portuguese officers and laws — as much so, says Pinto, as if the place had been situated between Lisbon and Santarem.* Here they met with a Chinese corsair, who told them a marvellous story of the island of Calempui, not far from Pekin, in which lay buried seventeen Chinese kings, and whose tombs, guarded and watched over by priests, contained vast treasures. Under the pilotage of this corsair, Faria set out in May, 1642, to rob these tombs. Pinto's account of the voyage thither, and of the tombs themselves, from which, terrified by the alarm that was raised, they fled away, with their object very partially accomplished, forms one of the most questionable, and, at all events, the most distorted portions of his narrative.

* This Portuguese colony was of no long continuance. It was soon broken up by the Chinese, as Pinto intimates, through the folly of the Portuguese residents.

Shortly after, they were shipwrecked again on the Chinese coast. Faria, with most of his countrymen, was drowned; but Pinto with thirteen others escaped to the shore, where they lived a while by begging, but were presently taken up as vagabonds, harshly treated, sent to Nankin, and there, on suspicion of being thieves, condemned to lose their thumbs. They appealed from this sentence by the aid of certain officers appointed to look after the poor, and were taken to Pekin, where, after a residence of two months and a half, the charge of theft was dismissed for want of proof, the prosecutors being obliged to pay them damages; but still they were sent into confinement to the frontier town of Quansi for eight months, there to work in the maintenance of the great wall. From this imprisonment they were delivered by an inroad of Tartars, who laid siege to Pekin, and to whom one of the Portuguese, reduced by this time to nine in all, rendered essential military service. Accompanying these invaders back to Tartary, they were sent, except one, who remained behind, as attendants upon the train of an ambassador to Cochin China, by whose procurement they were conveyed to the island of Sanchian, in hopes of finding a passage thence to Malacca. But the Portuguese ships had departed five days before; and so they proceeded on some leagues further to the island of Lampacau (the same upon which the Portuguese town of Macao was not long afterwards built, and already a resort for merchants and rovers). Here they found no other resource except to enlist into the service of a Chinese corsair, who arrived shortly after they did, with two ships, of which the crews were mostly wounded, having just escaped, with the loss of many other ships, from a recent engagement with a Chinese fleet, off Chincheo, a great city, about half way from Canton to Ningpo. The Portuguese had got into a quarrel among themselves, which they carried out, as Pinto says, with true Portuguese obstinacy. Five of them embarked in one of the corsair's ships, and Pinto, with two companions, named Diego Zeimoto and Christopher Borello, in the other. The five, with the vessel in which they sailed, were soon after lost in a desperate naval engagement, which lasted a whole day, with seven large corsair junks, in which that vessel was burnt. The other, in which Pinto was, escaped with the greatest difficulty, by favor of the breeze, which freshened at night. This breeze

changed soon into a gale, before which the corsair ran for the Lew Chew islands, with which he was familiar; but being without a pilot, and the wind shifting to the north-east, they had to beat against it for twenty-three days before they made land. After running along the coast for some distance they anchored off an island in seventy fathoms.* "Immediately," says Pinto, "two little skiffs put off the shore to meet us, in which were six men, who, on coming on board, after having saluted us courteously, asked us whence our junk came; and being answered that it came from China, with merchandise to trade there, if permission should be obtained, one of the six said to us that the Nantaquim, the lord of that island, which was called Tonixuma, would willingly permit us to trade, if we would pay the duties customarily paid in Japan; which, said he, is that great island which you see there over against us." Whereupon the ship was piloted into a good harbor, on which was seated a considerable town, and was soon surrounded with boats bringing provisions to sell.

In a short time they were visited by the Nantaquim himself, accompanied by many gentlemen and merchants, with chests of silver. As he approached the ship, the first persons who attracted his attention were Pinto and his companions. Perceiving how different they were in complexion, features and beard, from the others, he eagerly inquired who they were. "The corsair captain made answer to him," says Pinto, "that we were from a land called Malacca, to which many years before we had gone from another very distant country, called Portugal; at which the prince, greatly astonished, turning to those about him, said, 'May I die, if these be not the Chenchicogis, of whom it is written in our ancient books, that, flying on the tops of the waves, they will subdue all the lands about them, until they become masters of all the countries in which God has placed the riches of the world! Wherefore we should esteem it a great piece of good fortune if they come to us with

* It is difficult to understand by what mistake Charlevoix, in his *Histoire du Japon*, ascribes this discovery to the same year, 1542, as that of the three Japanese mentioned by Galvano. Pinto's chronology is rather confused, but it is impossible to fix this voyage to Japan earlier than 1545.

offers of friendship and good will.'* And then calling in the aid of a woman of Lew Chew, whom he employed as interpreter, he proceeded to make very particular inquiries of the captain as to where he had found these men, and why he had brought them thither. To whom," says Pinto, "our captain replied, that without doubt we were merchants and trusty people, whom, having found shipwrecked on the island of Lampucau, he had received on board his junk, as it was his custom to do by all whom he found in such case, having himself been saved in the same way from the like disaster, to which all were liable who ventured their lives and property against the impetuous fury of the waves." Satisfied with this answer, the prince came on board; not with his whole retinue, though they were all eager for it, but with only a select few. After examining the ship very curiously he seated himself under an awning, and asked the Portuguese many questions about their country, and what they had seen in their travels. Highly delighted with their answers and the new information they were able to give him, he invited them to visit him on shore the next day, assuring them that this curious information was the merchandise he most wished for, and of which he never could have enough. The next morning he sent to the junk a large boat loaded with grapes,† pears, melons, and a great variety of vegetables, for which the captain returned a present of cloths and Chinese jewels. The next day, having first moored the ship securely, the captain went on shore with samples of his goods, taking with him the three Portuguese, and ten or twelve of the best-looking of the Chinese. Their reception was very gracious, and the prince having called together the

* The terms *Chengecu* and *Chenghequu* are represented in two letters, one dated in 1651 (*Selectarum Epistolarum ex India*, Lib. i.), addressed to Xavier by a companion of his; the other, dated in 1560, and written by Lawrence, a converted Japanese and a Jesuit (*Ib.*, Lib. ii.), as commonly employed in Japan to designate Europe.

Golownin mentions that at the time of his imprisonment (1812), he found a prophecy in circulation among the Japanese, that they should be conquered by a people from the north. Possibly both these prophecies — that mentioned by Pinto and that by Golownin — might be a little colored by the patriotic hopes of the European relaters.

† Golownin says there are no grapes in Japan, except a small, wild kind, very sour, which are salted and eaten as salad.

principal merchants, the samples were exhibited, and a tariff of prices agreed upon.

This matter arranged, the prince began to re-question the Portuguese; to which inquiries Pinto, who acted as spokesman, made answers dictated, as he confesses, less by strict regard to the truth, than by his desire to satisfy the prince's appetite for wonders, and to magnify the king and country of Portugal in his eyes. The prince wished to know whether it were true, as the Chinese and Lew Chewans had told him, that Portugal was larger and richer than China? Whether (a matter as to which he seemed very certain) the king of Portugal had really conquered the greater part of the world? And whether he actually had more than two thousand houses full of gold and silver? All which questions Pinto answered in the affirmative; though, as to the two thousand houses, he confessed that he had never actually counted them — a thing by no means easy in a kingdom so vast.

Well pleased with his guests, the king caused the Portuguese to be entertained, by a wealthy merchant, in a house near his own; and he assigned also warehouses to the Chinese captain to facilitate his trade, which proved so successful that a cargo, which had cost him in China twenty-five hundred taels * of silver, brought him in twelve times as much in Japan; thus reïmbursing all the loss he had lately suffered by the capture of his vessels.

"Meanwhile we three Portuguese," says Pinto, "as we had no merchandise to occupy ourselves about, enjoyed our time in fishing, hunting and visiting the temples, where the priests or bonzes, as they are called, gave us a very good reception, the Japanese being naturally well disposed and very conversable. Deigo Zeimoto went often forth to shoot with an espingarda [a large hand-gun or musket], which he had brought from Tartary, and in the use of which he was very dexterous. One day, at a lake where were many kinds of birds, he killed at various shots six-and-twenty ducks.

* A tael is about an ounce and a third English. The tael is divided into ten mas; the mas into ten kandarins; the kandarins into ten kas; and these denominations (the silver passing by weight) are in general use throughout the far East. Sixteen taels make a katty (about a pound and a third, avoirdupois), and one hundred katties a picul, — these being the mercantile weights in common use.

Some Japanese, observing this new method of shooting, which they had never seen before, reported it to the prince, who was busy at the moment in observing the running of some horses, which had been brought to him from a distance. Zeimoto, being called, came into his presence, with the gun on his shoulder, and two Chinamen loaded with the game; and as the thing was entirely novel in this country, and as the Japanese knew nothing of the secret of the powder, they all ascribed it to enchantment, — an astonishment which Zeimoto increased by shooting on the spot a kite and two doves. The prince caused Zeimoto to be mounted on a horse, himself sitting behind him, and to be conducted through the town, followed by a great crowd, preceded by a herald, who proclaimed him an adopted kinsman of the prince, to be treated by all as such; and having taken him to his own palace, he assigned him an apartment there next his own, doing many favors also to the other Portuguese for his sake. Zeimoto responded by making the prince a present of the gun, who sent him, in return, a thousand taels of silver, beseeching him much to teach him how to make the powder; with which request Zeimoto complied. The prince, greatly delighted with his acquisition, caused other guns to be made like it; so that," says Pinto, "when we left, which was in five months and a half, there were more than six hundred; and when I visited Japan, in 1556, as ambassador from the Portuguese viceroy, Don Alonzo de Noronha, to the king of Bungo, the Japanese told me that in the city of Fucheo, the capital of that kingdom, there were more than thirty thousand guns. And when I expressed my astonishment at this as incredible, some very respectable merchants positively assured me that in the whole land of Japan there were more than three hundred thousand, and that they themselves, in six voyages to Lew Chew, had carried thither five-and-twenty thousand. From which it may be known what this nation is, and how naturally inclined to military exercises, in which it delights itself more than any other of these distant nations yet discovered." *

At the end of three-and-twenty days, a ship arrived from the kingdom of Bungo, in which came many merchants, who, as soon as they had landed, waited on the prince with presents, as was customary. Among them was an old man, very well attended, and

* See Appendix, Note C.

to whom all the rest paid great respect. He made prostrations before the prince, presenting him a letter, and a rich sword, garnished with gold, and a box of fans, which the prince received with great ceremony. The reading of this letter seemed to disturb the prince, and, having sent the messengers away to refresh themselves, he informed the Portuguese, through the interpreter, that it came from the king of Bungo and Facata, his uncle, father-in-law, and liege-lord, as he was also the superior of several other principalities. This letter, — which, as is usual with him in such cases, Pinto, by a marvellous stretch of memory, undertakes to give in precise words, — declared that the writer had heard by persons from Saxuma that the prince had in his city "three Chenchiogins, from the end of the world, very like the Japanese, clothed in silk and girded with swords; not like merchants, whose business it is to trade, but like lovers of honor, seeking to gild their names therewith, and who had given great information, affirming, on their veracity, that there is another world, much larger than this of ours, and peopled with men of various complexions;" and the letter ended with begging that, by Fingeandono, his ambassador, the prince would send back one of these men, the king promising to return him safe and soon. It appeared from this letter, and from the explanations which the prince added to it, that the king of Bungo was a severe sufferer from a gouty affection and from fits of melancholy, from which he hoped, by the aid of these foreigners, to obtain some diversion, if not relief. The prince, anxious and bound as he was to oblige his relative and superior, was yet unwilling to send Zeimoto, his adopted kinsman; but one of the others he begged to consent to go; and when both volunteered, he chose Pinto, as he seemed the more gay and cheerful of the two, and so best fitted to divert the sick man's melancholy; whereas the solemn gravity of the other, though of great account in more weighty matters, might, in the case of a sick man, rather tend to increase his ennui. And so, with many compliments, to which, says Pinto, the Japanese are much inclined, he was given in charge to the ambassador, with many injunctions for his good treatment, having first, however, received two hundred taels, with which to equip himself.

They departed in a sort of galley; and, stopping in various places, arrived in four or five days at Osqui, a fortress of the king of

Bungo,* seven leagues distant from his capital of Fucheo, to which they proceeded by land. Arriving there in the middle of the day (not a proper time to wait upon the king), the ambassador took him to his own house, where they were joyfully met, and Pinto was well entertained by the ambassador's wife and two sons. Proceeding to the palace on horseback, they were very graciously received by a son of the king, some nine or ten years old, who came forth richly dressed and with many attendants. After many ceremonies between the young prince and the ambassador, they were taken to the king, who, though sick abed, received the ambassador with many formalities. Presently Pinto was introduced, and by some well-turned compliments made a favorable impression, leading the courtiers to conclude — and so they told the king — that he could not be a merchant, who had passed his life in the low business of buying and selling, but rather some learned bonze, or at least some brave corsair of the seas. In this opinion the king coincided; and, being already somewhat relieved from his pains, proceeded to question the stranger as to the cure of the gout, which he suffered from, or at least some remedy for the total want of appetite by which he was afflicted. Pinto professed himself no doctor, but nevertheless undertook to cure the king by means of a sovereign herb which he had brought with

* The kingdom or province of Bungo is situated on the east coast of the second in size and southernmost in situation of the three larger Japanese islands, off the south-east extremity of which lies the small island of Tanixuma (or Tanegasima), where Pinto represents himself as having first landed.

The name Bungo was frequently extended by the Portuguese to the whole large island o; which it formed a part, though, among them, the more common designation of that island, after they knew it to be such (for they seem at first to have considered it a part of Nipon), was Ximo. This name, Ximo, appears to have been only a modification of the term *sima* (or, as the Portuguese wrote it, *xima*), the Japanese word for island, and as such terminating many names of places. On our maps this island is called Kiusiu, meaning, as Kämpfer tells us in one place, "Western Country," and in another "Country of Nine," from the circumstance of its being divided into nine provinces, which latter appears to be the correct interpretation. There are in use in Japan Chinese as well as Japanese names of provinces and officers, (the Chinese probably a translation of the Japanese); and not only the names Nipon and Kiusiu, but that of Bungo (to judge from the terminal *n* of the first syllable), is of Chinese origin. For further information on the language of Japan, see Appendix A.

him from China (ginseng, probably); and this drug he tried on the patient with such good effect, that in thirty days he was up and walking, which he had not done for two years before. The next twenty days Pinto passed in answering an infinite number of questions, many of them very frivolous, put to him by the king and his courtiers, and in entertaining himself in observing their feasts, worship, martial exercises, ships of war, fisheries and hunting, to which they were much given, and especially their fowling with hawks and falcons, quite after the European fashion.

A gun, which Pinto had taken with him, excited as much curiosity as it had done at Tanixuma, especially on the part of a second son of the king, named Arichandono,* about seventeen or eighteen years old, who was very pressing to be allowed to shoot it. This Pinto declined to permit, as being dangerous for a person without experience; but, at the intercession of the king, he appointed a time at which the experiment should be made. The young prince, however, contrived beforehand to get possession of the gun while Pinto was asleep, and, having greatly overloaded it, it burst, severely wounding his hand and greatly disabling one of his thumbs. Hearing the explosion, and running out to see what might be the matter, Pinto found the young prince abandoned by his frightened companions, and lying on the ground bleeding and insensible; and by the crowd, who rushed in, he was immediately accused of having murdered the king's son, hired to do so, as was suspected, by the relations of two noblemen executed the day before as traitors. His life seemed to be in the most imminent danger; he was so frightened as not to be able to speak, and so beside himself that if they had killed him he hardly thinks he would have known it; when, fortunately, the young prince coming to, relieved him from all blame by telling how the accident had happened. The prince's wounds, however, seemed so severe, that none of the bonzes called in dared to undertake the cure; and it was recommended, as a last resource, to send to Facata, seventy leagues off, for another bonze, of great reputation, and ninety-two years old. But the young prince, who declared that he should die while waiting, preferred to entrust himself to the hands of Pinto, who, following the methods which he

* For some remarks on Japanese names of persons, see Appendix B.

had seen adopted by Portuguese surgeons in India, in twenty days had the young prince able to walk about again; for which he received so many presents that the cure was worth to him more than fifteen hundred cruzados. Information coming from Tanixuma that the Chinese corsair was ready to sail, Pinto was sent back by the king in a galley, manned by twenty rowers, commanded by a gentleman of the royal household, and provided with abundant supplies.

The corsair having taken him on board, they sailed for Liampo, where they arrived in safety. The three survivors of Antonio de Faria's ship were received at that Portuguese settlement with the greatest astonishment, and many congratulations for their return; and the discovery they had made of the rich lands of Japan was celebrated by a religious procession, high mass, and a sermon.

These pious services over, all hastened with the greatest zeal and contention to get the start of the rest in fitting out ships for this new traffic, the Chinese taking advantage of this rivalry, to put up the prices of their goods to the highest rates. In fifteen days nine junks, not half provided for the voyage, put to sea, Pinto himself being on board one of them. Overtaken on their passage by a terrible storm, seven of them foundered, with the loss of seven hundred men, of whom a hundred and forty were Portuguese, and cargoes to the value of three hundred thousand cruzados. Two others, on board one of which was Pinto, escaped, and arrived near the Lew Chew islands; where, in another storm, that in which Pinto was lost sight of the other, nor was it ever afterwards heard of. "Towards evening," says Pinto, "the wind coming east-north-east, the waves ran so boisterous, wild and high, that it was most frightful to see. Our captain, Gaspar de Melo, an hidalgo and very brave, seeing that the junk had sprung a-leak in her poop, and that the water stood already nine palms deep on the lower deck, ordered, with the advice of his officers, to cut away both masts, as, with their weight and the rolling, the junk was opening very fast. Yet, in spite of all care, he could not prevent the mainmast from carrying away with it fourteen men, among whom were five Portuguese, crushed in the ruins, — a most mournful spectacle, which took away from us survivors all the little spirits we had left. So we suffered ourselves to be drifted along before the increasing tempest, which

we had no means to resist, until about sunset, when the junk began to open at every seam. Then the captain and all of us, seeing the miserable condition in which we were, betook ourselves for succor to an image of our Lady, whom we besought with tears and groans to intercede for us with her blessed Son to forgive our sins."

The night having passed in this manner, about dawn the junk struck a shoal and went to pieces, most of the crew being drowned. A few, however, escaped to the shore of what proved to be the Lew Chew islands, now first made known to the Portuguese. Here happened many new dangers and adventures; but at last, by female aid, always a great resource with Pinto, he found his way back in a Chinese junk to Liampo, whence, after various other adventures, he again reached Malacca.

To these Portuguese accounts of the European discovery of Japan, may be added the following, which Siebold gives as an extract from a Japanese book of annals: "Under the Mikado Konaru, and the Ziogoun Yosi-hao, in the twelfth year of the Nengo Tinbun,* on the twenty-second day of the eighth month [Oct. 1543], a strange ship made the island Tanegozima, near Koura, in the

* The Japanese date by the years of the reign of the Dairi, or Mikado (of whom more hereafter), and they also, for ordinary purposes, employ the Chinese device of *nengos*. These are periods, or eras, of arbitrary length, from one year to many, appointed at the pleasure of the reigning Dairi, named by him, and lasting till the establishment of a new nengo. For convenience, every new nengo, and also every new reign, begins chronologically with the new year, the old nengo and old reign being protracted to the end of the year in which it closes.

The Japanese month is alternately twenty-nine and thirty days, of which every year has twelve, with a repetition of one of the months, in seven years out of every nineteen, so as to bring this reckoning by lunar months into correspondency with the course of the earth round the sun; this method being based on a knowledge of the correspondency of two hundred and thirty-five lunations with nineteen solar years. According to Titsingh, every thirty-third month is repeated, so as to make up the necessary number of intercalary months, the number of days in these intercalary months being fixed by the almanacs issued at Miako. The commencement of the Japanese year is generally in February. The months are divided into two distinct portions, of fifteen days, each having a distinct name, and the first day of each of which serves as a Sunday, or holiday. This regulation of the Japanese calendar is borrowed from the Chinese, as also the use of the period of sixty years corresponding to our century.

remote province Nisimura.* The crew, about two hundred in number, had a singular appearance; their language was unintelligible, their native land unknown. On board was a Chinese, named Gohow, who understood writing. From him it was gathered, that this was a *nan-ban* (Japanese form of the Chinese *nan-man*), that is, 'southern barbarian' ship. On the twenty-sixth, this vessel was taken to Aku-opi harbor, on the north-west side of the island, and Tokitaku, governor of Tanegozima, instituted a strict investigation concerning her, the Japanese bonze, Tsyn-sigu-zu, acting as interpreter by means of Chinese characters. On board the *nan-ban* ship were two commanders, Mura-synkya and Krista-muta. They had fire-arms, and first made the Japanese acquainted with shooting arms, and the preparation of shooting powder." It is added that the Japanese have preserved portraits of these two distinguished strangers; but, if so, it is much to be feared that the likenesses cannot be relied upon, as Fischer, one of the most recent writers on Japan, and who has himself published the finest specimens which have yet appeared of Japanese graphic art, says he never knew nor heard of a tolerable Japanese portrait-painter; while Golownin declares that the portraits taken of himself and his companions, prisoners on the island of Malsmai, in 1812, to be forwarded to Jedo, bore not the least resemblance to the originals.†

* No such province is mentioned in the lists of Japanese provinces by father Rodriguez, Kämpfer and Klaproth.

† "They wished to have our portraits taken at full length; and Teske, who knew how to draw, was appointed to execute them. He drew them in India ink, but in such a style that each portrait would have passed for that of any other individual as well as of him it was intended for. Except the long beard, we could trace no resemblance in them. The Japanese, however, sent them to the capital, where they were probably hung up in some of their galleries of pictures." — *Golownin's Captivity in Japan*, vol. i., ch. 4.

CHAPTER III.

PINTO'S SECOND VISIT TO JAPAN. — ANGIRO, OR PAUL OF THE HOLY FAITH. — A. D. 1547—1548.

AFTER a great variety of haps and mishaps in Pegu, Siam, Java and elsewhere, Fernam Mendez Pinto represents himself as having embarked a second time for Japan, in a ship commanded by George Alvarez, which sailed from Malacca in the year 1547. In twenty-six days they made the island of Tanixuma, nine leagues south of the main land of Japan; and on the fifth day afterwards, reached Fucheo, in the kingdom of Bungo, a hundred leagues to the north. The king and the inhabitants gave them a very friendly reception; but, very shortly after their arrival, a civil commotion broke out, in which the king was murdered with most of his family and a number of Portuguese who were in his service, the city being set on fire during the outbreak, and great numbers killed on both sides.

One of the king's sons, who, when this event occurred, happened to be at the fortress of Osqui, seven leagues distance, would have proceeded at once to Fucheo, but for the advice of his tutor, Fingeindono, the same name, with the change of a single vowel, borne by the ambassador of the king of Bungo, under whose guidance Pinto, according to his former narrative, had first visited Fucheo. This person advised the young prince first to collect a sufficient army; and of the Japanese method of calling to arms Pinto gives the following account. Every housekeeper, high and low, was required to keep by him a conch-shell, which, under severe penalties, could be sounded on four occasions only — tumults, fire, thieves and treason. To distinguish what the alarm was for, the shell was sounded once for tumult, twice for fire, three times for thieves, and four times for treason. So soon as the alarm of treason was

sounded, every householder who heard it was obliged to repeat it. And upon the signal thus given, and which spread from house to house, and village to village, all were obliged to march armed to the spot whence it came, the whole population of the district being thus very soon collected.

By this means, in the course of seven days, during three of which the young prince lamented his murdered relatives at a convent of bonzes in a grove near the city, after which he proceeded to confiscate the estates of the rebels, Pinto collects for him an army, — he is generally pretty liberal in such matters, — estimated at one hundred and thirty thousand men, of whom seventeen thousand were cavalry. The multitude thus collected breeding a famine, the prince marched upon Fucheo, where he was received with great demonstrations of loyalty. But, before repairing to the palace, he stopped at the temple where the body of his father was lying, whose obsequies he celebrated with much pomp, the observance lasting through two nights, with a great display of torches and illuminations. The closing ceremony was the presentation to the son of the bloody garments of the father, on which he swore that he would show no mercy to the traitors, even though to save their lives they might turn bonzes; but that, rather than allow them to escape, he would destroy every convent or temple in which they might take refuge.

On the fourth day, having been inaugurated as king, but with little pomp, he marched with a still increasing army against the rebels, who, to the number of ten thousand, had entrenched themselves on a neighboring hill, where, being surrounded by the royal forces, rather than surrender, they were cut off to a man.

The city of Fucheo was left almost in ruins by this civil war; and the Portuguese, despairing of being able to find purchasers for their goods, proceeded to the city of Hyamonyoo, ninety leagues to the southward, on the bay of Cangoxima, where they remained for two months and a half, unable to sell their cargo, as the market was completely overstocked by Chinese merchandise, which had been poured in such quantities into the Japanese ports as to be worth much less than it was in China. Pinto and his company were entirely at a loss what to do; but from this dilemma they were delivered, as Pinto will have it, by the special providence of

the Most High; for, at the new moon of December, a terrible storm occurred, in which almost the whole of these foreign traders were destroyed, to the incredible number, as Pinto relates, of near two thousand vessels, including twenty-six belonging to the Portuguese. Of the whole number, only ten or a dozen escaped, among them that in which Pinto was, which afterwards disposed of her lading to very good profit. So they got ready to depart, well pleased to see themselves so rich, but sad at having made their gains at the cost of so many lives, both of countrymen and strangers. Three times, however, they were detained by accidents, the last time barely escaping — by the help of the Virgin Mary, as Pinto insists — being carried by the strong current upon a dangerous reef; just at which moment they saw approaching the shore, in great haste, two men on horseback, making signs to them with a cloth. The preceding night four slaves, one of whom belonged to Pinto, had escaped from the vessel; and, thinking to receive some news of them, Pinto went in the boat with two companions. "Coming to the shore," he says, "where the two men on horseback awaited us, one of them, who seemed the principal person, said to me, 'Sir, as the haste I am in admits of no delay, being in great fear of some people who are in pursuit of me, I beg of you, for the love of God, that, without suggesting doubts or weighing inconveniences, you will receive me at once on board your ship.' At which words of his, I was so much embarrassed," says Pinto, "as hardly to know what to do, and the more so, as I recollected having twice seen him in Hyamonyoo, in the company of some merchants of that city. Scarcely had I received him and his companion into the boat, when fourteen men on horseback made their appearance, approaching at full speed, and crying out to me, 'Give up that traitor, or we will kill you!' Others soon after came up, both horsemen and on foot; whereupon I put off to the distance of a good bow-shot, and inquired what they wanted. To which they made answer, 'If thou dost carry off that Japanese, know that a thousand heads, of fellows like thee, shall pay the forfeit of it.' To all which," says Pinto, "I replied not a word, but, pulling to the ship, got on board with the two Japanese, who were well received, and provided by the captain and the other Portuguese with everything necessary for so long a voyage." The name of this fugitive was Angiro, "an instru-

ment selected by the Lord," so Pinto piously observes, "for his praise, and the exaltation of the holy faith."

In fourteen days, the ship reached Chincheo, but found the mouth of the river leading to it blockaded by a famous Chinese corsair, with a great fleet; to avoid whom they turned aside and sailed for Malacca.

In this city Pinto met, apparently for the first time, with Master Francis Xavier, general superior or provincial of the order of the Jesuits in India, in all parts of which occupied by the Portuguese he had already attained a high reputation for self-devotion, sanctity, and miraculous power; and who was then at Malacca, on his return to Goa, from a mission on which he had lately been to the Moluccas. "The father," says Pinto, "had received intelligence of our arrival, and that we had brought with us the Japanese Angiro. He came to visit George Alvarez and myself, in the house of one Cosmo Rodriguez, where we lodged, and passed almost a whole day with us in curious inquiries (all founded on his lively zeal for the honor of God) about the countries we had visited; in the course of which I told him, not knowing that he knew it already, that we had brought with us two Japanese, one of whom appeared to be a man of consideration, well skilled in the laws and religion of Japan. Whereupon he expressed great desire to see him; in consequence of which, we brought him to the hospital, where the father lodged, who received him gladly and took him to India, whither he was then on his way. Having arrived at Goa, Angiro there became a Christian, taking the name of Paulo de Santa Fe [Paul of the Holy Faith], and in a short time learnt to read and write Portuguese, and mastered the whole Christian doctrine; so that the father only waited for the monsoon, to go to announce to the heathen of the isle of Japan, Christ, the Son of the living God, nailed to the cross for our sins (as he was accustomed to do), and to take this man with him as an interpreter, as he afterwards did, and his companion also, who, as well as himself, professed the Christian faith, and received from the father the name of John."

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGIOUS FAITH THREE CENTURIES AGO. — ZEAL OF THE PORTUGUESE CONQUERORS. — ANTONIO GALVANO. — MISSIONARY SEMINARIES AT TERNATE AND GOA. — ORDER OF THE JESUITS. — FRANCIS XAVIER. — HIS MISSION TO INDIA. — HIS MISSION TO JAPAN. — HIS COMPANION, COSME DE TORRES. — THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. — A. D. 1542—1550.

THREE centuries ago the religious faith of Europe was much more energetic and active than at present. With all imaginative minds, even those of the highest order, the popular belief had, at that time, all the force of undoubted reality. Michael Angelo and Raphael embodied it in marble and colors; and it is difficult to say which impulse was the stronger with the Portuguese and Spanish adventurers of that age, — the fierce thirst for gold and glory, which they felt as we feel it now, or a passionate desire for the propagation of their religious faith, such indeed as is still talked about, and feebly exhibited in action, but in which the great bulk of the community, especially the more cultivated part of it, takes at present either no interest, or a very slight one.

The Portuguese adventurers in the East, wherever they went, were accompanied by friars, mostly Franciscans, and the building of magnificent churches was one of the first things attended to.

Of all these adventurers, few, if indeed a single one, have left so respectable a character as Antonio Galvano, already mentioned. governor of the Moluccas from 1536 to 1540, which islands, from a state of violent hostility to the Portuguese, and rebellion against them, he brought back to quiet and willing submission. Not less distinguished for piety than for valor and disinterestedness, Galvano made every effort to diffuse among the natives of the oriental archipelago a knowledge of the Catholic faith; and with that view he established at Ternate, seat of the Portuguese government of the

Moluccas, a seminary for the education of boys of superior abilities, to be collected from various nations, who, upon arriving at maturity, might preach the gospel, each in his own country — an institution which the Council of Trent not long after warmly approved.

By the efforts of Galvano and others, a similar seminary, sometimes called Paul's, and sometimes Of the Holy Faith, had been erected at Goa, lately made the seat of an Indian bishopric, — and it was at this seminary, endowed and enriched by the spoils of many heathen temples, that the Japanese Angiro was placed by Xavier for his education. The names which he adopted at his baptism, Paul of the Holy Faith, were, as it thus appears, those of the seminary at which he had been educated.

But the efforts hitherto made in India on behalf of the Catholic faith, if earnest, had been desultory. The establishment of the order of Jesuits, in 1540, laid the foundation for a systematic attack upon the religious systems of the East, and an attempt at a spiritual revolution there, neither less vigorous nor less pertinacious than that which, for the forty years preceding, had been carried on by the new comers from the West against the political, commercial and social institutions of those countries.

The leader in this enterprise was Francis Aspilcota, surnamed Xavier, one of the seven associates of whom the infant Society of Jesus, destined soon to become so powerful and so famous, originally consisted. He was born in 1506, in Navarre, at the foot of the Pyrenees, the youngest son of a noble and numerous family, of whom the younger members, and he among the rest, bore the surname of Xavier. Not inclining to the profession of arms, embraced by the rest of the family, after preliminary studies at home, he went to Paris, and was first a student at the College of St. Barbe, and afterwards, at the age of twenty-two, professor of philosophy in that of Beauvais. It was in this latter station that he first became acquainted with Ignatius Loyola, who, fifteen years older than Xavier, had come to Paris to pursue, as preparatory to a course of theology, those rudimentary studies which had not been thought necessary for the military destination of his earlier days. This remarkable Spaniard, whose military career had been cut short by a wound, which made him a cripple, had already been for years a religious devotee; and having been from his youth thoroughly

impregnated with the current ideas of romantic chivalry, he was already turning in his mind the formation of a new monastic order, which should carry into religion the spirit of the romances. Xavier, with whom he lived at Paris on intimate terms, — they slept, indeed, in the same bed, — was one of Loyola's first disciples; and on the day of the Assumption, August 16, 1534, they two, with five others, of whom three or four were still students, in a subterranean chapel of the church of the abbey of Montmartre, united at a celebration of mass by Le Fevre, who was already a priest, and in the consecration of themselves by a solemn vow to religious duties. This rudimentary order included, along with Loyola and Xavier, three other Spaniards, Lainez, Salmaron, and Boabdilla, Rodrigues, a Portuguese, and Le Fevre, a Savoyard, — all afterwards distinguished. A mission to Jerusalem, which Loyola had already visited, was at that time their leading idea.

Loyola then returned home, the others remaining at Paris; but with an agreement to meet at Venice before the close of the year 1536, at which meeting three more were added to their number. A scheme of the order was subsequently drawn up, which, besides the vows of chastity and poverty, and of absolute obedience, as to God, to a general of the order, to be elected for life, included, instead of the mission to Jerusalem, which the war with the Turks made impracticable, a vow to go wherever the Pope might send them for the salvation of souls. To procure the sanction of the Pope, Loyola, with Lainez and Le Fevre, spent several years at Rome. His scheme, having been referred to a commission, was approved by Paul III., by a bull, bearing date September 27th, 1640, in which the name of "Clerks of the Society of Jesus" was bestowed upon the order, which was limited, however, to sixty members. Loyola was elected, early in 1541, the first general; and by a subsequent bull of Julian III., dated March 15, 1543, the society was allowed to increase its members indefinitely. Its object was the maintenance of the absolute authority of the church as personified in the Pope, not only by resisting the rebellion against it, then lately set on foot by Luther in Germany, but by extending the domination of the Pope into all parts of the world. To guard against the corruptions of preceding orders, the members were not to accept of any church preferment, except by the positive

command of the Pope, nor of any fees for religious services; nor could the houses of the professed and the coädjutors (the two highest ranks of the order) have any endowments, though the colleges and novitiates might.

That which gave the Jesuits their first success was their introduction of good works, acts of charity and humanity, a care for the salvation of others, as well as their own, into the first class of duties. Instead of being bound, like the other Catholic orders, to a peculiar garb and the stated repetition of formal prayers and ceremonies, they wore the ordinary clerical dress, and their time was to be divided between mental prayers and good works, of which the education of youth, the direction of consciences, and the comfort and care of the poor and sick, were the principal. In this latter service, novices, or probationers, who must be at least fourteen years of age, of sound body, of good abilities and fair character, were to be tried for two years. From the novitiate, after taking the vows, the neophytes passed into the colleges, to which also were attached schools for lay pupils. From the colleges they might be admitted coädjutors and professed, which latter class must have studied theology for four years. These two latter ranks were to live in professed houses, which, unlike the colleges and novitiates, could have no property, but must be supported by alms. The coädjutors were of two classes: those admitted to holy orders, from which class the rectors of the colleges were appointed; and the lay coädjutors, furnishing cooks, stewards, agents, and the business men generally of the society. The professed and the coädjutors must renounce all claim to hereditary succession, not for themselves only, but for the society also. There were, however, a class of lay coadjutors who simply took the vows, yet continued to enjoy their property and lived in the world.

What added to the efficiency of the order was its strict military organization. It had nothing about it of the republican cast of the other Catholic orders, in which rotation in office occurred, chapters were frequent, and many points were decided by a majority of votes. The general of the Jesuits, chosen for life by a select congregation, had absolute authority, as had also, under him, each in his sphere, the provincials, the vice-provincials, the superiors of professed houses, and the rectors of colleges, all of whom the

general might appoint and remove at pleasure. The general received monthly reports from the provincials and vice-provincials, quarterly ones from the superiors of professed houses, and rectors of colleges, and half-yearly ones from every professed member. Every member was bound to report to his immediate superior his own misconduct or that of any of his companions.

John III., of Portugal, though very desirous of sending out a competent supply of spiritual laborers to his dominions in the East, could hardly find the means for it at home. There was but a single university — that of Coimbra — in all Portugal, and that not much frequented. John, it is true, had exerted himself in behalf of that institution, by inviting professors not only from Spain, but from Germany and Italy; but as yet the few Portuguese who devoted themselves to study sought their education, for the most part, at Complutum, or Salamanca, and some of them at Paris. In this dearth of Portuguese laborers, having heard some rumor of the new order of the Jesuits, John charged his ambassador at Rome to request the founder, Ignatius, to send him for service in India not less than six members of it. Loyola, who had other schemes on foot, could spare only two, one of whom, Rodriguez, the original Portuguese of the order, remained behind in Portugal to organize the society there, where he established at Coimbra the first Jesuit college. The other was Xavier, to whom, as a test of his obedience — though, the order being as yet not formally authorized, Loyola had no legal authority over him — the command for his departure was communicated only the day beforehand, leaving him scarcely time, before setting out upon so distant a journey, to say farewell to his friends, and to get the rents mended in his tattered and thread-bare cloak. He was indeed able to get ready the easier, not having, like our modern missionaries, the incumbrance or the comfort of a wife and children, and no baggage to impede his movements, beyond his prayer-book and the clothes on his back.

Arriving at Lisbon, he waited on the king, but immediately upon leaving the palace proceeded, as was his wont, to the public hospital, devoting all his time, till the ships were ready, to the care and consolation of the sick and dying. While here he received from the Pope the appointment of apostolic nuncio for India, with full powers. Of all the offers made to him of an outfit for the

voyage he would for a long time accept of nothing; but at last, lest he should seem too obstinate, he consented to receive some coarse cloaks, to be used in passing the Cape of Good Hope, one for himself, and one for each of the two companions who were to accompany him; likewise a few books, of which he understood there was a great scarcity in India. To the offer pressed upon him of the service of a boy to attend to his daily wants during the voyage, he replied, "While I have hands and feet of my own I shall need no servant." The matter being still urged, with the remark that it was unfitting for a man in his position to be openly seen among the crowd of sailors and passengers washing his clothes or cooking his daily food, "You see," he answered, "to what a pass this art of preserving one's dignity has brought the commonwealth of Christendom! For my part, there is no office, however humble, which, provided there be no sin in it, I cannot upon occasion perform." This was a specimen of his whole conduct throughout the voyage, which commenced April 7, 1541, giving rise to a remark of the captain of the fleet, that it was even harder to make Xavier accept anything than it was to get rid of other men's importunities.

All this self-sacrifice, accompanied as it was by a most careful attention to the wants of others, was not without its reward. It gave Xavier — not to mention his subsequent canonization — an immense reputation with his fellow-voyagers, and a great influence over them, which he did not fail to exercise. Already, amid all this early austerity, the principles of Jesuitism were fully developed. Xavier addressed everybody, even the most notorious profligates, with mild familiarity, no severity in his face, no harshness in his words. He even volunteered himself as a sociable companion, and thus acquired an influence the greater because it was hardly perceived by those who submitted to it, so that he was generally said, by those who knew him best, to have accomplished much more by his familiar conversation than even by his public preaching, — of the effects of which, however, very extraordinary stories were told.

He arrived at Goa in May, 1542, and, taking lodgings at a hospital, entered at once with great zeal on the duties of his office as Pope's nuncio, provincial in India of the order of Jesuits, and apostolical missionary, professing, however, entire submission to the bishop of Goa. Passing through the streets, bell in hand, he called

the children, women and servants, to be catechised, and, to help the memory and catch the ear, he put the catechism into rhyme. But it was not merely to the Christian population that he confined his labors. He had to encounter the scornful fanaticism of the Mahometans, who, setting out from Arabia, had preceded the Portuguese by centuries in commercial and military visits to the coasts of India and the eastern islands, and who had in many places largely diffused their religion. He had to meet the insolent bigotry of the twice-born Brahmins, who, through the system of castes, held society fast bound, helpless and stationary, in the fetters of an all-pervading superstition. Jewish scoffers were also to be met. In fact, all sects seemed to be brought together in southern India, including even an ancient form of Christianity, a remnant of the followers of Zoroaster, from Persia, and in Ceylon, Buddhists. After a year's stay at Goa, Xavier proceeded to the southern point of Hindostan, about Cape Comorin, the pearl-fishers of which region had, for the sake of Portuguese protection, professed the Christian religion, of which, however, they knew nothing but the name. Having preached for a year or more in this district, he passed to the neighboring territories of the Coromandel coast, where there already existed the remains before referred to of an ancient Christianity, originally propagated, it seems probable, by Nestorian missionaries, of the fifth or sixth century, but which the Portuguese insisted upon ascribing to St. Thomas, the apostle, about whose life and labors in the East a whole volume of fables was, between them and the native Christians, speedily manufactured.

Incapable of staying long in one place, from India Xavier soon proceeded to Malacca, where he arrived towards the close of 1545, and whence the next spring he set out on a missionary journey through the Moluccas. It was on his return from this last expedition that he first met with the Japanese Angiro, at Malacca, — as related, after Pinto, in the preceding chapter, — with whom he arrived at Goa in March, 1548. The Japanese were placed, as has been mentioned, in the seminary of St. Paul; and so delighted was Xavier with their progress and fervor, as to resolve to undertake, after visiting his churches at Cape Comorin, a new mission to Japan.

We have seen the account given by Pinto of the origin of the acquaintance between Xavier and Angiro. The biographers of the

saint, and the Jesuit historians of the Japanese mission, embellish this story by the addition of several romantic particulars. Angiro, they tell us, had long been troubled with remorse of conscience, for which he could find no remedy, and which he only aggravated in the attempt to cure it by retiring for a time to a Japanese monastery of bonzes. Having made the acquaintance of some of the earliest Portuguese adventurers to Japan, he consulted them as to this malady, one of whom, by name Alvares Vaz, having heard the fame of Xavier, strongly advised the inquiring Japanese to seek his assistance. Angiro was much inclined to do so; but the danger and distance of the voyage deterred him, till, having killed a man in a rencontre, the fear of arrest drove him to embark on the first vessel he could find, which happened to be a Portuguese ship bound for Malacca, and commanded by George Alvarez, a great admirer of Xavier's. The good example and edifying discourse of this pious sea-captain brought Angiro to the determination to become a Catholic; but being disappointed in finding Xavier as he had expected, or, according to other accounts, being refused baptism by the vicar of the bishop of Goa resident at Malacca, he thought no more but of returning home again, and with that object, not meeting with any ship bound direct for Japan, he embarked for Chincheo, in China. Thence he sailed for home; but a terrible storm drove him back to the port he had left, reviving also his almost forgotten resolution to become a Catholic, in which he was the more confirmed by happening to find in the harbor his old Portuguese friend, Alvares Vaz, in command of a ship on her way back to India. Yielding to the persuasions of this old friend, Angiro sailed in his ship for Malacca; and, on landing there, the very first person whom he met was George Alvarez, who immediately took him to Xavier. These accounts also give him two Japanese servants, both of whom are stated to have accompanied him to Goa, and to have been baptised, one by the name of John, the other by that of Anthony. And this last part of the story is confirmed by a letter of Xavier's, dated July, 1549, and written from Malacca on his way to Japan, in which letter he gives an interesting, and at the same time characteristic, account of his converts, very much in substance, and even in expression, like what we may read in the very latest missionary reports.

"No sooner," he writes, "had they been cleansed by the waters of baptism, than the divine goodness shed upon them such delight, and brought them to such a sense of God's beneficence towards them, that through pious and spiritual joy they melted into tears. In all the virtues they made such a progress as to afford us a pleasant and useful subject of conversation. They also learnt to read and write, and diligently attended at the appointed seasons of prayer. When inquired of by me what subject of contemplation affected them most, they answered, the sufferings of our Lord; and, therefore, to this contemplation they chiefly applied themselves. They studied also the articles of faith, the means of redemption, and the other Christian mysteries. To my frequent inquiries what religious rites they found profited them the most, they always answered, confession and communion; adding, also, that they did not see how any reasonable man could hesitate to assent to and obey the requirements of Christian discipline. Paul of the Holy Faith, one of the number, I once heard bursting out, with sighs, into these exclamations: 'O, miserable Japanese! who adore as deities the very things which God has made for your service!' And when I asked him to what he referred, he answered, 'Because they worship the sun and the moon, things made to serve those who know the Lord Jesus; for to what other end are they made, except to illuminate both day and night, in order that men may employ that light in the worship and to the glory of God and his Son?'"

He mentions, in the same letter, that the voyage to Japan was so dangerous, that not more than two vessels out of three were expected to arrive there in safety. He even seems to have had some temptations to abandon the enterprise; but in spite of numerous obstacles put in his way, as he will have it, by the great adversary of mankind, he determined to persevere, especially as letters from Japan gave encouraging information of the desire there for Christian instruction, on the part of a prince of the country who had been much impressed by the efficacy of the sign of the cross, as employed by certain Portuguese merchants, in driving the evil spirits from a haunted house.

Another letter of Xavier's, written from Cangoxima, in Japan, and dated in November, 1549, about three months after his arrival, gives an account of his voyage thither.

Taking with him the three Japanese, Cosme de Torres, a priest, and Jean Fernandes, a brother of the society, — of which, besides several who had joined it in India, some ten or twelve members had followed Xavier from Portugal, and had been distributed in various services, — he sailed in the ship of a Chinese merchant, who had agreed with the Portuguese commander at Malacca to carry him to Japan. As Pinto tells the story, this merchant was a corsair, and so notorious a one as to go by the name of the Robber. Xavier says nothing of that, but complains of the levity and vacillation natural to barbarians, which made the captain linger at the islands where he touched, at the risk of losing the monsoon and being obliged to winter in China. Xavier was also greatly shocked at the assiduous worship paid by the mariners to an idol which they had on board, and before which they burnt candles and odoriferous wood, seeking oracles from it as to the result of the voyage. "What were our feelings, and what we suffered, you can well imagine," he exclaims, "at the thought that this demon should be consulted as to the whole course of our journey!"

After touching at Canton, the Chinese captain, instead of sailing thence to Japan, as he had promised, followed the coast north toward Chincheo; but hearing, when he approached that port, that it was blockaded by a corsair, he put off in self-defence for Japan, and arrived safe in the port of Cangoxima.

Angiro, or Paul as he was now called, was well received by his relations, and forty days were spent by Xavier in laborious application to the rudiments of the language, and by Paul in translating into Japanese the ten commandments, and other parts of the Christian faith, which Xavier determined, so he writes, to have printed as soon as possible, especially as most of the Japanese could read. Angiro also devoted himself to exhortations and arguments among his relations and friends, and soon made converts of his wife and daughter, and many besides, of both sexes. An interview was had with the king of Satsuma, — in which province Cangoxima was situated, — and he presently issued an edict allowing his subjects to embrace the new faith. This beginning seemed promising; but Xavier already anticipated a violent opposition so soon as his object came to be fully understood. He drew consolation, however, from the spiritual benefits enjoyed by himself, "since in these

remote regions," so he wrote, "amid the impious worshippers of demons, so very far removed from almost every mortal aid and consolation, we almost of necessity, as it were, forget and lose ourselves in God, which hardly can happen in a Christian land, where the love of parents and country, intimacies, friendships and affinities, and helps at hand both for body and mind, intervene, as it were, between man and God, to the forgetfulness of the latter." And what tended to confirm this spiritual state of mind was the entire freedom in Japan "from those delights which elsewhere stimulate the flesh and break down the strength of mind and body. The Japanese," he wrote, "rear no animals for food. Sometimes they eat fish; — they have a moderate supply of rice and wheat; but they live, for the most part, on vegetables and fruits; and yet they attain to such a good old age, as clearly to show how little nature, elsewhere so insatiable, really demands."

Angiro himself wrote at the same time a short letter to the brethren at Goa, but it adds nothing to the information contained in Xavier's.

The following account, which Cosme de Torres,* a Spaniard by birth, Xavier's principal assistant, and his successor at the head of the mission, gives of himself in a letter written from Goa to the Society in Europe, just before setting out, shows, like other cases to be mentioned hereafter, that it was by no means merely from the class of students that the order of the Jesuits was at its commencement recruited.

Though always inclined, so Cosme writes, to religion, yet many things and various desires for a long time distracted him. In the year 1538, in search he knew not of what, he sailed from Spain to the Canaries, whence he visited the West Indies and the continent of New Spain, where he passed four years in the greatest abundance, and satiety even, of this world's goods. But desiring something greater and more solid, in 1542 he embarked on board a fleet of six ships, fitted out by Mendosa, the viceroy of New Spain, to explore and occupy the islands of the Pacific, discovered by Magellan in 1521. Standing westward, on the fifty-fifth day they fell in, so Cosme writes, with a numerous cluster of very small, low islands, of which the inhabitants lived on fish and the leaves of

* In the Latin version of the Jesuit letters he is called Cosmus Turrianus.

trees. Ten days after, they saw a beautiful island, covered with palms, but the wind prevented their landing. In another ten or twelve days, the ships reached the great island of Mindanao, two hundred leagues in circumference, but with few inhabitants. Sailing thence to the south they discovered a small island abounding in meat and rice; but having, during half a year's residence, lost four hundred men in contests with the natives, who used poisoned arrows, they sailed to the Moluccas, where they remained about two years, till it was finally resolved, not having the means to get back to New Spain, to apply to the Portuguese governor to forward them to Goa. At Amboina, Cosme met with Xavier, whose conversation revived his religious inclinations; and, proceeding to Goa, he was ordained a priest by the bishop there, who placed him in charge of a cure. But he found no peace of mind till he betook himself to the college of St. Paul (which seems by this time to have passed into the hands of the Jesuits), being the more confirmed in his resolution to join the order, by the return of Xavier to Goa, whose invitation to accompany him to Japan he joyfully accepted, and where he continued for twenty years to labor as a missionary.

Cosme, in his letter above quoted, says nothing of any hostile collision of the Spanish ships, in which he reached the East, with the Portuguese; but it appears, from Galvano's account of this expedition, that such collision did take place. He also gives, as the reason why the Spaniards did not land on Mindanao, the opposition they experienced from some of the princes of it, who, by his own recent efforts, had been converted to Catholicism; and who, having given their obedience to him, would by no means incur his displeasure by entertaining these interloping Spaniards.

One of the Spanish ships was sent back to New Spain with news of their success thus far. This ship passed among the northern islands of the group, which seem now first to have received the name of the *Philippines*. Another fleet sailed from Seville, in the year 1544, to coöperate with Rui Lopes; but none of the ships succeeded in passing the Straits of Magellan, except one small bark, which ran up the coast to Peru. The Spaniards made no further attempts in the East till the expiration of ten years or more, when the Philippines were finally colonized — an event not without its influence upon the affairs of Japan.

CHAPTER V.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF JAPAN, AS FOUND BY THE PORTUGUESE. — THE JACATAS, OR KINGS, AND THEIR VASSALS. — REVENUES. — MONEY. — DISTINCTION OF RANKS. — THE KUBO-SAMA. — THE DAIRI. — SINTO. — BUDDHISM. — SIUTO. — A. D. 1550.

JAPAN, as found by the Portuguese, embraced three large islands, besides many smaller ones. XIMO (or KIUSIU), the most southern and western of the group, and the one with which the Portuguese first became acquainted, is separated at the north, by a narrow strait, from the much larger island of NIPON, forming with its western portion a right angle, within which the third and much smaller island of SIKOKF is included. These islands were found to be divided into sixty-six separate governments, or kingdoms, of which Nipon contained fifty-three, Ximo (or Kiusiu) nine, and Sikokf four — the numerous smaller islands being reckoned as appurtenant to one or another of the three larger ones. These kingdoms, grouped into eight, or rather nine, larger divisions, and subdivided into principalities, of which, in all, there were not less than six hundred, had originally (at least such was the Japanese tradition) been provinces of a consolidated empire; but by degrees and by dint of civil wars, by which the islands had been, and still were, very much distracted, they had reached, at the period of the Portuguese discovery, a state of almost complete independence. Indeed, several of the kingdoms, like that of *Figen*, in the west part of Ximo, had still further disintegrated into independent principalities.

It still frequently happened, however, that several provinces were united under one ruler; and such was especially the case with five central provinces of Nipon, including the great cities of *Miako*, *Ozaka*, and *Sakai*, which five provinces formed the patrimony of a

prince who bore the title of *Kubo-Sama* — Sama meaning lord, and Kubo general or commander. This title the Portuguese rendered into *Emperor*, and it was almost precisely equivalent to the original sense of the *Imperator* of the Romans, though still more exactly corresponding to Cromwell's title of *Lord-general.*

This Kubo-Sama, or Siogun, as he was otherwise called, was acknowledged by all the other princes as in some respect their superior and head. The other rulers of provinces bore the title of *Sougo* or *Jacata*, which the Portuguese rendered by the term *King*. Reserving to themselves, as their personal domain, a good half of the whole extent of their territories, these chiefs divided the rest among certain great vassals, called *Tono*, *Conisu*, or *Kounidaimio*, who were bound to military service in proportion to the extent of the lands which they held; which lands, after reserving a portion for their private domain, these nobles distributed in their turn to other inferior lords, called *Joriki*, who held of them upon similar conditions of military service, and who had still beneath them, upon the same footing, a class of military vassals and tenants, called *Dosiu*, and corresponding to the men-at-arms of the feudal times of Europe. The actual cultivators of the lands — as had also been, and still to a considerable extent was, the case in feudal Europe — were in the condition of serfs.

Thus it happened, that, as in feudal Europe, so in Japan, great armies might be very suddenly raised; and war being the chief employment of the superior classes, and the only occupation, that of the priesthood excepted, esteemed honorable, the whole country was in a constant state of turbulence and commotion.

All the classes above enumerated, except the last, enjoyed the highly-prized honor of wearing two swords. One sword was worn by certain inferior officials; but merchants, traders and artisans were confounded, as to this matter, with the peasants, not being permitted to wear any. The revenue of the princes and other proprietors was, and still is, reckoned in *koku* or *kokf* of rice, each of three sacks, or bales, each bale containing (according to Titsingh) thirty-three and one third gantings — the universal Japanese measure for all articles, liquid or dry — and weighing from eighty-two to eighty-three katties, or somewhat more than a hundred of our

pounds.* Ten thousand kokf make a man-kokf, in which the revenues of the great princes are reckoned. The distinction of rank was very strictly observed, being even ingrained into the language.† Inferiors being seated on their heels, according to the Japanese fashion, testified their respect for their superiors by laying the palms of their hands on the floor, and bending their bodies so low that their foreheads almost touched the ground, in which position they remained for some seconds. This is called the *kitu*. The superior responded by laying the palms of his hands upon his knees, and nodding or bowing, more or less low, according to the rank of the other party.

As to everything that required powers of analysis, or the capacity of taking general views, the Portuguese missionaries were but poor observers; yet they could not but perceive in the *Dairi* the surviving shadow, and indeed, in the earlier days of the missions, some-

* It appears from Golownin that there are also smaller packages, of which three make the large one. The price of rice varied, of course; but Kämpfer gives five or six taels of silver as the average value of the kokf. Titsingh represents the kokf as corresponding to the gold *kobang*, the national coin of the Japanese. The original kobang weighed forty-seven konderins, or rather more than our eagle; but, till the year 1672, it passed in Japan as equivalent to about six taels of silver. The present kobang contains only half as much gold; and yet, as compared with silver, is rated still higher. The kobang is figured by Kämpfer as an oblong coin rounded at the ends, the surface, on one side, marked with four rows of indented lines, and bearing at each end the arms or symbol of the Dairi, and between them a mark showing the value, and the signature of the master of the mint. The other side was smooth, and had only the stamp of the inspector-general of gold and silver money. Kämpfer also figures the *obani*, which even in his time had become very rare, similar to the kobang, but of ten times the weight and value. A third gold coin was the *itsibo*, figured by Kämpfer as an oblong square. According to Thunburg, it was of the value of a quarter of the kobang. Silver passed by weight. The Japanese do not appear to have had any silver coins, unless lumps of irregular shape and weight, but bearing certain marks and stamps, were to be so considered. In ordinary retail transactions copper *seni*, or *kas*, as the Chinese name was, were employed. They were round, with a square hole in the middle, by which they were strung. Some were of double size and value, and some of iron. For further information on the Japanese monetary system, and on the present state and value of the Japanese circulating medium, see chapters XXV., XXXIX., and XLVI.

† See Appendix, note A.

thing more than a mere shadow, of a still more ancient form of government, in which the civil and ecclesiastical authority had both been united under one head.

The Dairi,* Vo, or Mikado, as he was otherwise designated, had for his residence the north-east quarter of Miako (a great city, not far from the centre of Nipon, but nearest the southern shore). This quarter was of vast extent, surrounded by a wall, with a ditch and rampart, by which it was separated from the rest of the city. In the midst of this fortified place, in a vast palace, easily distinguished from a distance by the height of its tower, the Dairi dwelt, with his empress or chief wife; his other eleven wives had adjoining palaces in a circle around, outside of which were the dwellings of his chamberlains and other officers. These Dairi claimed to be descended from *Syn-Mu*, who, it was said, had, A. C. 660, introduced civilization into Japan, and first established a regular government, and commencing with whom, the Japanese annals show a regular series of Dairi, who are represented as having been for many ages the sole lords and imperial rulers of Japan, till, at length, they had been insensibly set aside, as to the actual exercise of authority, by the Cubo-Sama, or commanders of the armies. Yet these gradually eclipsed and finally superseded emperors — equivalents of the "idle kings" of the Carlovingian race of France, or to the present nominal sovereign of the British empire — were, and still are, treated (as Queen Victoria is) with all the ceremonial of substantial power, and even with the respect and reverence due to the spiritual head of the national church, descended from a race of divinities, and destined at death to pass by a regular apotheosis into the list of the national gods.

All the revenue drawn from the city of Miako and its dependencies was appropriated to their support, to which the Kubo-Sama added a further sum from his treasury. He himself treated the Dairi with as much ceremonious respect and semi-worship as the British prime minister bestows upon the British queen. He paid an annual visit to the court of the Dairi in great state, and with all the carriage of an inferior; but took care to maintain a garri-

* Dairi, in its original sense, is said, by Rodriguez, in his Japanese grammar, to signify rather the court than the person of the theocratic chief to whom it is applied; and so of most of the titles mentioned in the text.

son at Miako, or its neighborhood, sufficient to repress any attempt on the part of the Dairi or his partisans to reëstablish the old order of things, — an idea which, when the islands first became known to the Portuguese, seems not yet to have been entirely abandoned.

We may trace a still further resemblance between the position of the Dairi of Japan and the Queen of England, in the circumstance that all public acts are dated by the years of his reign, and that all titles of honor nominally emanate from him, though of course obliged, as to this matter, to follow the suggestions of the Kubo-Sama. Even the Kubo-Sama himself condescends, like a British prime minister, to accept such decorations at the hands of the Dairi, affecting to feel extremely honored and flattered at titles which had been, in fact, dictated by himself.

The whole court of the Dairi, and all the inhabitants of the quarter of Miako in which he dwelt, consisted of persons who plumed themselves upon the idea of being, like the Dairi himself, descended from *Tensio Dai-Dsin*, the first of the demigods, and who in consequence looked down, like the Indian Brahmins, upon all the rest of the nation as an inferior race, distinguishing themselves as *Kuge*, and all the rest of the nation as *Gege*. These Kuge, who may be conjectured to have once formed a class resembling the old Roman patricians, all wore a particular dress, by which was indicated, not only their character as members of that order, but, by the length of their sashes, the particular rank which they held in it; a distinction the more necessary, since, as generally happens with these aristocracies of birth, many of the members were in a state of poverty, and obliged to support themselves by various handicrafts.*

Of the magnificence of the court of the Dairi, and of the ceremonials of it, the missionaries reported many stories, chiefly, of course, on the credit of hearsay. It was said that the Dairi was never allowed to breathe the common air, nor his foot to touch the ground; that he never wore the same garment twice, nor eat a

* According to Rodriguez, there had been also an ancient military nobility, called *buke;* but in the course of the civil wars many families of it had become extinct, while other humble families, who had risen by way of arms, mostly formed the existing nobility.

second time from the same dishes, which, after each meal, were carefully broken, — for, should any other person attempt to dine from them, he would infallibly perish by an inflammation of the throat. Nor could any one who attempted to wear the Dairi's cast-off garments, without his permission, escape a similar punishment. The Dairi, as we are told, was, in ancient times, obliged to seat himself every morning on his throne, with the crown on his head, and there to hold himself immovable for several hours like a statue. This immobility, it was imagined, was an augury of the tranquillity of the empire; and if he happened to move ever so little, or even to turn his eyes, war, famine, fire, or pestilence, was expected soon to afflict the unhappy province toward which he had squinted. But as the country was thus kept in a state of perpetual agitation, the happy substitute was finally hit upon of placing the crown upon the throne without the Dairi — a more fixed immobility being thus assured; and, as Kämpfer dryly observes, one doubtless producing much the same good effects.

At the time of the arrival of Xavier in Japan the throne of the Dairi was filled by Gonara, the hundred and sixth, according to the Japanese chronicles, in the order of succession; while the throne of the Kubo-Sama was occupied by Josi Far, who was succeeded, the next year, by his son, Josi Tir, the twenty-fourth of these officers, according to the Japanese, since their assumption of sovereign power in the person of Joritomo, A. D. 1185.

The Japanese annals, which are scarcely more than a chronological table of successions, cast little light upon the causes and progress of this revolution; * but, from the analogy of similar cases, we may conjecture that it was occasioned, at least in part, by the introduction into Japan, and the spread there, of a new religion, gradually super-

* According to the Japanese historical legends, the office of Cubo-Sama, originally limited to the infliction of punishments and the suppression of crimes, was shared, for many ages, between the two families of Ghenji and Feiji, till about 1180, when a civil war broke out between these families, and, the latter, having triumphed, assumed such power that the Dairi commissioned Joritomo, a member of the defeated family of Ghenji, to inflict punishment upon him. Joritomo renewed the war, killed Feiji, and was himself appointed Kubo-Sama, but ended with usurping a greater power than any of his predecessors.

seding, to a great extent, the old system, of which the Dairi was the head.

One might have expected from the Portuguese missionaries a pretty exact account of the various creeds and sects of Japan, or, at least, of the two leading religions, between which the great bulk of the people were divided; instead of which they confound perpetually the ministers of the two religions under the common name of bonzes, taking very little pains to distinguish between two systems both of which they regarded as equally false and pernicious. Their attention, indeed, seems to have been principally fixed on the new religion, that of Buddha, or Fo, of which the adherents were by far the most numerous, and the hierarchy the most compact and formidable, presenting, in its organization and practices (with, however, on some points a very different set of doctrines), a most singular counterpart to the Catholic church, — a similarity which the missionaries could only explain by the theory of a diabolical imitation; and which some subsequent Catholic writers have been inclined to ascribe, upon very unsatisfactory grounds, to the ancient labors of Armenian and Nestorian missionaries, being extremely unwilling to admit what seems, however, very probable, if not, indeed, certain, — little attention has as yet been given to this interesting inquiry, — that some leading ideas of the Catholic church have been derived from Buddhist sources, whose missionaries, while penetrating, as we know they did, to the East, and converting entire nations, may well be supposed not to have been without their influence also on the West.

Notwithstanding, however, the general prevalence, at the time when Japan first became known to Europeans, of the doctrine of Buddha, — of which there would seem to have been quite a number of distinct observances, not unlike the different orders of monks and friars in the Catholic church, — it appears, as well from the memoirs of the Jesuit missionaries, as from more exact and subsequent observations made by residents in the Dutch service, that there also existed another and more ancient religious system, with which the person and authority of the Dairi had been and still were closely identified. This system was known as the religion of *Sinto*, or of the *Kami* — a name given not only to the seven mythological personages, or celestial gods, who compose the first Japanese dynasty, and to the five demigods, or terrestrial gods, who compose the second

(two dynasties which, as in the similar mythology of the Egyptians and Hindoos, were imagined to have extended through immense and incomprehensible ages preceding the era of Syn-Mu), but including also the whole series of the Dairi, who traced their descent from the first of the demigods, and who, though regarded during their lives as mere men, yet at their deaths underwent, as in the case of the Roman Cæsars, a regular apotheosis, by which they were added to the number of the Kami, or *Sin*, — words both of which had the same signification, namely, inhabitants of heaven.* A like apotheosis was also extended to all who had seemed to deserve it by their sanctity, their miracles, or their great benefactions.

The Kami of the first dynasty, the seven superior gods, being regarded as too elevated above the earth to concern themselves in what is passing on it, the chief object of the worship of the adherents of this ancient system was the goddess Tensio Dai-Dsin, already mentioned as the first of the demigods, and the supposed progenitor of the Dairi, and of the whole order of the Kuge. Of this Tensio Dai-Dsin, and of her heroic and miraculous deeds, a vast many fables were in circulation. Even those who had quitted the ancient religion to embrace the new sects paid a sort of worship to the pretended mother of the Japanese nation; and there was not a considerable city in the empire in which there was not a temple to her honor. On the other hand, the religion of the Kami, by its doctrine of the apotheosis of all great saints and great heroes, gave, like the old pagan religions, a hospitable reception to all new gods, so that even the rival demigod, Buddha, came to be regarded by many as identical with Tensio Dai-Dsin, — a circumstance which will serve to explain the great intermixture of religious ideas found in Japan, and the alleged fact, very remarkable, if true, that, till after the arrival of the Portuguese missionaries, religious persecution had never been known there.

Each of these numerous demigods was supposed by the adherents of the religion of Sinto to preside over a special paradise of his

* The word Kami is also doubly used as a title of honor conferred with the sanction of the Dairi, somewhat equivalent, says Kämpfer, in one case, to the European title of chevalier, and in the other, to that of count. Golownin insists that it implies something spiritual.

own; this one in the air, that one at the bottom of the sea, one in the moon and another in the sun, and so on; and each devotee, choosing his god according to the paradise that pleased him best, spared no pains to gain admission into it. For what St. Paul had said of the Athenians, might, according to the missionaries, be applied with equal truth to the Japanese — they were excessively superstitious, and this superstition had so multiplied temples, that there was scarcely a city in which, counting all the smaller chapels, the number did not seem at least equal to that of the most pious Catholic countries.

The temples of the Sinto religion, called *Mias*, were and still are — for in this respect no change has taken place — ordinarily built upon eminences, in retired spots, at a distance from bustle and business, surrounded by groves and approached by a grand avenue having a gate of stone or wood, and bearing a tablet or door-plate, of a foot and a half square, which announces, in gilded letters, the name of the Kami to whom the temple is consecrated. These exterior appendages would seem to foretell a considerable structure; but within there is usually found only a wretched little building of wood, half hid among trees and shrubbery, about eighteen feet in length, breadth and height, all its dimensions being equal, and with only a single grated window, through which the interior may be seen empty, or containing merely a mirror of polished metal, set in a frame of braided straw, or hung about with fringes of white paper. Just within the entrance of the enclosure stands a basin of water, by washing in which the worshippers may purify themselves. Beside the temple is a great chest for the reception of alms, partly by which, and partly by an allowance from the Dairi, the guardians of the temples are supported, while at the gate hangs a gong, on which the visitant announces his arrival. Most of these temples have also an antechamber, in which sit those who have the charge, clothed in rich garments. There are commonly also in the enclosure a number of little chapels, or miniature temples, portable so as to be carried in religious processions. All of these temples are built after one model, the famous one of *Isje*, near the centre of the island of Nipon, and which within the enclosure is equally humble with all the rest.

The worship consists in prayers and prostrations. Works of

religious merit are, casting a contribution into the alms-chest, and avoiding or expiating the impurities supposed to be the consequence of being touched by blood, of eating of the flesh of any quadruped except the deer, and to a less extent even that of any bird, of killing any animal, of coming in contact with a dead person, or even, among the more scrupulous, of seeing, hearing of, or speaking of any such impurities. To these may be added, as works of religious merit, the celebration of festivals, of which there are two principal ones in each month, being the first and fifteenth day of it, besides five greater ones distributed through the year, and lasting some of them for several days, in which concerts, spectacles and theatrical exhibitions, form a leading part. We must add the going on pilgrimages, to which, indeed, all the religious of Japan are greatly addicted. The pilgrimage esteemed by the adherents of Sinto as the most meritorious, and which all are bound to make once a year, or, at least, once in their life, is that of *Isje*, or *Ixo*, the name of a central province on the south coast of Nipon, in which Tensio Dai-Dsin was reported to have been born and to have died, and which contains a Mia exceedingly venerated, and already mentioned as the model after which all the others are built.

Though it is not at all easy to distinguish what, either of ceremony or doctrine, was peculiar or original in the system of Sinto,*

* The following system of Japanese cosmogony is given by Klaproth, as contained in an imperfect volume of Chinese and Japanese chronology, printed in Japan, in Chinese characters, without date, but which for more than a hundred years past has been in the Royal Library of Paris: "At first the heaven and the earth were not separated, the perfect principle and the imperfect principle were not disjoined; chaos, under the form of an egg, contained the breath [of life], self-produced, including the germs of all things. Then what was pure and perfect ascended upwards, and formed the heavens (or sky), while what was dense and impure coagulated, was precipitated, and produced the earth. The pure and excellent principles formed whatever is light, whilst whatever was dense and impure descended by its own gravity; consequently the sky was formed prior to the earth. After their completion, a divine being (*Kami*) was born in the midst of them. Hence, it has been said, that at the reduction of chaos, an island of soft earth emerged, as a fish swims upon the water. At this period a thing resembling a shoot of the plant *assi* [*Eryanthus Japonicus*] was produced between the heavens and the earth. This shoot was metamorphosed

yet in general that system seems to have been much less austere than the rival doctrine of Buddha, which teaches that sorrow is inseparable from existence, the only escape from it being in annihilation. The adherents of Sinto were, on the other hand, much more disposed to look upon the bright side of things, turning their religious festivals into holidays, and regarding people in sorrow and distress as unfit for the worship of the gods, whose felicity ought not to be disturbed by the sight of pain and misery. And this, perhaps, was one of the causes that enabled the religion of Buddha, which addresses itself more to the sorrowing hearts of which the world is so full, to obtain that predominancy of which the Portuguese missionaries found it in possession.

Of this religion of Buddha, by no means peculiar to Japan, but prevailing through the whole of central and south-eastern Asia, and having probably more adherents than any other religious creed, it is not necessary here to speak at any length. A much more correct idea of it is to be obtained from the recorded observations of our modern missionaries, and from the elaborate investigations of Abel Remusat, and several other learned orientalists, who have shed a flood of light upon this interesting subject, than can be gathered from the letters of the Portuguese missionaries, whose comprehension of the Buddhist doctrine was, on many important points, especially as to the cardinal one of annihilation, exceedingly confused, contradictory and erroneous; and, indeed, the same confusion and error exists in almost all European travellers in the East, down to a very recent period. Suffice it to say, that in the austerities and contempt for the world and its pleasures, practised and professed by the bonzes of the Buddhists, even Xavier and his brother Jesuits found their match; while, in the hierarchy into which those bonzes were arranged; the foreign language, imperfectly known even to themselves, of their sacred books and their liturgy, and which recent investigations have detected to be, with the bonzes of China and Japan, not Pali, alone but also pure Sanscrit; their doctrine of celibacy; the establishment of monasteries and nunneries; their

and became the god [first of the seven superior gods] who bears the honorific title of *Kami toko kontsi-no mikoto*, that is to say, the venerable one who constantly supports the empire."

orders of begging devotees; their exterior of purity and self-denial, but supposed secret licentiousness;* their fasts; their garbs; the tinkling of bells; the sign of the cross; the rosaries on which they counted their prayers; the large number of persons of noble birth who entered upon the clerical life; their manner of preaching; their religious processions; their pilgrimages; the size, splendor and magnificence, of their temples, known as Tiras, the roofs supported by tall pillars of cedar; the altar within, and the lamps and incense burning there; the right of asylum possessed by the Tiras; and even the practice of confession, prayers for the dead, and the sale of merit; — in all these respects, this system presented a complete counterpart at least to the show and forms and priestly devices of that very scheme of Roman Catholic worship which Xavier and his brother missionaries sought to introduce into Japan. The only striking difference was in the images, often of gigantic size, to be found in the Tiras, but which, after all, were no more than a set-off against the pictures of the Catholic churches.

At the head of the Buddhist hierarchy was a high priest called *Xako*, resident at Miako, and having much the same spiritual prerogative with the Pope of Rome, including the canonization of saints. With him rested the consecration of the *Tundies*, corresponding to the bishops, or rather to the abbots of the Catholic church — all the Buddhist clergy being, in the language of Rome, regulars (similar, that is, to the monks and friars), and living together in monasteries of which the Tundies were the heads. These Tundies, however, could not enter upon their offices, to which great revenues were attached, except by the consent of the temporal authorities, which took care to limit the interference of the Xako and the Tundies strictly to spiritual matters.†

* In reading the accounts of the bonzes, and of the delusions which they practised on the people, contained in the letters of the Catholic missionaries, and the denunciations levelled against them in consequence, in those letters, one might almost suppose himself to be reading a Protestant sermon against Popery, or an indignant leader against the papists in an evangelical newspaper. The missionaries found, however, at least they say so, among other theological absurdities maintained by the bonzes, a number of the "damnable Lutheran tenets."

† Buddha, or the sage (which the Chinese, by the metamorphosis made by their pronunciation of most foreign proper names, have changed first into

There was this further resemblance also to the regular orders of the Romish church, that the Buddhist clergy were divided into a number of observances, hardly less hostile to each other than the Dominicans to the Franciscans, or both to the Jesuits. But as the church and state were kept in Japan perfectly distinct — as now in the United States — and as the bonzes possessed no direct temporal power, there was no appeal to the secular arm, no civil punishments for heresy, and no religious vows perpetually binding, all

Fuh-hi, and then into *Fuh*, or *Fo*), is not the personal name of the great saint, the first preacher of the religion of the Buddhists, but a title of honor given to him after he had obtained to eminent sanctity. According to the concurrent traditions of the Buddhists in various parts of Asia, he was the son of a king of central India, Suddhô-dana, meaning in Sanscrit pure-eating king, or eater of pure food, which the Chinese have translated into their language by *Zung-fung-wang*. His original name was *Lêh-ta;* after he became a priest, he was called *Sakia-mouni*, that is, devotee of the race of Sakia, whence the appellation SIAKA, by which he is commonly known in Japan, and also the name Xako applied to the patriarch, or head of the Buddhist church. Another Sanscrit patronymic of Buddha is *Gauluma*, which in different Buddhist nations has, in conjunction with other epithets applied to him, been variously changed and corrupted. Thus among the Siamese he is called *Summana-kodom*.

The Buddhist mythology includes several Buddhas who preceded Sakia-mouni, and the first of whom, *Adi-Buddha*, or the first Buddha, was when nothing else was, being in fact the primal deity, and origin of all things. It seems to be this first Buddha who is worshipped in Japan under the name of AMIDA, and whose priests form the most numerous and influential of the Buddhist orders. Siebold seems inclined to regard them as pure monotheists.

The birth of Siaka is fixed by the Japanese annalists, or at least by the book of chronology quoted in a previous note, in the twenty-sixth year of the emperor Chaou-wang, of the Chinese Chew Dynasty, B. C. 1027. B. C. 1006, he fled from his father's house to become a priest; B. C. 998 he reached the highest step of philosophical knowledge; B. C. 949, being seventy-nine years of age, he entered into *Nirvana*, that is, died. He was succeeded by a regular succession of Buddhist patriarchs, of whom twenty-eight were natives of Hindustan. The twenty-eighth emigrated to China, A. D. 490, where he had five Chinese successors. Under the second of these, A. D. 552, Buddhism was introduced into Japan. A. D. 713, the sixth and the last Chinese patriarch died, since which the Chinese Buddhists, and those who have received the religion from them, seem not to have acknowledged any general head, but only a local head in each country.

being at liberty, so far as the civil law was concerned, to enter or leave the monasteries at pleasure. It was also another result of this separation of state and church — as here in the United States — that there was only needed a Jo Smith, a man hardy or self-deceived enough to pretend to inspiration, to set up a new observance; an occurrence by which the theology of Japan had become from time to time more and more diversified.

There were also, besides the more regular clergy, enthusiasts, or impostors, religious vagabonds who lived by beggary, and by pretending to drive away evil spirits, to find things lost, to discover robbers, to determine guilt or innocence of accused parties, to interpret dreams, to predict the future, to cure desperate maladies, and other similar feats, which they performed chiefly through the medium, not of a table, but of a child, into whom they pretended to make a spirit enter, able to answer all their questions. Such, in particular, were the *Jammabos*, or mountain priests, an order of the religion of Sinto.

Yet, exceedingly superstitious as the Japanese were, there was not wanting among them a sect of Rationalists, the natural result of freedom of opinion, who regarded all these practices and doctrines, and all the various creeds of the country, with secret incredulity, and even contempt. These Rationalists, known as Siudosiu, and their doctrine as *Siuto*, and found chiefly among the upper classes, looked up to the Chinese Confucius as their master and teacher. They treated the system of Buddha with open hostility, as mere imposture and falsehood; but, in order to avoid the odium of being destitute of all religion, conformed, at least so far as external observances were concerned, to the old national system of Sinto.

CHAPTER VI.

CIVILISATION OF THE JAPANESE. — ANIMALS. — AGRICULTURE. — ARTS. — HOUSES. — SHIPS. — LITERATURE. — JURISPRUDENCE. — CHARACTER OF THE JAPANESE. — THEIR CUSTOM OF CUTTING THEMSELVES OPEN. — A. D. 1550.

THE doctrine of the transmigration of souls, one of the most distinguishing tenets of the Buddhist faith, had not failed to confirm the Japanese in a distaste for animal food, which had originated, perhaps, from the small number of animals natives of that insular country, — an abstinence, indeed, which even the ancient religion of Sinto had countenanced by denouncing as impure the act of killing any animal, or being sprinkled with the slightest drop of blood. Of domestic tame animals, the Japanese possessed from time immemorial the horse, the ox, the buffalo, the dog, and the cat; but none of these were ever used as food. The Portuguese introduced the sheep and the goat; but the Japanese, not eating their flesh nor understanding the art of working up their wool or hair, took no pains to multiply them. The Chinese introduced the hog; but the eating of that animal was confined to them and to other foreigners. The deer, the hare and the wild boar, were eaten by some sects, and some wild birds by the poorer classes. The fox was hunted for its skin, the hair of which was employed for the pencils used in painting and writing. The animal itself, owing to its roguery, was believed to be the residence of particularly wicked souls — an idea confirmed by many strange stories in common circulation. The tortoise and the crane were regarded in some sort as sacred animals, never to be killed nor injured. Whales of a small species were taken, then as now, near the coast, and were used as food, as were many other kinds of fish, the produce of the sea and rivers. Shell-fish and certain sea-weeds were also eaten in large quantities.

The soil of Japan, being of volcanic origin, was in some places

very fertile; but in many parts there were rugged and inaccessible mountains, the sides of which, not admitting the use of the plough, were built up in terraces cultivated by hand. Agriculture formed the chief occupation of the inhabitants, and they had carried it to considerable perfection, well understanding the use of composite manures. The chief crops were rice, which was the great article of food; barley, for the horses and cattle; wheat, used principally for vermacellis; and several kinds of peas and beans. They cultivated, also, a number of seeds, from which oils were expressed; likewise cotton, hemp, the white mulberry for the feeding of silkworms (silk being the stuff most in use), and the paper mulberry for the manufacture of paper. To these may be added the camphor-tree, which grew, however, only in the south-western parts of Ximo, the *Rhus vernix*, which produces the celebrated Japanese varnish, and the tea-plant, spoken of by one of the early Portuguese missionaries as "a certain herb called Chia, of which they put as much as a walnut shell may contain into a dish of porcelain, and drink it with hot water." From rice they produced by fermentation an intoxicating drink, called *saki*, which served them in the place of wine, and which was consumed in large quantities. A yeast, or rather vinegar, produced from this liquor, was largely employed in the pickling of vegetables. Their most useful woods were the bamboo, the fir of several species, and the cedar.

They understood in perfection the arts of weaving silks and of moulding porcelain, and excelled in gilding, engraving, and especially in the use of lacquer or varnish. They also were able to manufacture sword-blades of excellent temper.

As in other eastern countries, the greater nobles exhibited an extreme magnificence; but trade and the arts were held in low esteem, and the mass of the people were excessively poor. Their buildings, though they had some few solid structures of stone, were principally light erections of wood, to avoid the effects of frequent earthquakes; but this and the varnish employed exposed them to conflagrations, which, in the towns, were very frequent and destructive. These towns consisted, for the most part, of very cheap structures (like most of those throughout the East), so that cities were built and destroyed with equal ease and celerity.

Their commerce was limited almost entirely to the interchange of

domestic products, a vast number of vessels, of rather feeble structure, being employed in navigating the coasts of the islands, which abounded with deep bays and excellent harbors.

Of the sciences, whether mathematical, mixed, or purely physical, they knew but little. They had, however, a considerable number of books treating of religion, medicine, and their history and traditions. The young were instructed in eloquence, poetry, and a rude sort of painting and music, and they had a great fondness for theatrical representations, in which they decidedly excelled. Their writing, in which they greatly studied brevity, was in columns, as with the Chinese, from the top to the bottom of the page, for which they gave this reason: that writing ought to be a true representation of men's thoughts, and that men naturally stood erect. These columns read from right to left. They employed, besides the Chinese idiographic signs, a syllabic alphabet of their own, though in many works the Chinese characters were freely introduced.*

Jurisprudence, as in most eastern countries, was a very simple affair. The laws were very few. Heads of families exercised great power over their households. Most private disputes were settled by arbitration; but where this failed, and in all criminal cases, a decision was made on the spot by a magistrate, from whom there was seldom any appeal. The sentences were generally executed at once, and often with very great severity. Whether from their temperament, or their belief in the doctrines of transmigration and annihilation, it was observed that the Japanese met death with more courage than was common in Europe. It was, indeed, a point of honor, in many cases, to inflict it on themselves, which they did in a horrid manner, by cutting open their bowels by two gashes in the shape of a cross. The criminal who thus anticipated execution secured thereby the public sympathy and applause, saving his property from confiscation, and his family from death; and, upon the death of superiors or masters, the same fate was often, as a mark of personal devotion and attachment, self-inflicted; and sometimes, also, in consequence of a disgrace or affront, to escape or revenge which no other means appeared.† The missionaries especially noted

* For an account of the Japanese language, method of writing, literature, &c., see Note A, Appendix.

† "All military men, the servants of the Djogoun, and persons holding

in the Japanese a pride, a self-respect, a haughty magnanimity, a sense of personal honor, very uncommon in the East, but natural characteristics enough of a people who had never been conquered by invaders from abroad; while the great vicissitudes to which they were exposed — all vassals generally sharing the fate of their superiors — made them look upon the goods and evils of fortune in a very philosophical spirit.

Such was the condition in which Japan was found when it first became known to Europe through the letters and relations of Xavier and the other Portuguese missionaries his successors.

civil offices under the government, are bound, when they have committed any crime, to rip themselves up; but not till they have received an order from the court to that effect; for, if they were to anticipate this order, their heirs would run the risk of being deprived of their places and property. For this reason all the officers of government are provided, in addition to their usual dress, and that which they put on in the case of fire, with a suit necessary on such occasions, which they carry with them whenever they travel from home. It consists of a white robe and a habit of ceremony, made of hempen cloth, and without armorial bearings.

"As soon as the order of the court has been communicated to the culprit, he invites his intimate friends for the appointed day, and regales them with saki. After they have drank together some time he takes leave of them, and the order of the court is then read to him once more. The person who performs the principal part in this tragic scene then addresses a speech or compliment to the company, after which he inclines his head towards the floor, draws his sabre, and cuts himself with it across the belly, penetrating to the bowels. One of his confidential servants, who takes his place behind him, then strikes off his head. Such as wish to display superior courage, after the cross-cut inflict a second longitudinally, and then a third in the throat. No disgrace attaches to such a death, and the son succeeds to his father's place.

"When a person is conscious of having committed some crime, and apprehensive of being thereby disgraced, he puts an end to his own life, to spare his family the ruinous consequences of judicial proceedings. This practice is so common that scarcely any notice is taken of such an event. The sons of all persons of quality exercise themselves in their youth, for five or six years, with a view that they may perform the operation, in case of need, with gracefulness and dexterity; and they take as much pains to acquire this accomplishment, as youth among us to become elegant dancers or skilful horsemen: hence the profound contempt of death, which they imbibe in their earliest years. This disregard of death, which they prefer to the slightest disgrace, extends to the very lowest classes among the Japanese." — Titsingh, *Illustrations of Japan*, p. 147.

CHAPTER VII.

PREACHING OF XAVIER. — PINTO'S THIRD VISIT TO JAPAN. — A. D. 1550–51.

It is not our purpose to trace minutely the progress and fluctuating fortunes of the Jesuit missionaries; nor, indeed, would it always be easy to extract the exact truth from relations into which the marvellous so largely enters. Xavier's letters throw very little light on the subsequent history of his mission, which mainly depends upon accounts derived from an inquisition into the particulars of the apostle's ministry and miracles in the East, ordered to be made shortly after his death by John III., of Portugal, and which resulted in a large collection of duly attested depositions, containing many marvellous statements, most of them purporting to come from eye-witnesses, from which source the Jesuit historians of the eastern missions and the biographers of the saint have drawn most of their materials.

If we are to believe them, Xavier was not only always victorious in his disputes with the bonzes; he went even so far, shortly after his arrival in Japan, as to raise the dead — a miracle which furnished Poussin with a subject for a celebrated picture. Xavier, we are told, had been charged in India with a similar interference with the laws of nature; it is true he attempted to explain it away, as, perhaps, he would have done this Japanese miracle; but that denial the historian Maffei thinks, instead of disproving the miracle, only proves the modest humility of Xavier.

Though at first well received, as we have seen, by the king of Satsuma, and though, in the course of near a year that he remained there, the immediate family and many of the relations of Angiro were persuaded to be baptized, yet the remonstrances of the bonzes, followed by the transfer of the Portuguese trade, for the sake of a

better harbor, from Cangoxima to *Firando*,* caused the king of Satsuma to issue an edict forbidding his subjects, under pain of death, to renounce the worship of their national gods. In consequence of this edict, Xavier departed for FIRANDO, which island, off the west coast of Ximo, having separated from the kingdom of Figen, had become independent under a prince of its own. Angiro was left behind, but soon afterwards was obliged to fly to China, where, as Pinto informs us, he was killed by robbers.

At Firando, in consequence of the representations of the Portuguese merchants, Xavier was well received; but, desirous to see the chief city of Japan, leaving Torres behind, he set out with Fernandez and two Japanese converts on a visit to *Miako*.

Proceeding by water, he touched first at *Facata*, a considerable town on the north-west coast of Ximo, and capital of the kingdom of CHICHUGEN, and then at *Amanguchi*, at that time a large city, capital of NAUGATO, the most western kingdom or province of the great island of Nipon, separated at this point from Ximo by a narrow strait.

The populace of Amanguchi, ridiculing Xavier's mean appearance as contrasted with his pretensions, drove him out of the city with curses and stones. Winter had now set in, and the cold was severe. The coast was infested by pirates, and the interior by robbers, which obliged the saint to travel as servant to some merchants, who, themselves on horseback, required him, though on foot, and loaded with a heavy box of theirs, to keep up with them at full gallop. This, however, seems a little exaggerated, as Japanese travellers on horseback never exceed a walk; while the box which Xavier carried is represented by the earlier writers as containing the sacred vessels for the sacrifice of the mass.

Arriving thus at Miako, in rather sad plight, Xavier found that capital almost ruined by civil wars, and on the eve of becoming the field of a new battle. He could obtain no audience, as he had hoped, either of the Kubo-Sama or of the Xaco, nor any hearing except from the populace, so that he judged it best to return again to Firando.

There are two means of working upon the imagination, both of

* Otherwise written *Firato*, which would seem to be more correct.

which are employed by turns alike by the Romish and by the Buddhist clergy. One is by showing a contempt not merely for elegances, but even for common comforts and ordinary decencies; the other, by pomp, show and display. Xavier, on his way to Miako, entered the city of Amanguchi barefoot and meanly clad, and had, as we have stated, been hooted and stoned by the populace. He now returned thither again from Firando handsomely clothed, and taking with him certain presents and recommendatory letters from the Portuguese viceroy of the Indies and the governor of Malacca, addressed to the Japanese princes, but of which as yet he had made no use. Demanding an audience of the king, he was received with respect, and soon obtained leave to preach. and an unoccupied house of the bonzes to live in. Here, being soon surrounded by crowds, he renewed, say his biographers, the miracle of tongues, not only in preaching fluently in Japanese and in Chinese to the numerous merchants of that nation who traded there, but in being able by a single answer to satisfy a multitude of confused questions which the eager crowd simultaneously put to him. Such was his success that, in less than two months, five hundred persons, most of them of consideration, received baptism; and, though the king soon began to grow less favorable, the converts increased, during less than a year that he remained there, to three thousand.

The seed thus planted, Xavier resolved to return to the Indies for a fresh supply of laborers; and, having heard of the arrival of a Portuguese vessel at Fucheo, in the kingdom of Bungo, leaving de Torres and Fernandez at Amanguchi, he proceeded to Fucheo for the purpose of embarking.

Among the merchants in this ship was Fernam Mendez Pinto, now in Japan for the third time, and who gives at some length the occurrences that took place after Xavier's arrival at Fucheo, where he was received with great respect by the Portuguese, of whom more than thirty went out on horseback to meet him.

The young king, whose name was Civan, had already obtained, through intercourse with Portuguese merchants, some knowledge of their religion. He invited Xavier to an audience, to which the Portuguese merchants accompanied him with so grand a display as somewhat to shock the modesty of the saint, but which strongly impressed in his favor the people of Bungo, to whom he had been

represented by the bonzes as so miserable a vagabond as to disgust the very vermin with which he was covered. The young king received him very graciously; and he preached and disputed with such success as greatly to alarm the bonzes, who vainly attempted to excite a popular commotion against him as an enchanter, through whose mouth a demon spoke, and a cannibal, who fed on dead bodies which he dug up in the night.

Finally, after conquering, in a long dispute before the king of Bungo, the ablest and most celebrated champion of the bonzes,* and converting several of the order to the faith, Xavier embarked for Goa on the 20th of September, 1651, attended by two of his Japanese converts. Of these one died at Goa. The other, named Bernard, proceeded to Europe, and, after a visit to Rome, returned to Portugal, and, having entered the Society of Jesus, closed his life at the Jesuit college of Coimbra, a foundation endowed by John III. for the support of a hundred pupils, to be prepared as missionaries to the East.

At Amanguchi, after Xavier's departure, the bonzes, enemies of Catholicity, were more successful. An insurrection which they raised so alarmed the king, that he shut himself up in his palace, set it on fire, and, having slain his only son with his own hand, ended by cutting himself open. The missionaries, however, were saved by an unconverted princess, who even induced certain bonzes to shelter them; and a brother of the king of Bungo having been elected king of Naugato, the Catholics, not one of whom, we are told, had been killed in the insurrection, were soon on a better footing than ever.

* Pinto gives a long account of this dispute, which has been substantially adopted by Lucina, the Portuguese biographer of Xavier, whose life of the saint was published in 1600, and who, in composing it, had the use of Pinto's yet unpublished manuscript. Tursellini's Latin biography of Xavier was published at Rome and Antwerp, 1596. From these was compiled the French life by Bouhours, which our Dryden translated. Tursellini published also four books of Xavier's epistles, translated into Latin. Eight books of new epistles afterwards appeared. Charlevoix remarks of them "that they are memoirs, of which it is not allowable to question the sincerity, but which furnish very little for history, which was not the writer's object." They are chiefly homilies.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROGRESS OF THE MISSIONS UNDER FATHERS DE TORRES AND NUGNES BARRETO. —MENDEZ PINTO A FOURTH TIME IN JAPAN. — A. D. 1551–1557.

The apostle of the Indies returned no more to Japan. He died in December, 1552, at the age of forty-six, on his way to China, at the island of Sancian, a little way from Macao, partly, it would seem, through vexation at having been disappointed, by the jealousy and obstinacy of the governor of Malacca, in a more direct mission to that empire, on which he had set his heart, and for which he had made every arrangement.

But already, before leaving for China, he had despatched from Malacca three new missionaries to Japan, Balthazar Gago, a priest, and two brothers, Peter d'Alcaceva and Edward de Sylva, who landed at Cangoxima in August, 1552, whence they proceeded to Bungo, where, as well as at Amanguchi, a site had been granted for a residence and a church. Father de Torres, now at the head of the mission, in a sort of general assembly of the faithful, to which the principal converts were admitted, regulated the policy of the infant church. To meet the objection of the bonzes, that the new converts had left their old religions to escape the usual contributions of alms, it was resolved to establish hospitals for the sick and poor, as well pagan as converted, — and the more so as poverty in Japan was regarded as peculiarly despicable, and the poor as contemned by the gods. To suit the taste of the Japanese for spectacles, an impressive burial service was agreed upon. Great attention, according to the policy of the Catholic church, and especially of the Jesuits, was bestowed on the education of the young. Not to be outdone by the bonzes, the missionaries practised great austerities; regular whipping of themselves in church by all the converts made a stated part of their religious exercises; but what most con-

tributed to the spread of the new faith was, so we are told, the exceeding zeal, self-denial, and disinterestedness of the new converts, including among the number several bonzes of the old religions, some of whom were made Jesuits, and even ordained priests, and who soon gave examples of sublime piety, which even the missionaries themselves found it difficult to imitate.

Meanwhile, Peter d'Alcaceva, one of the newly-arrived Jesuits, having been sent back to Goa for further aid, on his way to that capital, found at Malacca the body of Xavier, preserved in quicklime, and also on its way to Goa, whither he attended it. At Goa he encountered Fernam Mendez Pinto, who, having amassed great wealth in the Indies, was about to return to Portugal. Preliminary to this voyage Pinto made a general confession to Father Nugnes Barreto, the vice-provincial of the Jesuits; after which, falling upon the subject of Xavier, whose dead body lying at Goa was reported to work numerous miracles, he related to his confessor many wonderful stories of the prodigies which he himself had witnessed while with Xavier at Bungo. Passing thence to the zeal and merits of the Japanese converts, he strongly urged Nugnes to proceed thither to take Xavier's place, even offering himself to go as his companion, and to devote the whole of his fortune (except two thousand crowns to be sent to some poor relations in Portugal), partly to the founding of a seminary at Amanguchi, whence the faith might be diffused through the whole of Japan, and partly in purchasing magnificent presents for the princes of the country, which he thought would be a good means of securing their favor for the new religion.

Pinto was accordingly appointed ambassador from the Portuguese viceroy to the king of Bungo, and Nugnes sailed for Malacca in his company, taking with him Father Gaspard Vilela, four brothers, not yet priests, and five young orphans from the Seminary of the Holy Faith, to act as catechists. Before setting out, Nugnes and his brother Jesuits renewed their vows, according to a rule of the order, which required such a renewal once every six months. Pinto was present at this ceremony, and his excitable temperament was so wrought upon by it, that, seized with a sudden impulse, he insisted upon himself repeating the vows, with an additional one to consecrate his person and his goods to the Japanese mission. As he was the viceroy's ambassador, it was resolved that he should not

adopt the Jesuit habit till after he had fulfilled his mission — a delay which proved a lucky thing for Pinto, whose zeal speedily began to evaporate. He served, indeed, for some time in the hospitals of Malacca, where they arrived in June, 1554, and where, by the sickness of Nugnes and other accidents, they were detained upwards of a year; and, according to the letters of Nugnes, he gave great edification, the people admiring to see so rich a man, and one lately so fond of display and good living, clothed in rags and begging alms from door to door, having given up all his wealth that he might the better obey the Lord.

Sailing from Malacca, Nugnes and his company, after perils from pirates, were driven by storms first to Sanchian, and then to Macao, whence, in the spring of 1556, Nugnes proceeded to Canton, where he made many unavailing efforts for the introduction of Catholicism into China. Meanwhile, he received letters from Goa, urging his return, enclosing one from Loyola himself, disapproving of such long voyages by the vice-provincials of the order; but he was still induced to proceed to Japan by a pressing letter from the prince of Firando, who hoped by his means to attract the Portuguese trade from Bungo to that port. He sailed accordingly for Firando, but was compelled by stress of weather to find a harbor in Bungo.

Meanwhile, the parts of Japan occupied by the missionaries had been the seats of serious commotions. The king of Bungo had indeed confirmed his power by suppressing an insurrection; but his brother, the king of Naugato, had been driven from his throne and defeated and slain by Marindono, a relative of the late king; and during this civil war, the city of Amanguchi had been sacked and burnt, and the missionaries obliged to fly for their lives to Bungo. There, too, a new insurrection had been attempted, but again without success; though the king still kept himself shut up in a fortress at a distance from his capital. He returned, however, to receive Nugnes, which he did very graciously, but resisted, on grounds of expediency, all his exhortations to make an open profession of Catholicism. Thus disappointed, Nugnes, after sending Gago to establish himself at Firando, thought it best to return to Goa.

On arriving in Japan, the zeal of Pinto had speedily declined, and he had begun to sigh for his liberty. Perhaps he was alarmed

at the appearance of Cosme de Torres, who, from being plump and portly, had, under the thin diet of the country, and the labors of the mission, grown to be exceedingly lean and haggard. At all events, it was found impossible to revive his fervor, and, as the Jesuits wanted no unwilling members, it was decided to release him from his vows. He returned with Nugnes to Goa, whence, not long after, he sailed for Lisbon. In his book he relates his last visit to Japan, but with no mention of his having joined the Jesuits, — of which our knowledge is drawn from the published letters of the missionaries, including one dated in 1554, and written by Pinto himself, from the college at Malacca, addressed to the scholars of the college of Coimbra, and giving a sketch of his travels in the East.

Having arrived at Lisbon, Sept. 22, 1558, he delivered to the queen regent a commendatory letter from the viceroy of Goa, and had the honor to explain to her what his long experience suggested as of most utility for the affairs of Portugal in the East, not forgetting also some private application for himself. The queen referred him to the minister, who gave him high hopes; but at the end of four or five years of tedious solicitation, which became more insupportable than all his past fatigues, he concluded to content himself with the little fortune which he had brought from India, and for which he was indebted to nobody but himself. Yet he piously and loyally concludes that if he had been no better rewarded for twenty-one years' services, during which he had been thirteen times a slave, and seventeen times sold, it could only be attributed to the divine justice, which disposes of all things for the best, and rather to his own sins than to any want of royal discernment. He died about 1580, leaving his narrative behind him, which was not printed till 1614, and which was written, as he says at the beginning of it, in his old age, that he might leave it a memorial and heritage to his children to excite their confidence in the aid of Heaven by the example of his own sufferings and deliverances.*

* For some further remarks on Pinto and his book, see Appendix, note D.

CHAPTER IX.

LOUIS ALMEIDA. — THE MISSIONARIES ESTABLISH THEMSELVES AT MIAKO. — LOUIS FROES. — PRINCES CONVERTED IN XIMO. — RISE OF NOBUNANGA. — PROSPERITY OF THE MISSIONS. — NOBLE AND PRINCELY CONVERTS. — NAGASAKI BUILT. — NOBUNANGA MAKES HIMSELF EMPEROR. — A. D. 1557—1577.

THE loss of Pinto and Nugnes, and even that of Father Gago, who, three or four years later, after a very zealous career as a missionary, grew weary of the work, and obtained permission to return to Goa, was more than made up for by the accession of William and Ruys Pereyra, two of the catechists brought by Nugnes, and whom, before his departure, he admitted into the order, and especially by that of Louis Almeida, who had arrived in Japan as surgeon to a trading vessel, and who, after amassing a large fortune, gave it all to pious uses — of which a hospital for abandoned infants was one — and, joining the Jesuits, soon became distinguished for his zeal and assiduity as a missionary.

The extension which, in the fluctuating condition of affairs, shortly afterwards took place of the dominions of the king of Bungo over the greater part of the island of Ximo, was very favorable to the new religion. The prince of Firando was obliged to pay him tribute, and, notwithstanding the double-faced policy of that prince, the new doctrine continued to spread in his territories, where some of the members of the ruling family became converts. A new church was planted at Facata, and the old original one at Cangoxima was reëstablished. Presently the new faith gained a footing also in the kingdoms of ARIMA and GOTTO, which, as well as Firando, had been dissevered from the ancient province of Figen. The lord of *Ximabara* (afterwards famous as the last stronghold of the Catholics) invited the missionaries to his city. The king of Arima was

also very friendly; he gave the missionaries an establishment, first at *Vocoxiura*, and, after that city had been burned by the bonzes, at a port of his called *Cochinotzu*, on the southern coast of the south-western peninsula of Ximo. The prince of OMURA, a dependency of Arima, and the prince of the island of Tacuxima, the same at which Pinto had first landed, then a dependency of Firando, were both among the converts, and exceedingly zealous to induce their subjects to follow their example; and, notwithstanding the hostility of the bonzes, the frequent wars between the princes, and repeated internal commotions, by which the missionaries were often in danger, the new religion continued to spread in all parts of Ximo, and in fact to be carried by native converts to many parts of Nipon which no missionary had yet reached. Meanwhile, new establishments also had been gained on the island of Nipon, in addition to that at Amanguchi, at its western extremity. The fame of the missionaries had induced an old Tundi, or superior of a Buddhist monastery near Miako, to send to Amanguchi to ask information about the new religion. Father Vilela was despatched, in 1659, for his instruction, and though the Tundi died before the arrival of the missionary, his successor and many of the bonzes listened with respect to the words of Vilela. As none, however, were willing to receive baptism, he departed for Miako, where he found means to approach Josi Tir, the Kubo-Sama, and to obtain from him permission to preach. Having secured the favor of Mioxindono, the emperor's principal minister, and presently that of Daxandono, the chief judge, he converted many bonzes and nobles, and built up a large and flourishing church.

An attack upon the emperor by Morindono, king of Naugato, who forced the city of Miako, and set it on fire, detained Vilela for a while in the neighboring town of Sakai, the most commercial place in Japan, which seems, at that time, to have been a free city, as it were, with an independent government of its own; and there also a church was planted. But the emperor soon reëstablished his affairs; and although, from the hostility of Morindono, the church at Amanguchi was very much depressed, everything went on well at Miako, where Vilela was joined, in 1565, by Louis Almeida, and by a young missionary, Louis Froez, lately arrived from Malacca. Of their journey from Cochinotzu to Miako, we have a detailed

account in a long and very interesting letter of Almeida's. His visit to Miako was only temporary. Froez remained there, and from him we have a long series of letters, historical and descriptive, as well as religious, which, for a period of thirty years following, throw great light on the history and internal condition of Japan.

At this time the entire empire, since and at present so stable, was the scene of constant revolutions. Very shortly after Froez's arrival Mioxindono and Daxandono conspired against their patron, dethroned him, and drove him to cut himself open, as did great numbers of his relatives and partisans. These nobles, hitherto favorable to the missionaries, now published an edict against them, probably to secure the favor of the bonzes; and Vilela and Froez were thus again driven to take refuge at Sakai, where they had a few converts. But the believers at Miako stood firm, and a new revolution soon occurred, headed by a noble called Vatondono, and by Nobunanga, king of Voari, — which province adjoined the emperor's special territory on the east, — a prince whose military prowess had already made him from a petty noble the master of eighteen provinces in the eastern part of Nipon.

In 1566 Vatondono and Nobunanga proclaimed as emperor a brother of the late one — a bonze who had escaped from the rebels. Miako was regained, and the new emperor established there A. D. 1667. All real authority remained, however, with Nobunanga, who showed himself very hostile to the Buddhist bonzes, they having generally taken the side of the late rebels. He even destroyed many of their temples, using the idols which they contained as materials for a new palace. He easily granted to Vatondono, who was himself a sort of half convert, the reëstablishment of the missionaries at Miako, which was soon confirmed by an imperial edict, issued in 1568; and, in spite of an attempt at interference on the part of the Dairi, the new religion, under the protection of Vatondono, who was appointed governor of Miako, soon reached a very flourishing condition.

To this prosperity at Miako a strong contrast was, however, presented by the state of things at Amanguchi, whence the missionaries were expelled by the king of Naugato, though the church there was still kept alive by the zeal and constancy of some of the con-

verts. In the island of Ximo the new religion continued to spread. Indeed, the baptized prince of Omura, not content with hacking idols to pieces, and refusing to join in the old national festivals, wished also to prohibit all the old ceremonies, and to compel his subjects to adopt the new ones, — an excess of zeal which, by displaying the intolerant spirit of the new sect, fostered an union of all the old ones against it, such as at last occasioned its destruction.

This prince had allowed certain Portuguese merchants to establish themselves at *Nagasaki*,* then a mere fishing village, but having a capacious harbor, the port of Japan nearest to China and the Indies, at the head of a deep bay, opening to the west. Presently he built a church there, and, A. D. 1568, invited the missionaries to make it their head-quarters, with a promise that no religion but theirs should be allowed. This invitation was accepted; many converts flocked thither, and Nagasaki soon became a considerable city. Fathers de Torres and Vilela both died in 1570,† worn out with years and labors, the latter being succeeded as head of the mission by Father Cabral, sent out from Goa as vice-provincial of the order, and accompanied by Father Gnecchi, who soon became an efficient laborer.

Meanwhile, an insurrection in the imperial provinces, on the part of the old rebels, which it cost the life of Vatondono to suppress, so provoked Nobunanga that he wreaked his vengeance anew upon the bonzes (who had again aided the insurgents), by destroying a great number of their monasteries on the famous mountain of Jesan, and putting the inmates to death. This occurrence took place A. D. 1571, as the missionaries remarked, on the day of St. Michael, whom Xavier had named the patron saint of Japan. Cabral, the vice-provincial, having made a visit to Miako, was very graciously received by Nobunanga. Shortly after the titular Kubo-

* This name is frequently written Nangasaki, and such, according to Kämpfer, is the pronunciation.

† Of Father de Torres we have four letters rendered into Latin, and of Vilela, in the same collections, seven, giving, among other things, a pretty full account of his visit to and residence at Miako. For the description, however, of that capital, and the road to it, I prefer to rely on lay travellers, of whose observations, during a series of visits extending through more than two centuries, a full abstract will be found in subsequent chapters.

Sama made a vain attempt to regain the exercise of authority. The defeated prince was still left in possession of his title, but Nobunanga was thenceforth regarded as, in fact, himself the emperor. This was in 1573. In 1576 the church received new and important accessions in Ximo. The king of Bungo, though from the beginning favorable to the missionaries, had, from reasons of policy, and through the influence of his wife, who was very hostile to the new religion, declined baptism; none of the courtiers had submitted to it, and the converts in that kingdom had consisted as yet of an inferior class. But the second son of the king having taken the resolution to be baptized, in spite of the violent opposition of the queen, his mother, — who had great influence over Jocimon, the king's eldest son, associated, according to a usual Japanese custom, in the government, — his example was followed by many persons of rank in the kingdom of Bungo, and even by the neighboring king of Arima, who died, however, shortly after, leaving his kingdom to an unbelieving successor.*

* The following passage, from Titsingh's *Memoirs of the Djogouns*, may serve to shed some light upon the civil war raging in Japan when first visited by the Portuguese, and which continued down to the time of Nobunanga. "Faka-ousi was of the family of Yos-ye, who was descended from Liewa-tenwo, the 56th Dairi. He divided the supreme power between his two sons, Yosi-nori and Moto-ousi, giving to each the government of thirty-three provinces. [According to Kämpfer, Yosi-nori ascended the throne of the Kubo-Sama A. D. 1431, but he represents him as the son and successor of Josimitz. There is no Faka-ousi in Kämpfer's list, unless it be the same whom he calls Taka-udsi, and whom he makes the grandfather of Josimitz.] The latter, who ruled over the eastern part, was styled Kama-kourn-no-Djogoun, and kept his court at Kama-koura, in the province of Sagami. Yosi-nori, to whom were allotted the western provinces, resided at Miako, with the title of Tchoko-no Djogoun.

"Faka-ousi, in dividing the empire between his two sons, was influenced by the expectation that, in case either of them should be attacked, his brother would afford him assistance. This partition, on the contrary, only served to arm them one against the other; the country was involved in continual war, and the princes, though brothers, were engaged in frequent hostilities, which terminated only with the destruction of the branch of Miako."

CHAPTER X.

FATHER VALIGNANI. — STATE OF THE MISSIONS. — CONVERSION AND BAPTISM OF THE KING OF BUNGO. — GROWTH OF NAGASAKI. — EMBASSY TO THE POPE. — DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THIS EMBASSY. — A. D. 1577—1586.

Such was the state of things on the arrival, at the beginning of 1577, of Father Alexander Valignani, visitor-general of the Jesuit establishments in the East, and who in that capacity came to inspect the missions of Japan. He found there, in addition to a large number of native catechists, fifty-nine professed Jesuits (including twelve who had arrived but a short time before), of whom twenty-six were native Japanese; but, as only twenty-three of the whole number were ordained priests, it was found very difficult to meet the demand for ministers qualified to baptize and to administer the other sacraments. Hence the visitor was the more convinced of the necessity of establishing a noviciate of the order (a project already started by Father Cabral, the vice-provincial), and seminaries for the education of the children of the converts designed for the priesthood, especially those of superior rank; and in his letters to the general of the order and to the Pope, he recommended the appointment of a bishop, so that ordination might be had without the necessity of going to Malacca. He also settled, at a general assembly of the missionaries, who met him at Cochinotzu, many points of discipline, and especially a difficult and much disputed question as to the wearing of silk garments, which, as being the stuff in use by all persons of consideration in Japan, some of the Jesuits wished to wear. The ground taken was that it would only be a new application of the policy, which had been agreed upon, of conforming as far as innocently might be to the customs of the country. This argument, however, had not satisfied Father Cabral; he had prohibited the wearing of silk, which

the rule of the order did not allow; and that decision was now confirmed by the visitor.

There were, however, other points upon which the vice-provincial and the visitor did not so well agree. Of Cabral, Charlevoix draws the following character—one for which many originals might be found: "He was a holy professor, a great missionary, a vigilant and amiable superior; but he was one of those excellent persons who imagine themselves more clear-headed than other men, and who, in consequence, ask counsel of nobody but themselves; or rather, who believe themselves inspired, when they have once prayed to be so, regarding as decrees of Heaven, expressed by their mouth, all the resolutions which they have taken at the foot of the cross, where the last thing to be laid down is one's own judgment." Cabral had taken up the idea that persons of such vigorous understanding as the Japanese must be duly held in check; and the whole twenty-six of them received, up to this time, into the company, and almost all of whom aspired to the priesthood, he strictly limited to such studies as would suffice to qualify them for the subordinate parts of divine service. This policy Valignani did not approve; but when he sought to alter it, he encountered such opposition from Father Cabral, as to be obliged to send him off to Goa, appointing Father Gaspard Cuello in his place.

Shortly after the arrival of Valignani, the church gained a new and distinguished accession in Civan, king of Bungo, who, having repudiated his old pagan wife, to whom the Catholics gave the name of Jezebel, married a new one, and was baptized with all his household, taking the name of Francis, according to the custom of the missionaries in giving European names to their converts. There were even strong hopes of gaining over his eldest son and colleague, Joscimon, when a war broke out with the king of Satsuma, for the possession of the intervening kingdom of FIUNGA, which resulted in the loss of all Civan's conquests, and his reduction to his original province of Bungo, which also he was in danger of losing,—a change by no means favorable to the missionaries. Cochinotzu was ruined in this war; and the spectacle of the vicissitudes to which everything in Japan was exposed induced Valignani to urge upon the Portuguese merchants and residents to fortify Nagasaki. This was done in 1579, and that port became thenceforward almost the

sole one resorted to by the Portuguese. The converted king of Giotto having died, the guardian of his infant son showed himself hostile to the missionaries; but this circumstance was an advantage to Nagasaki, which received many fugitives from these islands.

The new king of Arima being brought, by the labors of the visitor, to a better disposition, was baptized, and became one of the most zealous of the converts. Both the emperor Nobinanga and his three sons still continued very well disposed to the missionaries, allowing Father Gnecchi, who was a favorite with him, to establish a house, a church and a seminary, at *Anzuqiama*, his local capital, which he had greatly beautified, and between which and Miako he had caused a highway to be built, at great expense and with immense labor. His evident design to make his authority absolute, had indeed led to a league against him, which, however, proved of no avail, this attempt at resistance resulting in the subjection of all the kings of the western half of Nipon, except Morindono, of Naugato. The good service which the missionaries rendered, in persuading the Christian princes, and the Christian vassals of the unconverted ones, to submit to the emperor, as their superior lord, caused Valignani to be very graciously received, both at Miako and also at Anzuqiama.

On the visitor's return to Ximo, the converted kings of Bungo and Arima, and the prince of Omura, determined to send ambassadors to be the bearers of their submission to the Pope. For this purpose two young nobles were selected, scarcely sixteen years of age: one, prince of Fiunga, the son of a niece of the king of Bungo, the other, prince of Arima, cousin of the king of Arima, and nephew of the prince of Omura. They were attended by two counsellors somewhat older than themselves, by Father Diego de Mesquita, as their preceptor and interpreter, and by a Japanese Jesuit, named George Loyola, and, in company with Father Valignani, they sailed from Nagasaki February 20th, 1582, in a Portuguese ship bound for Macao, now the head-quarters of the Portuguese trade to Japan. They arrived at Macao after a very stormy and dangerous passage of seventeen days; but the season of sailing for Malacca being past, they had to wait there six months. When at length they did sail, they encountered very violent storms; but at last, after twenty-

nine days' passage (January 27th, 1583), they reached Malacca, passing, as they entered the harbor, the wreck of another richly-laden Portuguese vessel, which had sailed from Macao in their company. After resting at Malacca eight days, they embarked for Goa, which third voyage proved not less trying than the two others. Delayed by calms, they ran short of provisions and water, and by the ignorance of the pilot were near being run ashore on the island of Ceylon. They disembarked at length at Travancore, at the south-eastern extremity of the peninsula of India, whence they proceeded by land to the neighboring port of Cochin. Here, owing to the unfavorable monsoon, they had to wait six months before they could sail for Goa, at which capital of Portuguese India they arrived in September. The viceroy of the Indies received them with great hospitality, and furnished them with a good ship, in which they had a favorable passage round the Cape of Good Hope, arriving at Lisbon August 10th, 1584.

Four years before, Portugal had passed under the rule of Philip II., of Spain, who had thus united on his single head the crowns of both the East and the West Indies; and to him these ambassadors were charged with a friendly message. The viceroy of Portugal received them at Lisbon with every attention. At Madrid they were received by Philip II. himself with the greatest marks of distinction. Having traversed Spain, they embarked at Alicante, but were driven by a storm into the island of Majorca, thereby escaping an Algerine fleet and a Turkish squadron, both of which were cruising in that neighborhood. Sailing thence they landed at Leghorn, where Pierro de Medici, brother of the grand duke of Tuscany, was waiting to attend them. They spent the carnival at Pisa, and thence by Florence proceeded towards Rome.

Aquiviva, general of the Jesuits (the fourth successor of Loyola), was very pressing with the Pope for a reception without display; but Gregory XIII. (the same to whom we owe the reform of the calendar) had determined in consistory that the honor of the church and of the holy see required a different course. The ambassadors were met at Viterbo by the Pope's light horse, and were escorted into the city by a long cavalcade of Roman nobles. The whole of the corso up to Jesus, the church and house of the Jesuits, where the ambassadors were to lodge, was crowded with people, who

greeted their arrival with deafening shouts. As they alighted from their carriage, they were received by Father Aquiviva, attended by all the Jesuits then at Rome, who conducted them to the church, where *Te Deum* was chanted.

The next day a magnificent procession was formed to escort them to the Vatican. It was headed by the light horse, followed by the Pope's Swiss guard, the officers of the cardinals, the carriages of the ambassadors of Spain, France, Venice, and the Roman princes, the whole Roman nobility on horseback, the pages and officers of the ambassadors, with trumpets and cymbals, the chamberlains of the Pope, and the officers of the palace, all in red robes. Then followed the Japanese on horseback, in their national dress,* three silken gowns of a light fabric, one over the other, of a white ground, splendidly embroidered with fruits, leaves and birds. In their girdles they wore the two swords, symbols of Japanese gentility. Their heads, shaven, except the hair round the ears and neck, which was gathered into a cue bent upwards, had no covering. Their features were hardly less divergent from the European standard than their dress, yet their whole expression, air and manner, modest and amiable, but with a conscious sentiment of nobility, was such as impressed the bystanders very favorably. The prince of Fiunga came first, between two archbishops. The prince of Arima followed, between two bishops. Of their counsellors, one was kept away by sickness, the other followed between two nobles, and after him Father de Mesquita, the interpreter, also on horseback. A great number of richly-dressed courtiers closed the procession. The crowds, which filled the streets and the windows, looked on in almost breathless silence. As the ambassadors crossed the bridge of St. Angelo, all the cannon of the castle were fired, to which those of the Vatican responded, at which signal all the bands struck up, and continued to play till the hall of audience was reached.

The ambassadors approached the foot of the papal throne, each with the letter of his prince in his hand. Prostrating themselves at the Pope's feet, they declared in Japanese, in a voice loud and distinct, that they had come from the extremities of the earth to

* For a particular description of the dress of the Japanese, see chap. XLI.

acknowledge in the person of the Pope the vicar of Jesus Christ, and to render obedience to him in the name of the princes of whom they were the envoys, and also for themselves. The Father de Mesquita expressed in Latin what they had said; but the appearance of the young men themselves, who had essayed so many dangers and fatigues to come to pay their homage to the holy see, was more expressive than any words; and it drew tears and sobs from the greater part of the audience. The Pope himself, greatly agitated, hastened to raise them up, kissed their foreheads, and embraced them many times, dropping tears upon them. They were then conducted to an alcove, while the secretary of the consistory read the letters from the Japanese princes, which Father de Mesquita had translated into Italian, and of which the following may serve as a specimen:

"LETTER OF THE KING OF BUNGO,

"*To him who ought to be adored, and who holds the place of the king of heaven, the great and most holy Pope.*

"Full of confidence in the grace of the supreme and almighty God, I write, with all possible submission, to your Holiness. The Lord, who governs heaven and earth, who holds under his empire the sun and all the celestial host, has made his light to shine upon one who was plunged in ignorance and buried in deep darkness. It is more than thirty years since this sovereign Master of nature, displaying all the treasures of his pity in favor of the inhabitants of these countries, sent thither the fathers of the Company of Jesus, who have sowed the seed of the divine Word in these kingdoms of Japan; and he has pleased, in his infinite bounty, to cause a part of it to fall into my heart: singular mercy, for which I think myself indebted, most holy Father of all the faithful, as well to the prayers and merits of your Holiness as to those of many others. If the wars which I have had to sustain, my old age and my infirmities, had not prevented me, I should myself have visited the holy places where you dwell, to render in person the obedience which I owe you. I would have devotedly kissed the feet of your Holiness, I would have placed them on my head, and would have besought you to make with your sacred hand the august sign of the cross on my heart. Constrained, by the reasons I have mentioned, to deprive myself of a consolation so sweet, I did design to send in my place Jerome, son of the king of Fiunga, and my grand-son; but as he was too far distant from my court, and as the father-visitor could not delay his departure, I have substituted for him Mancio, his cousin and my great nephew.

"I shall be infinitely obliged if your Holiness, holding upon earth the place of God himself, shall continue to shed your favor upon me, upon all Christians,

and especially upon this little portion of the flock committed to your care. I have received from the hand of the father-visitor the reliquary with which your Holiness honored me, and I have placed it on my head with much respect. I have no words in which to express the gratitude with which I am penetrated for a gift so precious. I will add no more, as the father-visitor and my ambassador will more fully inform your Holiness as to all that regards my person and my realm. I truly adore you, most holy Father, and I write this to you trembling with respectful fear. The 11th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1582. FRANCIS, King of Bungo,
prostrate at the foot of your Holiness."

The reading of this and of the other letters, translated into Italian, was followed by a *Discourse on Obedience*, pronounced, in the name of the princes and the ambassadors, by Father Gaspard Gonzales, a model of rhetorical elegance and comprehensive brevity — whatever may be thought of its ethical or theological doctrines — which some of the long-winded speakers of the present day, both lay and clerical, would do well to imitate. We give, as a specimen, a passage from the beginning:

"Nature has separated Japan from the countries in which we now are, by such an extent of land and sea, that, before the present age, there were very few persons who had any knowledge of it; and even now there are those who find it difficult to believe the accounts of it which we give. It is certain, nevertheless, most holy Father, that there are several Japanese islands, of a vast extent, and in these islands numerous fine cities, the inhabitants of which have a keen understanding, noble and courageous hearts, and obliging dispositions, politeness of manners, and inclinations disposed towards that which is good. Those who have known them have decidedly preferred them to all the other people of Asia, and it is only their lack of the true religion which prevents them from competing with the nations of Europe.

"For some years past this religion has been preached to them, under the authority of the holy see, by apostolical missionaries. Its commencements were small, as in the case of the primitive church; but God having given his blessing to this evangelical seed, it took root in the hearts of the nobles, and of late, under the pontificate of your Holiness, it has been received by the greatest lords, the princes and kings of Japan. This, most holy Father, ought to console you, for many reasons; but principally because, laboring as you do with an indefatigable zeal and vigor to reëstablish a religion, shaken and almost destroyed by the new heresies here in Europe, you see it take root and make great progress in the most distant country of the world.

"Hitherto your Holiness has heard, and with great pleasure, of the abundant fruits borne by this vine newly planted, with so much labor, at the extremities of the earth. Now you may see, touch, taste them, in this august

assembly, and impart of them to all the faithful. What joy ought not all Christians to feel, and especially the Roman people, at seeing the ambassadors of such great princes come from the ends of the earth to prostrate themselves at the feet of your Holiness, through a pure motive of religion, — a thing which has never happened in any age! What satisfaction for them to see the most generous and valiant kings of the East, conquered by the arms of the faith and by the preaching of the gospel, submitting themselves to the empire of Jesus Christ, and, as they cannot, from their avocations, come in person to take the oath of obedience and fidelity to the holy see, acquitting themselves of this duty by ambassadors so nearly related to them, and whom they so tenderly love!"

In the following passage the orator alludes more at length to the revolt in Europe against the authority of the Pope, which Philip II., no less than the Pope, was at this moment vigorously laboring to put down, by the recent introduction of the Jesuits into the Netherlands, where the Protestant rebels had been suppressed, by war against Holland, by aiding the French leaguers, by countenancing the retrograde movement then in rapid progress in Germany, and by preparing to carry out against Elizabeth of England the sentence of deposition which the Pope had fulminated against her.

"O, immortal God! What a stroke of thine arm! What an effect of thy grace! In places so distant from the holy see, where the name of Jesus had never been heard, nor his gospel ever preached, as soon as the true faith shed there the first rays of the truth, men of temperaments quite different from ours, kings illustrious by their nobility, redoubtable for their power, happy in the abundance of their possessions, conquerors and warriors signalized by their victories, acknowledge the greatness and dignity of the Roman church, and hold it a great honor to kiss the feet of the church's head by the lips of persons infinitely dear to them; all this happens while we see men at our very gates blind and impious enough to wish to cut off with a parricidal hand the head of the mystic body of Jesus Christ, and to call in doubt, to their own ruin, the authority of the holy see, established by Jesus Christ himself, confirmed by the course of so many ages, defended by the writings of so many holy doctors, recognized and approved by so many councils!

"But it is not proper that I should give way to grief, or trouble the joys of this day by the recollection of our miseries!"

To this address, on behalf of the Japanese princes and their ambassadors, Monseigneur Antony Bocapaduli replied in Latin, in the Pope's name, as follows:

"His holiness commands me, most noble lords, to say to you that Dom Francis, king of Bungo, Dom Protais, king of Arima, and Dom Barthelemi, prince of Omura, have acted like wise and religious princes in sending you from the extremities of Asia to acknowledge the power with which God's bounty hath clothed him on the earth, since there is but one faith, one church universal, and but a single chief and supreme pastor, whose authority extends to all parts of the earth where there are Christians, which pastor and only head is the bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter. He is charmed to see that they believe firmly and profess aloud this truth, with all the other articles that compose the Catholic faith. He gives ceaseless thanks to the divine goodness which has wrought these marvels; and this joy appears to him so much the more legitimate, as it has its foundation in the zeal by which he is animated for the glory of the Almighty, and the salvation of souls which the incarnate Word has purchased with his blood. This is why this venerable pontiff and all the sacred college of the cardinals of the Roman church receive, with a truly paternal affection, the protestation which you make to the vicar of Jesus Christ of faith, filial devotion and obedience, on the part of the princes whom you represent. His holiness earnestly desires and prays to God that all the kings and princes of Japan, and all those who rule in other parts of the world, may imitate so good an example, may renounce their idols and all their errors, may adore in spirit and in truth the sovereign Lord who has created this universe, and his only son, Jesus Christ, whom he has sent into the world; since it is in this knowledge and this faith that eternal life consists."

This reply finished, the ambassadors were conducted around to the foot of the throne, and again kissed the feet of the Pope; after which the cardinals, drawing near, embraced them, and put to them many questions as to their travels and the rarities of their country: questions to which they replied with so much sense and acuteness as to cause no little admiration.

At length the Pope rose, exclaiming, *Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine* (which might by a pious Catholic be taken as a prophecy of his approaching death). The two chief ambassadors, who were of the blood royal, were directed to lift up the train of his robes, — an honor monopolized, as far as the princes of Europe were concerned, by the ambassador of the emperor. The holy father having been thus conducted to his apartment, the cardinal St. Sixtus, his nephew, the cardinal Guastavillani and the duke of Sora, entertained the Japanese at a magnificent dinner. A private audience followed, in which the ambassadors delivered the presents they had brought, and the Pope announced that he had endowed the

proposed new seminary at Fucheo with an annual dotation of four thousand Roman crowns.

Gregory XIII. died a few days after;* but his successor, Sixtus V., who, as cardinal of Monte Alto, had taken greatly to the Japanese, was not less favorable to them as Pope. They assisted, among the other ambassadors of kings, at his coronation, bearing the canopy and holding the basin for his Holiness to wash in when he said mass. They had the same honors when the pontiff was enthroned at Saint John Lateran. The holy father afterwards invited them to visit his country-house, where they were splendidly entertained and regaled on his behalf by his steward and four-and-twenty prelates.

Finally, on the eve of the Ascension, in the presence of all the Roman nobility, they were dubbed knights of the gilded spurs. The Pope himself girded on their swords, while the spurs of the two princes were buckled on by the ambassadors of France and Venice, and those of the two others by the Marquis Altemps; after which the Pope placed about their necks chains of gold, to which his medal was attached, and kissed and embraced them. The next day his Holiness said mass in person, and they communicated from his hand. He dismissed them with briefs, addressed to their princes, of which the following may serve as a sample:

"BRIEF OF POPE SIXTUS V. TO THE KING OF ARIMA.

"*Noble prince and our well-beloved son, salvation and apostolical benediction.*

"Our well-beloved son Dom Michael, your ambassador to this court, delivered to Pope Gregory XIII., our predecessor, of holy and happy memory, now, as we must presume, in glory, the letters with which your majesty had charged him; and after these letters had been publicly read, he rendered to that pontiff the obedience due to the vicar of Jesus Christ, and which all Catholic kings are accustomed to render to him. This was done in presence of all the cardinals of the holy church, then assembled at Rome, of which number we were. A greater concourse of persons of all conditions, and a greater public joy, had never been seen. Shortly after, it having pleased God to charge us, without our having in the least merited it, with the government of his church, we have also received with entirely paternal tenderness the

* His reception of the Japanese and his reformation of the calendar are both recorded together in his epitaph.

same duties of obedience which Dom Michael has renewed to us, in the name of your majesty; whereupon we have thought proper to add you to the number of our very dear children, the Catholic kings of the holy church. We have seen, with much joy and satisfaction, the testimonies of your piety and religion; and, to give you the means of increasing these in your heart, we have sent you, by your before-named ambassador, inclosed in a cross of gold, a piece of the cross to which was nailed Jesus Christ, King of kings and eternal Priest, who, by the effusion of his blood, has made us also kings and priests of the living God. We send you, also, a sword and hat, which we have blessed, such as it is the custom of the Roman pontiff to send to all the Catholic kings, and we pray the Lord to be the support of your majesty in all your enterprises. According to the usage in the courts of the kings of Europe, the sword and hat should be received at the end of a mass, to which we shall attach a plenary indulgence for all sins for the benefit of all who may assist thereat, and who, after having confessed themselves, shall pray for the tranquillity of the Catholic church, the salvation of the Christian princes, and the extirpation of heresies — provided they have a true confidence in the divine mercy, in the power which has been given to the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and in that with which we are clothed. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the seal of the fisherman," &c.

From Rome, escorted out of the city with all honors, the ambassadors went by way of Loretto, where they paid their devotions, to Venice, and thence to Milan and Genoa, at which latter place they embarked for Barcelona. They declined, as they had been so long from home, a pressing invitation from Henry III. to visit France, and, after a new audience with Philip II., they hastened to sail from Lisbon on their return voyage, embarking April 13th, 1586.*

* The Letters, Briefs, and the Discourse on Obedience, above quoted, may be found at length in Latin, in the very valuable and rich collection, *De Rebus Japonicis Indicis and Peruvianis Epistolæ Recentiores*, edited by John Hay, of Dalgetty, a Scotch Jesuit, and a sharp controversialist, published in 1605; in Spanish, in Father Luys de Gusman's *Historia de los Missiones, que han hecho los Religiosos de la Compania de Jesus, &c.*, published in 1601, of which the larger part is devoted to the Japanese mission; in Italian, in Father Daniel Batoli's *Historia de la Compagnia de Gesu;* and in French, in Charlevoix's *Histoire du Japon*. An Italian history of the mission was printed at Rome, 1585, — the same, I suppose, of which a Latin translation is given in Hay's collection; and a still rarer and more valuable one at Macao, in 1590, of which a further account will be found in a note at the end of the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

EVENTS MEANWHILE IN JAPAN. — DOWNFALL OF NOBUNANGA. — ACCESSION OF FAXIBA, AFTERWARDS KNOWN AS CAMBUCUNDONO, AND, FINALLY, AS TAIKO-SAMA. — EDICT AGAINST THE JESUITS. — RETURN OF THE AMBASSADORS. — A. D. 1582–1586.

WHILE the ambassadors were on their way to Europe, great changes had taken place in the Japanese islands. A few months after they had sailed from Nagasaki, Aquichi, a favorite general of Nobunanga's, had marched from Miako to join Faxiba, another favorite general, employed in prosecuting the war against Naugato. The stern severity of Nobunanga had rendered him very unpopular, of which Aquichi took advantage to turn about and attack him, left as he was at Miako almost without troops. Nobunanga, thus betrayed and surprised, having no other resource, set fire to his palace, and perished in it, June 15, 1580, with his eldest son. His second son, overwhelmed by this disaster, went mad, and in that condition set fire to his father's patrimonial palace at Anzuquiama, thus kindling a conflagration which consumed almost the entire city, including a splendid temple, which Nobunanga had lately erected there, and in which, suspending all other worship by edict, he had required divine honors to be paid to a stone graven with his arms * and other devices. To the missionaries, who had all along counted upon making a convert of Nobunanga, this step had caused no less horror than surprise; and they found in it a ready explanation of the sudden ruin which had overtaken himself and his family, especially as his eldest son had been the first to pay the required worship.

* The princes and nobles of Japan, and indeed most private individuals, have certain devices embroidered on their gowns, &c., which the Portuguese and the missionaries compared to the armorial bearings of Europe.

Aquichi now aspired to succeed the master he had betrayed and overthrown; but he was defeated by Ucondono, another general, a nephew of the Vatadono, who had played so conspicuous a part in previous revolutions, and a convert to the Catholic faith, who united with Faxiba to revenge their master's death, the latter marching upon Miako in the name of the late emperor's third son, whom he proclaimed as Kubo-Sama, reserving, however, to himself all real authority; and thus again was Japan, as during part of Nobunanga's reign, furnished with two "idle kings," — a Dairi and a titular Kubo-Sama, — while the real power was in the hands of a third party.

Faxiba's own very humble birth made him the more willing to begin, at first, with ruling in the name of another. Originally he was but a mere private soldier, who, having attracted the attention of Nobunanga, as well by his wit and drollery as by his courage and sagacity, had been gradually raised by him to the highest commands. This founder of the Japanese imperial authority, as it now exists, is described as having been short, but quite fat, and exceedingly strong, with six fingers on each hand, and something frightful in his face, his eyes protruding in a strange manner. It was he who completed what Nobunanga had begun, and who first gave to Japan, at least in modern times, a real and effective emperor, ruling supreme over the whole territory.

The son of Nobunanga, being restless under the humiliation to which he was reduced, was deprived of his place as Kubo-Sama, and obliged to be satisfied with the island of Sikokf, the smaller of the three larger Japanese islands which his father had assigned him as an appanage, while Faxiba declared himself the guardian of an infant child of Nobunanga's eldest son, whom he set up as titular Kubo-Sama.

He showed at first the same favor to the Catholics as his predecessor had done, and the more so as Ucondono, his confederate against the rebel Aquichi, was himself a convert, as were others of his great vassals and principal officers of his court and army.

As the son of Nobunanga could not keep quiet, he was presently stripped of all authority, though his life was spared, and Faxiba, assuming to himself the high title of Kambakundono, strengthened himself still further by marrying a daughter of the Dairi.

Desirous to outdo his predecessor in everything, he converted Osaka, which had, till lately subdued by Nobunanga, been under the rule of a bonze, into a great city, and he built in its neighborhood a great stone castle. To this city, made his capital, the Jesuit seminary, originally established in the now ruined Anzuquiama, was removed, another being also set up in the neighboring city of Sakai. The king of Naugato was even induced to allow the reïntroduction of missionaries into his territories. The king of Bungo having appealed to Faxiba for aid against his neighbors, the converted general Condera, the chief commander of his cavalry, whom he sent to Ximo, not only rescued the young king Joscimon from his enemies, the kings of Chicugen and Saxuma, who had taken his capital, and ravaged his territories, but succeeded also in bringing up to the point of baptism that fickle and inconstant prince, who had long been a great trial to the missionaries, as well as to his pious father, Civan, who, having given up to him the reins of government, had been treated thenceforth with very little respect. The result of this interference also was to reduce the whole of Ximo to the power of the emperor, who now reigned supreme over Ximo, Sikokf, and all the western part of Nipon, though still obliged to pay a certain deference and respect to the pretensions and power of the local kings and princes, whom, however, he required to be frequent attendants on his court, and to leave their wives and children there as hostages, and whose authority and consequence he sought by all means to diminish.

Peace thus reëstablished, everything seemed to favor the spread of Catholicity, when, all of a sudden, and in the most unexpected manner, in the month of July, 1587, the emperor signed an order for the banishment of the missionaries; and because Ucondono would not renounce his religion (at least such was the ostensible cause), stripped him at once of his place and his property. Father Cuello, the vice-provincial, was ordered to assemble all the missionaries at Firando; and, in obedience to this order, they collected there to the number of about one hundred and twenty, only Father Gnecchi remaining concealed at Osaka, and one brother in Bungo. But when the emperor commanded them to embark on board a Portuguese vessel about to sail, they resolved not to obey. A few indeed went on board and sailed for China; but the greater part remained, a message being sent to the emperor that the vessel could

not carry the others; to which he responded by ordering all the churches in Miako, Osaka and Sakai, to be destroyed. The converted princes, however, in general, stood firm, except Joscimon, king of Bungo; and even the unconverted ones are said to have protested against the emperor's edict as in violation of the freedom of religious opinion heretofore allowed. The missionaries, in disguise, were distributed through the territories of their adherents. The emperor's grand admiral, Tsucamidono, who was viceroy of Ximo, though himself a convert, still kept the confidence of the emperor, as did also Condera, the chief commander of his cavalry. The Portuguese merchants were admitted as before. After a little while the emperor seemed disposed to wink at the conduct of the converted princes, and the missionaries soon began to conceive hopes that, by caution on their part, the work of conversion might still go on, the stimulus of a prohibition not very strictly enforced, more than supplying all the benefits hitherto derived from the éclat of imperial favor.

Some difficulty about obtaining recruits for the imperial seraglio, especially from the province of Figin, celebrated for its handsome women, but in which the converts were numerous, was said to have provoked the emperor, in a fit of drunken fury, to put forth so suddenly his edict of persecution. But, in fact, his policy brooked no power but his own. He did not fancy a religion which taught his subjects to look up with implicit reverence to a distant and foreign potentate; nor probably was his hostility to the Jesuits much different in substance from that sentiment which had caused Henry VIII., of England, fifty years earlier, to break with the holy see, — a breach also ascribed by the Catholics to amorous passion.

But the cautious and artful emperor, who, however he might give way to sudden fits of violence and caprice, was a perfect master of all the arts of dissimulation, knowing, as well as Bonaparte, if not better, how to wait till the pear was ripe, was not yet wholly prepared to break with the converted kings and nobles, whom he found, perhaps, as well as the humbler converts, more attached to their faith than he had supposed. There were too many inflammable materials in his yet unconsolidated empire, for him to run the risk of provoking a rebellion; and, besides, there still remained to be subdued eight independent provinces in the east and

north of Nipon, including a kingdom of five provinces, in which were situated the great cities of Suruga and Jedo.

The conquest of this kingdom was speedily achieved, partly by arts and partly by arms. A new palace was erected for the Dairi, in place of the old one, which had been burnt during the late troubles at Miako. A splendid temple had also been built near that city, in which it was suspected that the emperor intended to cause himself to be worshipped, as his predecessor had done; when, in August, 1588, Father Valignani, appointed ambassador to the emperor and kings of Japan, from the Portuguese viceroy of Goa, arrived at Macao, on his way to Nagasaki, having in his company the returning ambassadors to the Pope, who had touched at Goa on their way home, and who had stopped there a whole year before proceeding for Japan.*

* During this residence at Macao the Japanese ambassadors were not idle. They were engaged upon a very remarkable work, printed at Macao in 1590 in Japanese and Latin, purporting to be composed by the ambassadors, and giving, by way of dialogue, an account not only of the embassy, but of Japan and of all the countries, European and Oriental, which they had visited. The Latin title is *De Missione Legatorum Japonensium ad Romanam curiam, rebusque in Europa ac toto in itinere animadversis, Dialogus, &c.*— "A Dialogue concerning the Japanese Embassy to the Court of Rome, and the things observed in Europe and on the whole journey, collected from the journal of the ambassadors, and rendered into Latin by Ed. de Laude, priest of the Society of Jesus." It is from this work, though he does not give the title of it, that Hackluyt extracted the "Excellent Treatise of the Kingdom of China and of the Estate and Government thereof," contained in his second volume, and of which he speaks in his epistle dedicatory to that volume, first published in 1599, as "the most exact account of those parts that is yet come to light." "It was printed," he tells us, "in Latin, in Makoa, a city of China, in China paper, in the year 1590, and was intercepted in the great carac Madre de Dios, two years after, enclosed in a case of sweet cedar wood, and lapped up almost a hundred fold in fine Calicut cloth, as though it had been some incomparable jewel."

CHAPTER XII.

RECAPITULATION. — EXTENT OF THE JAPANESE EMPIRE. — VALIGNANI ARRIVES AT NAGASAKI. — PROGRESS HITHERTO OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH. — THE EMPEROR'S PROJECTS AGAINST CHINA. — VALIGNANI'S VISIT TO THE EMPEROR AT MIAKO. — UCONDONO. — THE RETURNED JAPANESE AMBASSADORS. — AUDIENCE GIVEN TO VALIGNANI. — THE VICEROY'S LETTER. — THE INTERPRETER RODRIGUEZ. — A. D. 1583—1593.

THE Japanese islands had been found by Xavier and his successors divided into numerous principalities, which, though they acknowledged a nominal subordination to one imperial head, were substantially independent, and engaged in perpetual wars with each other. The superior abilities of two successive military usurpers, Nobunanga, who ruled from 1567 to 1582, and Faxiba, who took first the title of Kambacundono, and subsequently that of Taiko-Sama, had consolidated these numerous states into a real empire, embracing then as now the three principal islands of NIPON, XIMO (or Kiusiu), and SIKOKE, with many smaller ones, and some claims also of authority over parts, at least, of the large northerly island of MATSMAI or JESO, the latter the aboriginal name.

Among the dependencies, at present, of the Japanese empire, are reckoned at the north, besides this island, the southern half of the large island or peninsula of Sagaleen, called by the Japanese OKE JESO (upper Jeso), or, as Siebold says, KRAFTO, and the three smaller Kurile islands, *Kona Shir*, *Eetoorpoo*, and *Ooroop*, numbered on the Russian charts as the 20th, 19th and 18th Kurile islands, and the two latter called by the Dutch *State's Island* and *Company's Island*. On the south, the Lew Chew Islands form, or did form (for the Japanese seem lately to have renounced their claim of sovereignty), a dependency of the kingdom of Satsuma. But all these are of comparatively recent acquisition, subsequent

to the accession of Faxiba. It is said, indeed, on Japanese authority, that Jeso was first invaded in 1443, by the Japanese family of Matsmai; but it is apparent from missionary letters, that, in 1620, it was a recent settlement. The Japanese annals date the conquest of the Lew Chew Islands from the year 1610; and, according to Golownin, the Japanese settlements on Sagaleen have been subsequent to the voyage of La Perouse in 1787.

Of Nipon, at least equal in extent to Great Britain, and with a population nearer, it would seem, to that of Great Britain now than to what that island could boast in the reign of Elizabeth, the missionaries were as yet acquainted only with the south-western part — their establishments being confined to the kingdom of Naugato, at its western extremity, where it is separated from Ximo by a narrow strait, and to the great cities of Miako, Osaka and Sakai, situated towards the middle of the southern coast. Many princes, nobles and large landed proprietors, had fallen under the influence of the Jesuits, and had professed the new faith; but it does not appear that either in Nipon or in the adjoining island of Sikokf (about equal in extent to Sicily), any considerable progress had been made in converting the rural population. It was in the island of Ximo, the westernmost in situation and the second in size (two thirds as large as Ireland), that the new religion had taken the firmest root. The kingdom of Bungo, indeed almost the whole of the eastern portion of that island, was thoroughly indoctrinated with the new faith; and such was still more the case with the kingdom of Arima and the principality of Omura, embracing that great south-western peninsula itself, divided into three smaller peninsulas by two deep bays, one opening to the south, and the other to the west, at the head of the latter of which is situated the city of Nagasaki.

Founded in 1579 by converts to the new faith, and made the centre of the Portuguese trade to Japan, as well as of the Jesuit missions, Nagasaki had grown up with great rapidity; nor was any other worship practised in it except that of the new religion. It had become the largest and most important town in Ximo; and, since the recent subjection of that island to the imperial authority, according to the new policy of weakening the local princes, the emperor had assumed the appointment of its governor. Nagasaki

being placed, along with Miako, Osaka and Sakai, in the list of imperial towns.

At the date of the edict, so unexpectedly issued in 1787, for the banishment of the Jesuits, there were in Japan three hundred members of the company, a novitiate, a college, two preparatory seminaries for the education of young nobles designed for the church, two hundred and fifty churches, and a number of converts, amounting, probably, to between two and three hundred thousand, though the estimate of the Jesuits was much larger. Notwithstanding the apostasy of Joscimon, the young king of Bungo (whose father, Civan, had died just before the emperor's edict had appeared), the numerous converts in that kingdom remained firm in the faith. That zealous Catholic, the prince of Omura, had also lately deceased; but the young prince, his only son and successor, who had been educated by the Jesuits, was hardly less zealous than his father had been. The king of Arima also continued steady in the faith. It was this king who, along with the deceased king of Bungo and the deceased prince of Omura, had sent the ambassadors to the Pope, of whose visit to Europe an account has been given in a preceding chapter, and whom the last chapter left at Macao, on their return to Japan, in company with Father Valignani, who had been deputed by the viceroy of Goa as his ambassador to the emperor.

It was at Macao that Valignani and his companions learned the news of the edict for the banishment of the Jesuits. It was said at Macao that the emperor was a good deal mollified, and seemed inclined to wink at the general disregard of his edict, yet as Valignani was himself a Jesuit, and had once already visited Japan in that character, he did not judge it best to proceed to Japan till he had first obtained express permission to do so. On the representations of the Christian princes, who put forward Valignani's character as ambassador, the emperor readily consented to receive him; and, accompanied by the returning Japanese envoys and some twenty Jesuits, he landed at Nagasaki, in June, 1590, where he was received with great affection by the converted princes of Ximo, and by Father Gomez, who, on the death of Cuello, had succeeded to the post of vice-provincial. The emperor, in the late re-distribution of the kingdoms of that island, had liberally provided for Tsucamidono, the grand admiral, and for Condera,

his general of horse, both of whom, notwithstanding their continued adhesion to the new faith, still retained his favor. To Tsucamidono he had given the kingdom of Fingo, and to Condera that of Bayen, so that almost the whole of the island of Ximo was now ruled by converted princes. Even the changeable Joscimon, not finding his apostasy so advantageous as he had expected, soon sought and presently obtained a reconciliation to the church. The king of Firando was not friendly, but he was kept in check by the number of converts among his subjects, especially by a very zealous converted wife, a sister of the prince of Omura — whom he complained of as having more influence over his kingdom than himself — and also by his fear of driving off the Portuguese merchants, who still occasionally visited his island.

Notwithstanding the emperor's edict of expulsion, there still remained in Japan a hundred and forty Jesuits, including those lately brought by Valignani. The seminary of nobles at Osaka had been broken up, most of the pupils retiring with their teachers; but the other seminary in the kingdom of Arima was still maintained, being, for greater security, removed to a retired spot surrounded with woods. The college and novitiate, for similar reasons, were transferred to the island of Amakusa. Besides these, the Jesuits had twenty other houses of residence. Those districts in which the missionaries had no settled establishments they supplied by frequent journeys, which they made secretly, and generally in disguise, being assisted also by a great number of adroit and zealous native catechists, who not only maintained the fervor of the old converts, but daily added new ones to the number. This employment of catechist was held in great honor in the church of Japan. None were admitted into it except persons of approved virtue, generally young men of family and promise, devoted by their parents from their infancy to a service upon which they entered for life, being ordained with much ceremony, and wearing a garb similar to that of the missionaries with whom they lived in community, observing the same rules. Conversions still continued to be made among the upper as well as among the lower classes, and the numerous adherents to the new faith, or favorers of it, in the court and household of the emperor, including even the empress, carefully watched and reported to the missionaries every

word or hint dropped by him, from which his disposition and intentions might be conjectured.

At this moment the emperor's thoughts seemed a good deal withdrawn from domestic affairs, being engrossed by a war, which he had determined to commence by invading Corea, a dependency of the Chinese empire, and the part of the continent of Asia nearest to Japan. For this purpose he was constructing a fleet at a port of Ximo, on the strait of Corea. Not long after Valignani's arrival at Nagasaki, leave was obtained for him to visit the emperor's court at Miako; but his friends there advised that, instead of ecclesiastics, his retinue should be composed as much as possible of Portuguese merchants. The merchants at Nagasaki entered zealously into the affair, and not less than twenty-seven of them accompanied Valignani, in the style of great lords, sparing no expense to give magnificence to the ambassador's train. He took with him also four priests, some young Japanese Jesuits not yet ordained, and the four returned youthful ambassadors. These ambassadors had learned to sing in the European style, and chanted church music tolerably well. They also had with them a great show of maps, globes, clocks, watches, and other European curiosities, which attracted much attention. Their description of what they had seen and heard made a deep impression upon the princes and nobles, who flocked from all quarters to see them. And there was ample leisure for this, as the approach of the ambassador to Miako was delayed for more than two months by the death of the emperor's only son.

In this interval Valignani had had the pleasure of a visit from the disgraced Ucondono, whose face he was rejoiced to see lighted up with an air of content rarely seen among those on whom the favors of fortune are most prodigally showered. He protested that the happiest day in his life was that on which he had lost everything for Jesus Christ. He communicated to Father Valignani a design he had formed of quitting the world altogether, and consecrating himself entirely to the service of God; but besides that he had a wife and a numerous family, whom his retreat would have left without resource, the father considered that he was much younger than the emperor; that if reëstablished in his offices and his possessions, he might render much greater services to the church

by remaining in the world than by quitting it, and on that ground he advised Ucondono not to withdraw from that station in life in which Providence had placed him.

At last the emperor consented to admit Valignani to an audience, but only on condition that he should say nothing about religion or the revocation of the edict against the Jesuits. Through the care of Condera, to whom that business had been entrusted, the embassy was received at Miako with all honor, and was able to make a display which strongly impressed the inhabitants, and even the emperor in its favor. On the day of audience, Dainangandono, the emperor's nephew and presumptive heir, attended by a great number of lords, met the ambassador, and conducted him to the hall of audience. This hall, which opened upon a magnificent balcony, before which spread a parterre of great beauty, consisted of five several divisions, rising, like steps, one above the other. The first served as an ante-chamber, or hall of waiting, for the gentlemen in attendance. In the two next were assembled the lords of the court and the great officers of the empire, arranged in order, according to their rank. In the fourth, there were only two persons, a priest who held the first dignity in the household of the Dairi, and the chief counsellor of that same dignitary; by the side of whom Dainangandono also took his place, after introducing the ambassador to the fifth and highest apartment, in which the emperor was seated alone, on his heels, in the Japanese fashion, upon an elevated throne, approached by steps on all sides. Father Valignani was preceded by one of the Portuguese gentlemen of his suite, bearing the letter of the viceroy of the Indies, written in gilded letters upon fine vellum, with a golden seal attached to it, the whole enclosed in a little box beautifully wrought. That letter was as follows:

LETTER OF THE VICEROY OF GOA TO THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN.

"MOST SERENE EMPEROR: Though the great space that separates us has not hitherto allowed me much communication with your majesty, yet fame and the religious men who labor in your empire to make known the law of the true God to your subjects, have informed me of the great deeds done by you, and of the victories which have made you the greatest monarch who has reigned in Japan for ages; and I have therefore thought it my duty to congratulate your majesty on the happy successes with which the God of

heaven has favored you. The same religious men, who are, for the most part, natural-born subjects of the great prince whom the Indies obey, and who go through the earth with a truly heroical courage to teach men to know and to adore the Author of nature, have also informed me of the distinguished favors with which your majesty has uniformly honored them, and have begged me to convey to you their thanks, which I willingly do, conjointly with my own; and that, indeed, is the particular object of this embassy, with which I have charged the Father Alexander Valignani, who has the honor to be already known to you. After rendering to your majesty his humblest thanks for your past favors, he will supplicate you, in my name, to vouchsafe to continue them; and I dare to assure your majesty that subjects for your favors cannot be found who will merit them better. Favors to them I shall esteem as favors to me, and shall take every opportunity to acknowledge them as such. I have charged my ambassador to present you with two Arabian genets, with their housings and harness, two swords, and two guns of a new fashion, two webs of tapestry embroidered with gold, and two complete suits of wrought steel armor, a dagger, which serves also as a pistol, and a tent for country excursions.

"At Goa, this year of Redemption, 1587.

"DOM EDWARD DE MENESES."*

The presents seemed greatly to please the emperor, by whom they were carefully examined. A signal being given, Valignani was led up the steps of the throne to the emperor's feet, whom, on bended knee, he saluted, after the European fashion, by kissing his hand, — a privilege to which all the members of his suite were admitted in succession, the ambassador being meanwhile seated in the third compartment among the grandees of the court. Tea was then served to the emperor in a gilded cup, which, after sipping from it a little, he sent to the ambassador, who, at the same time, received, by way of present, a hundred silver platters and four silk dresses. Presents were also distributed among the members of his suite. The emperor then retired, first directing his nephew to entertain the ambassador at dinner, which he did, but with more of ceremony than good cheer. The guests consisted of three members of the imperial family and eight other great lords, all eating, each from his own little table or salver, in profound silence, many persons of inferior rank standing about them. The ambassador's suite were entertained at the same time in a separate apartment.

* This letter, with the reply in the next chapter, is given by Froer, from whom Gusman has copied them.

After dinner the emperor again made his appearance in undress, and, seating himself beside Father Valignani, conversed with him for some time. He also conversed freely with the four returned Japanese, and seemed much pleased at hearing them sing and play in the European fashion. He made great offers to one of them; but they had all made up their minds to enter the company of the Jesuits, which, in spite of a good deal of opposition on the part of their friends and relations, they presently did.* Passing into the hall where the ambassador's suite had dined, the emperor addressed them with great familiarity, and they improved the opportunity to complain of some oppressions, on the part of the collector of the port of Nagasaki, which he promised should be redressed.† In the evening, Rodriguez, a young Portuguese Jesuit, who acted as one of Valignani's interpreters, was sent for to show the emperor how to wind up a clock which the ambassador had presented to him. The emperor seemed much pleased with Rodriguez's conversation, detaining him till late at night. On dismissing him, he bade him say to Father Valignani that he was at liberty to remain at Miako or wherever he pleased, till an answer to the viceroy's letter was prepared, but that he must take care that the ecclesiastics who accompanied him comported themselves with discretion, so as not to drive him into striking disagreeable blows. Not long after Rodriguez was selected as the emperor's interpreter, in which capacity he became attached to the court, and, by his access to the emperor and influence with him, had opportunities of rendering essential service to his order.‡

* Letters from the ambassadors to Sixtus V., written at Nagasaki after their arrival there, and giving an account of their voyage home, may be found in Hay's collection.

† Valignani was not the first European to obtain an imperial audience. The same favor had been granted, as already mentioned, by Josi Tir to Father Vilela, in 1559. Louis Froez had also been admitted, in 1565, to an audience of the same emperor, of which he has given a short but interesting account.

‡ This is the same Rodriguez whose Japanese grammars are mentioned in note A, Appendix, and who subsequently was the writer of many annual letters from Japan.

CHAPTER XIII.

NEW TROUBLES OF THE MISSIONARIES FROM THEIR OWN COUNTRYMEN. — THE EMPEROR CLAIMS HOMAGE OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINES. — MUTUAL JEALOUSIES OF THE PORTUGUESE AND SPANIARDS. — SPANISH ADVENTURERS IN JAPAN. — THE EMPEROR'S SUSPICIONS EXCITED. — HIS REPLY TO THE VICEROY OF GOA. — A. D. 1591–1592.

VALIGNANI'S gracious reception greatly raised the hopes of the Japanese converts. But much annoyance was soon experienced from two pagan lords, who had been appointed joint governors of Nagasaki. Nor was it pagan hostility alone which the Jesuits had to dread. Enemies even more dangerous were found among their own countrymen in Japan, many of whom had ceased to exhibit that zeal for the faith, at first so universal. The irregular conduct of certain Portuguese merchants, in frequenting ports where there were no missionaries, and where they could freely follow their own devices, had greatly troubled the Jesuit fathers. A Japanese adventurer, by name Firanda, having gone to the Philippines to trade, had taken it into his head to suggest to the emperor of Japan to require the Spanish governor of those islands to acknowledge him as sovereign. This idea, conveyed to the emperor through a Japanese courtier with whom Firanda was intimate, was eagerly caught at by a prince rendered vain by the elevation to which he had attained, and whose head was filled with schemes for still further extending his empire. He wrote an imperious letter to the governor of the Philippines, demanding his homage, and despatched it by the hand of Firanda, who applied to Father Valignani, to write to the Jesuits at Manilla, and to the Spanish governor, in furtherance of this project. Valignani refused to write any such letters, alleging as an ostensible reason, that he had no acquaintance with the governor of the Philippines, nor authority over the

Jesuits of Manilla; and, in consequence of this refusal, Firanda did not venture to carry the letter himself, but sent it by another hand. Valignani wrote, however, by a simultaneous opportunity, to the Jesuits of Manilla, informing them of this affair, suggesting its delicate character, and the expediency, while due care was had of the honor of the Spanish crown, of not giving to the emperor of Japan any pretence for renewing his persecution of the missionaries.

Notwithstanding the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal, upon the head of Philip II., a very fierce jealousy and hatred continued to exist between the two nations; and this feeling was particularly violent at Manilla, which city, founded in 1572, was almost contemporaneous in its origin with Nagasaki, and whose merchants looked very enviously at the monopoly of the trade to Japan secured to the Portuguese, and to the city of Macao, by the terms of the union between the two crowns. This express exclusion of all Spanish merchants from Japan had been indeed already broken through, in at least two instances, by the arrival of one Jean de Solis from Peru, by way of Macao, and of another Spanish merchant from the Philippines, both of whom, after various adventures, and receiving aid and services from the Jesuit missionaries, had reached Nagasaki. Solis soon after proceeded to Satsuma on the southern coast of Ximo, where he commenced building a vessel in which to trade to China and thence to Peru, — a project in which he was presently joined by the other Spaniard. But to carry out this scheme it became necessary for Solis to get back a sum of money which he had been compelled to deposit in the hands of the Portuguese, at Nagasaki, as security for certain debts which he had contracted at Macao; and because Father Valignani would not help them in this matter, the two Spaniards threatened to give information to the emperor of the large number of Jesuits still in Japan, in violation of his edict, and to denounce the princes who gave them shelter.

The emperor, meanwhile, had been a good deal soured and his suspicions excited by some suggestions, thrown out by the enemies of the Jesuits, that Valignani was no real ambassador, that being a mere pretence to secure his entry into Japan. Means, indeed, had been found to quiet him upon this head, to which the repre-

sentations of Rodrigues greatly contributed; but the answer which he caused to be prepared to the viceroy's letter, took so high a tone, and was so filled with invectives against the missionaries, that Valignani was unwilling to be the bearer of it.

Finally, by the persuasions of the governor of Miako, an idolater, but favorable to the new religion, the emperor was induced to modify his letter; and he even adopted a crafty suggestion of Rodriguez that the Jesuits whom Valignani had brought with him should remain at Nagasaki as hostages, till the authenticity of his mission was placed beyond question. The letter, as finally modified, a frank exposition of Taiko's policy, was in the following terms:

TAIKO-SAMA TO THE VICEROY OF GOA.

"MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD: I received with pleasure the letter which you wrote me, and in reading it seemed to realize that great distance between us of which you speak. Japan contains more than sixty realms or principalities, which have been for a long time agitated by troubles and civil wars, growing out of the refusal of the princes to render to their sovereign lord the obedience which they owe him. The sight of so many evils sensibly afflicted me from my earliest age, and I revolved in my mind a remedy for them; and with that view I laboriously applied myself to the acquisition of three virtues the most necessary for so great an undertaking. In the first place, I studied affability, so as to gain all hearts. Next I strove to accustom myself to judge soundly of all things, and to comport myself at all times with prudence and discretion. In the third place, I have omitted no occasion of inspiring a high idea of my valor. Thus have I succeeded in subjecting all Japan to my authority, which I govern with a mildness equal to the courage displayed in subduing it. I have especially caused the effects of my tenderness to be felt by the laborers who cultivate the earth. All my severity is reserved for those who deviate from the paths of virtue. Nothing is more tranquil than Japan at this moment, and it is this tranquillity which makes it strong. This vast monarchy is like a firmly-fixed rock; all the efforts of its enemies cannot shake it. So, not only am I at peace at home, but even very distant countries send to render me the obedience which is my due. I expect soon to conquer China, and as I have no doubt of succeeding in it, I hope we shall soon be much nearer to each other, and that the communication between us will not be so difficult.

"As to what regards religion, Japan is the realm of the KAMI, that is, of SIN, the beginning of all things; and the good order of the government depends upon the exact observance of the ancient laws of which the Kami are the authors. They cannot be departed from without overturning the subordination which ought to exist, of subjects to their sovereign, wives to their hus-

bands, children to their parents, vassals to their lords, and servants to their masters. These laws are necessary to maintain good order within and tranquillity without. The fathers, called the Company, have come to these islands to teach another religion; but as that of the Kami is too deeply rooted to be eradicated, this new law can only serve to introduce into Japan a diversity of worship very prejudicial to the state. It is on that account that, by an imperial edict, I have forbidden these strange doctors to continue to preach their doctrine. I have even ordered them to leave Japan, and I am determined not to allow anybody to come thither to retail new opinions. But I still desire that commerce, as between you and me, may continue on its old footing. I shall keep the way open to you both by sea and land, by freeing the one from pirates and the other from robbers. The Portuguese may trade with my subjects in all security, and I shall take care that nobody harms them. All the presents mentioned in your letter have been faithfully delivered; and I send you in return some rarities of this country, of which a list is annexed. For other matters I refer you to your ambassador, and will therefore say no more. Dated the 25th year of the era Tengo, and the 25th of the 7th month."

It would seem from this letter and from what we know of the actual policy adopted by Taiko-Sama and his predecessor Nobunanga, that, in seeking to reëstablish the imperial authority on its old traditional basis, they had aimed, also, at reëdifying the old national religion. Nobunanga had treated the Buddhist bonzes with very great severity; and, though the policy of Taiko was less bloody, they do not appear to have enjoyed any share of his favor; and it is to be observed that in his letter he speaks exclusively of the religion of the Kami as the creed proper to Japan. The assurances on the subject of commerce seemed the more necessary on account of a dispute which had arisen between the governors of Nangasaki and the commander of the annual Portuguese ship, which, however, on appeal to the emperor, had been settled against the governors. The presents that accompanied this letter were two suits of Japanese armor, not so strong as the armor of Europe, but very handsome, a kind of espontoon or halbert, enclosed in a scabbard of gold, and a sabre and poniard of the highest temper, and richly ornamented.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST COREA. — THE EMPEROR ASSOCIATES HIS NEPHEW. — CITY OF FUSIMI. — CORRESPONDENCE OF THE EMPEROR WITH THE GOVERNOR OF MANILLA. — THE JESUITS DENOUNCED BY THE SPANISH ENVOYS. — CONSEQUENCES THEREOF. — DEPARTURE OF VALIGNANI. — A. D. 1592.

MEANWHILE, an army of eighty thousand men, divided into four corps, had been raised for the war against Corea; and not to leave the country without a head, should the emperor choose himself to lead the invading forces, he took his nephew as an associate in the empire, resigning to him the title of Kambacundono, while he assumed for himself that of Taiko-Sama, the title by which this most illustrious of the Japanese emperors is commonly known.

Though much engaged in this foreign enterprise, he still found time to lay the foundations of the new city of Fusimi, which he designed to make his capital, but the nearness of which to Miako ultimately placed it in the position of a sort of suburb to that ancient city.

The first division of the invading army, which at length set sail, was led by the grand admiral, king of Fingo, whose troops, as well as those of the second division, led by the son of Condera, the king of Buygen, were drawn from the island of Ximo, and were composed almost entirely, officers as well as men, of Catholic converts. And, indeed, the suspicion soon began to be entertained that Corea had been invaded, not so much to add new provinces to the Taiko-Sama's empire, as to keep the converted princes employed away from home.

While the emperor, to look after and to second the invasion, hastened to Ximo, where his presence caused no little alarm to the missionaries, the grand admiral was already making rapid progress.

Having taken two places by assault, all the others, as far as the capital, opened their gates. To save their capital, the Coreans fought and lost a pitched battle. A second victory, on the part of the grand admiral, drove the Corean king to seek refuge in China, while the capital opened its gates to the triumphant Japanese.*

But the joy of the missionaries at the success of an army led by one of their adherents, and so largely composed of converts, was not a little damped by a side blow from another and an unexpected quarter. So anxious was the Spanish governor of Manilla to improve every chance for opening a trade with Japan, that, in spite of the imperious character of the emperor's letter, he sent an answer to it by a Spanish gentleman named Liano, in which, indeed, he evaded its demands by suggesting that the mean quality of the person who had brought it, and his not having heard anything on the subject from the Jesuits at Nagasaki, had led him to suspect its authenticity. Liano, accompanied by a Dominican friar, landed in Satsuma, where he met with Solis, the Spaniard from Peru, still busy with his ship-building enterprise, and in no very good humor with the Portuguese and the Jesuits. To confer with Firanda, the envoys proceeded to Nagasaki, which city they

* According to the letters of Louis Froez, the prince of Omura joined the army against Corea with one thousand men, the king of Arima with two thousand, and the king of Bungo with ten thousand, besides mariners and mean people to carry the baggage. The entire number of men-at-arm in the empire, at this time, is stated to have been, by a written catalogue, three hundred thousand. The victories mentioned in the text were gained by an advanced body of fifteen thousand men. The Coreans (of whom to this day we know little or nothing) are described by Froez as different from the Chinese in race and language, and superior to them in personal prowess, yet as in a manner tributary to China, whose laws, customs and arts, they had borrowed. They are represented as good bowmen, but scantily provided with other weapons, and therefore not able to encounter the cannon, lances and swords, of the Japanese, who had been, beside, practised by continual wars among themselves. But in nautical affairs Froez reckons the Chinese and Coreans as decidedly superior to the Japanese. Translations from several Jesuit letters relating to the Corean war, will be found in Hackluyt, vol. iv., near the end. Siebold, relying upon Japanese authorities, insists that it was through Corea that the arts, knowledge, language and written characters, of China were introduced into Japan.

left again without any communication with the Portuguese merchants, or the missionaries; and, accompanied by Firanda and his Japanese friend, Faxagava, they hastened to the northern coast of Ximo, where the emperor then was. Faxagava and Firanda translated so ill the letter of the governor of Manilla, as to make it express something of a disposition to comply with the emperor's pretensions, who, thereupon, wrote a second letter, declaring the other to be genuine, and renewing the demand which it had contained of submission and homage. The envoys, without fully understanding its contents, consented to receive this letter; and in the hope that, if the Portuguese were driven away, the commerce of Japan might fall into the hands of the Spaniards of Manilla, they proceeded to suggest heavy complaints against the Portuguese at Nagasaki, whom they not only charged as guilty of great harshness in support of their commercial monopoly, but also with protecting the Jesuits, great numbers of whom, in spite of the emperor's edicts, still continued to be sheltered in that city and its neighborhood. The emperor either was, or had affected to be ignorant of the extent to which his edicts had been disregarded. This information put him into a great rage; and he issued instant orders for the destruction of the splendid church at Nagasaki, hitherto untouched, and also of the house of the Jesuits, who had now no place of residence left there except the hospital of Misrecordia. But these wicked Spaniards did not long go unpunished. Solis, on his way back to Satsuma, perished by shipwreck, as did the Spanish envoys on their return voyage to Manilla. It was stated, too, that the emperor's mother died at Miako, at the very moment of his signing the order for the destruction of the church, — judgments so striking as to become, so we are told by the missionaries, the occasion of many conversions.

Such was the state of affairs when Father Valignani, leaving Japan for the second time, sailed for Macao in October, 1592.

CHAPTER XV.

PROGRESS OF THE COREAN WAR. — SUCCESS OF THE JAPANESE. — TSUKAMDONO VICEROY OF COREA. — EDICT OF THE EMPEROR FOR DISARMING THE CONVERTS IN XIMO. — DISGRACE AND DOWNFALL OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF BUNGO. — TERAZABA GOVERNOR OF NAGASAKI. — HIS CONVERSION AND FRIENDLY ACTS. — A. D. 1593—1593.

THOUGH the emperor did not himself pass into Corea, he sent thither such reinforcements as to raise his army there to the number of two hundred thousand men. But the Coreans having abandoned their cities and fled to inaccessible places, burning everything, even to provisions, which they could not carry away (thus setting an example long afterwards followed by the Russians on a similar occasion), this great force was soon reduced to extremities, by which its numbers were rapidly diminished. The Chinese also came to the assistance of the Coreans; and the grand admiral, with forces so reduced as to be greatly inferior in numbers, was obliged to encounter these new enemies in several desperate engagements. Compelled at last to retreat, he fell back upon a garrison which he had left to keep up his communications with the coast, the command of which he had entrusted to Joscimon, king of Bungo. But that feeble prince, in a moment of terror, had abandoned his post; and, the grand admiral's communications thus cut off, nothing but his distinguished firmness and courage saved his army from total destruction. After a drawn battle under the walls of the Corean capital, terms of peace were agreed upon, according to which five of the eight provinces of Corea were assigned to the Japanese; and the commerce between China and Japan, which by the act of the former had for some time been broken off, was again renewed.

The admiral was named viceroy of Corea, and the converted princes were still detained there at the head of their troops. The

missionaries, thus separated from their protectors, were filled with new alarms by an order of the emperor for disarming all their converts in Ximo. The king of Bungo, as a punishment for his cowardice, was stripped of his estates; and in the end he and his family, reduced to absolute poverty, were obliged to retire to Nagasaki, and to live there on the charity of the Jesuits. His territories were assigned to pagan lords, and the converted inhabitants soon felt the consequences of the change. Indeed, throughout Ximo the converts suffered greatly by the absence of their princes, of whom several died about this time. But, in general, the Catholics stood firm; and several of the Jesuit fathers having made their way to Corea, new converts were made in the ranks of the army.

The missionaries also found a new friend in Terazaba, a young man appointed governor of Nagasaki, and who, not long after, was secretly baptized. He represented to the emperor that, if the Portuguese merchants were still to be admitted to trade at Nagasaki, they ought to be allowed some priests, since it was the influence and authority of the priests that kept the merchants in order, settled their quarrels, and obliged them to strict justice in their commercial transactions; and, upon the strength of these plausible representations, Terazaba obtained leave for the Jesuits to rebuild their house and church at Nagasaki. Father Gnecchi, also, in consideration of his age and infirmities, was allowed to remain at Miako, though without any church, or permission to celebrate divine service openly.

CHAPTER XVI.

JEALOUSY ON THE PART OF THE DOMINICANS AND FRANCISCANS TOWARDS THE JESUITS. — THIS JEALOUSY COÖPERATES WITH THE MERCANTILE JEALOUSY OF THE SPANIARDS AT MANILLA. — FRANCISCAN FRIARS ESTABLISH THEMSELVES AT MIAKO, OSAKA AND NAGASAKI. — EDICTS AGAINST THEM. — DEPOSITION AND DEATH OF THE EMPEROR'S NEPHEW. — A. D. 1593—1595.

It was not alone against the emperor's hostility and the mercantile envy of the Spanish that the Jesuits had to contend. The rapid rise and great successes of the Company of Jesus had excited against them not only the dread and deadly hatred of the Protestants (which might naturally enough have been expected), but feelings also of envy and jealousy, scarcely less hostile, and by no means very scrupulous, on the part of their monastic brethren of the Catholic church — the Dominicans, and especially the numerous bodies of Franciscans, who had attempted, by various reforms and modifications, to revive and purify that ancient order, so as to make it equal to compete with the Jesuits.

A brief of Pope Gregory XIII., dated in 1585, had forbidden, under pain of the greater excommunication, any but Jesuits to proceed to Japan with the view of exercising any ecclesiastical function there; and this bull was not less disagreeable to the Dominicans and Franciscans, than the Portuguese monopoly of the Japanese trade was to the Spanish merchants. At Manilla these feelings of dissatisfaction, both mercantile and ecclesiastical, combined in a common focus, giving rise to the most injurious and unfounded reports, which were even embodied in print, of extensive apostasies among the Japanese converts, and of the great jeopardy into which Catholicism had been brought by the misconduct of the Jesuits, who, at this moment, were out of favor in Spain.

The same Faranda already mentioned, having gone in person to

Manilla, inflamed the zeal of some Franciscans whom he found there, by representing that it was to the Jesuit missionaries personally, and not to their religion, that the emperor was opposed. The Spanish governor, not having received the emperor's answer to his former letter, was induced, in the hope of opening the door to commercial intercourse, to write a new one; and four Franciscans attached themselves to the bearer of it, eagerly seizing upon this opportunity to gain admission into Japan.

When the emperor found that these new deputies had not brought the submission which he had demanded, at first he was very angry, but was finally persuaded to allow them to travel through the empire, in order to see and to report its greatness. The Franciscans were even suffered to build or buy a house at Miako, to which they presently added a church; and, being joined by others of their order, a convent was established at Osaka. Two of them having gone to Nagasaki, took possession of a church in the environs of that city, which had remained closed since the commencement of the persecution; and here, as well as in the other two cities, they performed their religious functions with an ostentation and publicity which greatly alarmed the Jesuits, whom the Franciscans accused of an unworthy timidity.

The Jesuits, under these circumstances, thought proper to call the attention of these new comers to the bull of Gregory XIII., above referred to, prohibiting the entry into Japan of any ecclesiastics except those of the Company of Jesus; to which the Franciscans replied, that they had entered Japan not as ecclesiastics, but as envoys from the governor of Manilla; and that being there without any violation of the bull, nobody had any right to prevent them from exercising their ecclesiastical functions — a piece of casuistry which not even a Jesuit could have outdone. Very soon, however, the governor of Nagasaki closed the church of the Franciscans, and, before long, an edict appeared threatening the punishment of death to all who frequented their convent and church at Miako, — procedures which the Franciscans were uncharitable enough to ascribe to the intrigues of the Jesuits. It seems probable, however, that decisive steps would still earlier have been taken against these over-zealous Franciscans, had not the emperor's attention been engrossed by other more pressing matters. He had

conceived a jealousy against his nephew and colleague, whom, by slow and cautious steps, he stripped of all his authority, sending him at length to a monastery of bonzes, where he soon received an order to cut himself open. The thirty-one wives of the deposed prince, with all their children, were publicly beheaded, and all his closest adherents shared his disgrace, and many of them his tragical fate.* An infant son, by name Fide Jori, borne to the emperor from his new wife, the daughter of the Dairi, and to whom he desired to secure the succession, was the innocent cause of these cruelties. No sooner was the nephew out of the way than that infant received from the Dairi the title of Kambucundono.

* Yet Taiko-Sama was not in general cruel. A curious letter of Father Organtino Brixiano, written in 1594, enumerates, among the reasons of Taiko's great success, his clemency to the conquered princes whom he never put to death after having once promised them their lives, and to whom he granted a revenue, small, but sufficient to maintain them, and which served to keep them quiet. Another reason was his having established for his soldiers during war a commissariat, of which he paid the expense, by which they were rendered much more efficient. He also kept them employed, for, besides the army maintained in Corea, he set them to work in building or repairing palaces and fortresses, or in other public works. At this time he had thirty thousand men at work upon one castle near Miako, and one hundred thousand at Fusimi. He also broke the power of the princes by transferring them to distant parts, while he inspired general respect by his strict justice, from which he was swerved by no considerations of relationship, family or influence, secular or religious. Another reason mentioned by the missionary does not correspond so well with Taiko's letter to the viceroy of Goa. He is said not only to have disarmed the country people, by whose strength and wealth the petty kingdoms had been sustained, but also to have reduced them to extreme poverty; but this, perhaps, applies rather to the petty lords than to the actual cultivators. This letter is in Hay's collection, and a part of it, in English, may be found in Hackluiyt's 4th volume.

CHAPTER XVII.

GREAT EARTHQUAKE. — MISSION FROM CHINA. — ARRIVAL OF A SPANISH GALLEON. — FRIARS ON BOARD HER. — NEW ACCUSATIONS ON HER ACCOUNT AGAINST THE JESUITS. — CONNECTION OF THE JESUITS WITH THE TRADE TO JAPAN. — ARREST OF MISSIONARIES AND CONVERTS. — FIRST MARTYRS. — A. D. 1595–1597.

THE emperor, now at the height of his power and glory, was making great preparations to receive an embassy from China, when Japan was visited by a frightful earthquake, which almost ruined his new city of Fusimi. The sea rose to an extraordinary height, especially in the strait between Nipon and Sikokf, attended with a terrible destruction of life and property. Nor did the mission from China at all answer the expectation of the emperor, since the ambassadors demanded nothing less than the entire evacuation of Corea, — a demand which speedily led to a renewal of the war.

In 1596, a richly-laden Spanish galleon, from the Philippines, disabled and driven by adverse winds to the coast of Japan, was induced, partly by persuasions, and partly by a show of force, to enter a harbor on the south coast of Sikokf, where she was immediately seized by the local authorities as forfeited. The commander of the vessel sent two of his officers to Miako to solicit a remission of this forfeiture, which mission was charged to have nothing to do with the Jesuits, but to consult only with the Franciscans established in that city. It had, however, no success. The prize seemed to the emperor too valuable to be given up. Driven at length by extremity to seek the aid of the Jesuits, the ship's company, after being for some time supported by their charity, were shipped off by their assistance to Manilla, all except four Augustine friars, a Dominican and two Franciscans, who remained in Japan as missionaries. But, instead of getting any thanks from the inhabitants of Manilla,

the Jesuits were accused of having by their intrigues caused the forfeiture of the ship and her cargo.*

A narrative of the affair, written by a monk, and full of charges against the Jesuits, was printed there, and sent to Spanish America, whence it was carried to Europe, and widely diffused by the enemies of the order, being soon followed by violent memorials to the same effect, addressed to the Pope and the king of Spain. These charges, however, did not remain unanswered, a reply to them being published at Acapulco, signed by a number of Japanese who traded thither, and by several Spaniards and Portuguese who had been in Japan.

It was the Manilla pamphlet above referred to which first brought against the Jesuits the charges, ultimately so damaging to the order, of an uncanonical connection with commerce. The account of this trade, so far as Japan was concerned, as given by the Jesuits themselves, is as follows. The revenues of the mission had consisted at first only of the charities of some individuals, aided by a sum of five hundred ducats, paid yearly at Macao by the king of Portugal — a donation doubled in 1574, to facilitate the foundation of a college. Some considerable amounts had been received at different times from the wealthier native converts; but almost the whole of these sums had been expended in the founding and support of hospitals and other charities. For several years the chief resource of

* Some curious information respecting the Philippines is contained in a letter dated Mexico, 1590, intercepted on its way to Spain by some English cruiser, and translated and published by Hackluyt in his fourth volume. This letter represents the country as very unhealthy "for us Spaniards," of whom not more than one thousand were left alive out of fourteen thousand who had gone there in the twenty years preceding. It seems, too, that the Spaniards at Manilla, not less than the Portuguese at Macao, had succeeded in opening a trade with China. "There is a place in China, which is an harbor called Macaran, which the king has given to the Spaniards freely; which shall be the place where the ships shall come to traffic. For in this harbor there is a great river, which goeth up into the main land, unto divers towns and cities, which are near to this river." Where was this Spanish Chinese port?

The annual galleons to New Spain were to Manilla what the annual carac to Japan was to Macao — a main support of the place. The privilege of putting a certain amount of goods on board was distributed among all the resident merchants, offices and public institutions.

the fathers for their own support had been the proceeds of a fund of four thousand ducats, which Louis Almeida, on entering the order in 1556, and devoting himself to the Japanese mission, as mentioned in a former chapter, had set aside for that purpose out of his own private fortune, all the rest of which he had bestowed in the founding of hospitals. This fund had been entrusted by Almeida to certain Portuguese merchants to trade upon for the benefit of the Jesuits. But, though this trust had been faithfully executed, the proceeds of it had been quite too small to support the increasing number of the missionaries. Some small pensions, allowed them by the Popes Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V., failed to make up the deficiency; and, at length, it was agreed by the commercial company at Macao, by whom the annual Portuguese carac was fitted out for Japan, and by means of which the chief trade between Japan and the Portuguese was now carried on, that out of the sixteen hundred packages of silks, which formed a part of her cargo, fifty (afterwards increased to eighty) packages should be shipped on account of the Jesuits — an arrangement to which the viceroy of the Indies assented. For this business two commercial agencies were maintained by the Jesuits — one at Macao, the other at Nagasaki. The enemies of the Jesuits insisted that they sent to Japan yearly goods to the value of a hundred and sixty thousand ducats, on which their profits were sixty thousand. This was probably exaggerated; yet, when Charlevoix pretends that the whole annual Portuguese trade and profits did not amount to those sums, his statement is refuted as well by other known facts as by the vastly larger value of the cargoes of such of the annual caracs as some years later fell into the hands of the Dutch.

While the unlucky affair of the forfeited Spanish galleon caused Europe to resound with accusations against the Jesuits, in Japan itself it had results more speedy and more fatal. The Spanish pilot, finding that entreaties did not succeed, had attempted to make an impression upon those who had seized the ship by expatiating on the power of the king of Spain, the extent of whose dominions in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, he exhibited on a map of the world. To the inquiry how such an extent of dominion had been obtained, the pilot replied that nothing was easier; that the king began by sending missionaries into the countries he wished to con-

quer, who, as soon as they had converted a part of the inhabitants, were followed by troops, which troops, being joined by the converts, easily succeeded in subduing the country. This statement, it is said, was immediately reported to the emperor, who no sooner heard it than he ordered guards to be placed at the doors of the Franciscan convents at Miako and Osaka, at which latter city, since the earthquake, the emperor had made his residence. Guards were also placed at the houses of the Jesuits; but in that at Osaka there was only one young priest with two proselytes, and in that at Miako only the aged Father Gnecchi, who soon, through the dexterity of some of his friends, was conveyed out of it unobserved by the guards. There were taken in the convents of the Franciscans three priests, a clerk and two lay brothers, one of them a Spanish creole of Mexico, the other a Portuguese creole of the East Indies. A list was also ordered to be taken of the persons who frequented the Franciscan churches at Miako and Osaka.* A great many names were originally placed on it, but the governor of Miako, desirous to limit as much as possible the number of victims, finally struck off all but fifteen, who also were put under arrest.

On the 3d of January, 1597, these twenty-four prisoners were taken to a public square in Miako, where each of them had the tip of his left ear cut off, after which they were placed in carriages and paraded through the streets. A similar ceremony soon after took place in Sakai and Osaka, whence the prisoners were sent to Nagasaki to be executed. At all the towns and cities on the way they were made a spectacle of, as if to terrify those of the same faith. But they exhibited, we are told, great fervor and firmness, making many new converts and inspiring many old ones with the desire of martyrdom. On the way their number was increased to twenty-six by the addition of two others who had greatly busied themselves in ministering to the wants of the prisoners, and who, upon being asked if they were Catholics, replied that they detested the gods of Japan.

Fortunately for himself, Terezaba, the secretly-converted governor of Nagasaki, had been ordered to Corea, his place being supplied by a pagan brother of his, by whom an edict was issued threatening with death all who should embrace the foreign religion. At the same time he intimated to the Jesuits that he should allow no Japanese

to enter their church in that city, nor themselves to traverse the country, as they had done, preaching and baptizing. He exhibited, however, every disposition to be as indulgent as possible in the execution of his orders; for though the prisoners were denied the privilege of hearing mass, they were permitted, on their way to the place of execution, to stop at the hermitage of St. Lazarus, where the Jesuits confessed to Father Rodriguez and another of their order, who met them there, and the Franciscans to each other.

The place of execution was not that made use of for ordinary malefactors, but a hill bordering on the sea, one of those by which the city of Nagasaki is surrounded, and thenceforth known among the converts as the *Holy Mountain*, or *Mount of Martyrs*, to which name it gained still further claim by becoming the scene of many subsequent executions, continuing also, as long as the new religion lasted in Japan, a place of pilgrimage for its adherents. The prisoners were followed to this hill by an excited crowd, who, with tears and benedictions, besought their prayers. They were put to death by crucifixion, which, however, according to the Japanese method, is not a lingering punishment. The sufferer is bound, not nailed, to the cross, and his body is immediately pierced by a lance, or sometimes by two lances, thrust in at the sides, and coming out at the shoulders.

The earth, wet with the martyrs' precious blood, was sedulously gathered up by the bystanders, and, in spite of the care with which the bodies were guarded, those of the three Jesuits were conveyed away to Macao; or, at least, bodies alleged to be the same were preserved in the churches there with great veneration as relics. Many miracles were alleged to have attended and followed the death of these martyrs, as to which duly authenticated affidavits may be found recorded in the great collection of Bolandus, affording grounds for the canonization of these twenty-six Japanese proto-martyrs, decreed, thirty years after, by Pope Urban VIII.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NEW EDICT FOR THE DEPORTATION OF THE JESUITS. — ITS PARTIAL EVASION. — NEW CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE PHILIPPINES AND JAPAN. — TAIKO-SAMA'S JUSTIFICATION OF HIS RECENT PROCEEDINGS. — NEW DESTRUCTION OF CHURCHES IN XIMO. — TAIKO-SAMA'S DEATH. — HIS PRECEDING EFFORTS TO SECURE HIS OWN DEIFICATION AND THE SUCCESSION OF HIS INFANT SON FIDO JORI. — REGENCY. — GE-JAS ITS HEAD, WITH THE TITLE OF DAYSU-SAMA. — A. D. 1597—1599.

EVEN a more serious blow than the execution of the first martyrs, which seems rather to have warmed than to have cooled the zeal of the converted Japanese, was an order from the emperor to the governor of Nagasaki to collect all the missionaries, and to ship them off to China, except only his interpreter, Rodriguez, and two or three other Jesuits, who might be permitted to remain at Nagasaki for the benefit of the Portuguese traders.

There were still in Japan as many as a hundred and twenty-five members of the Company, of whom forty-six were priests. To blind the emperor by an apparent submission to his will, it was agreed that the newly arrived bishop of Japan (the fourth appointed to this diocese, but the first who had arrived there) should depart in the same vessel in which he had come, especially as he might improve his absence to represent to the viceroy of the Indies the pressing necessities of his diocese. The novitiate, the college in the island of Amacusa,* and the seminary for young nobles hitherto kept on foot in Arima, were all given up, and most of the fathers connected with them set out for Nagasaki. Of the whole number, however, there remained behind eight in the island

* The fathers resident at this college had been by no means idle. They had printed there, in 1593, a Japanese grammar, prepared by Father Alvarez, and in 1595, in a thick quarto of upwards of nine hundred pages, a Portuguese, Latin and Japanese Lexicon. A vocabulary entirely Japanese was printed at Nagasaki, 1598. See Appendix A.

of Amakusa, twelve in Arima and Omura, four in Bungo, and as many more in Firando and Gotto, while two others passed into Corea; but it was understood that these priests thus left behind, while ministering to the faithful, should avoid doing anything that might draw attention upon them.

The aged Father Gnecchi, with two priests and five or six other Jesuits, remained at Miako, Father Matthew de Couros being appointed to fill the place of Father Louis Froez, lately deceased, in the office of sending to Rome memoirs for the history of Japan. With these exceptions all the rest of the Jesuits assembled at Nagasaki, making a show of getting ready to depart. Indeed, the poop of a Portuguese vessel, which sailed shortly after, appeared to be full of them; but most of these seeming Jesuits were only Portuguese merchants, dressed for the occasion in the habit of the order; while, to account for the staying behind of any who might happen to be detected in the provinces, it was given out that some had been left because the vessel was not large enough to take all.

Soon after the departure of this vessel, a Spanish gentleman arrived from Manilla with presents and a letter to the emperor from a new governor of the Philippines, remonstrating, though in measured terms, against the confiscation of the San Philip and the execution of the Spanish ecclesiastics, several of whom had entered Japan in the character of envoys from his predecessor. The letter requested the bodies of those martyrs, and, for the future, safety and kind treatment to all Spanish vessels driven accidentally to Japan. Taiko-Sama, in reply, justified his proceedings against the missionaries, not only because they had disregarded his repeated orders to leave Japan, but because, insinuating their creed into the minds of his subjects, they designed finally to get possession of the country as the Spaniards had done of Manilla. His excuse for the confiscation of the San Philip was that she had attempted to enter a port of Japan in violation of law. He refused to give up any part of her cargo, but offered to restore a number of slaves which had belonged to her, at the same time expressing a willingness to consent to a regulated trade with the Spaniards, provided they would promise to bring no priests.

A report that the emperor was about to visit Nagasaki led to the destruction in the adjoining provinces of not less than a hundred

and thirty-seven churches and of many houses which had belonged to the Jesuits; and, to appease the authorities, a new embarcation of missionaries became necessary, limited, however, by reason of the smallness of the vessel, to eleven persons.

In the midst of these alarms news arrived that the emperor had been seized with a sudden and violent sickness, apparently a dysentery, which, after two months' struggles against it, brought him to his end. He died in September, 1598, at the age of sixty-four, retaining his absolute authority to the last. During his latter years two thoughts seem principally to have engrossed him, — the securing divine honors to himself, and the transmission of his authority to his infant son, Fide Jori, not yet above three or four years old. With the first object in view, though really (at least, so the missionaries concluded) without any religion at all, he had rebuilt, in a magnificent manner, many temples and Buddhist monasteries destroyed by Nobunanga, by himself, or by the accidents of war. He also had erected, in a new quarter which he had added to Miako, a splendid temple, which he caused to be consecrated to himself in the character of the new Fuchiman, that being the title of a Kami celebrated for his conquests, and regarded as the god of war.

To secure the succession of his infant son, the expiring emperor established, on his death-bed, a council of regency, composed of nine persons, at the head of which he placed Ge-jas or Giazu, king of the Bandova, which, besides the five provinces of the Quanto, in which were the great cities of Seruga and Jedo, embraced, also, three other kingdoms. Ge-jas had been king of Micava, a more westerly province, which he had lost by adhering to the fortunes of the third son of Nobunanga, he being allied to that family by marriage. But afterwards, by some means, he had recovered the favor of Taiko-Sama, who had even bestowed upon him the newly-conquered Bandova, and who, the better to secure his fidelity, had caused his infant son and destined successor to be married to a young grand-daughter of Ge-jas.

The strong castle of Osaka had been chosen by Taiko-Sama as the residence of his son during his minority, and there he dwelt with his baby wife, in charge of his mother, while the administration of affairs passed into the hands of Ge-jas, who, as head of the regency, governed with the title of Dayzu-Sama.

CHAPTER XIX.

EVACUATION OF COREA. — RETURN OF THE CONVERTED PRINCES. — FAVORABLE DISPOSITION OF DAYSU-SAMA. — THIRD VISIT OF FATHER VALIGNANI. — CIVIL WAR BETWEEN DAYSU-SAMA AND HIS CO-REGENTS. — HIS TRIUMPH. — DISGRACE AND EXECUTION OF TSUKAMIDONO. — DAYSU-SAMA TAKES THE TITLE OF OGOSHO-SAMA, AND STILL FAVORS THE CONVENTS. — INFLUX OF DOMINICAN AND FRANCISCAN FRIARS. — FLOURISHING CONDITION OF THE CHURCH. — LOCAL PERSECUTIONS. — A. D. 1599—1609.

THE first act of the regency was to put an end to the war in Corea. That country was abandoned,* and the return of so many converted princes greatly strengthened the lately suffering church. Father Rodriguez had always been on good terms with Daysu-Sama, with whom he had become acquainted at the court of the late emperor. This head of the regency was even thought to be well disposed to the new religion, and the converted princes, in conjunction with Father Valignani, who, just before the death of Taiko-Sama, had reached Japan for the third time, in company with a new bishop, proceeded gradually and unostentatiously to reëstablish the missionaries, to rebuild the churches, and to set up again the college and seminaries, till soon the Catholic faith seemed to be replaced on almost as firm a basis as ever. For a time, indeed, things were thrown into confusion by a civil war which soon broke out between Daysu-Sama and his co-regents. Some of the Catholic princes lost their provinces as adherents of the defeated party, and among the rest, that distinguished pillar of the church, Tsukamidono, the grand admiral, king of Fingo and conqueror of Corea, who, for his share in this business, perished by the hand of the executioner, — his

* Yet the Japanese are said to maintain to this day a garrison on the coast (Golownin, vol. III., ch. 9), and to receive tribute from Corea; but this seems doubtful.

religious opinions not allowing him to adopt the Japanese alternative of cutting himself open. But the victorious regent, who presently took the title of Ogosho-Sama, and with it the entire imperial authority (though the boy, Fide Jori, still enjoyed the title of Kubo-Sama), showed himself so far favorable to the Jesuits (to the headship of whom Father Francis Pazio had lately succeeded as vice-provincial), as to permit their reëstablishment at Nagasaki, Miako and Osaka. Yet an edict of his, restraining the missionaries to their ancient seats, and forbidding the accession of new converts, though little regarded, showed the necessity of caution.

Pope Clement VII. having promulgated a bull in December, 1600, by which all the mendicant orders were allowed to go as missionaries to Japan, provided they proceeded by way of Portugal, and not by the Philippines, Dominican and Franciscan friars took advantage of this favorable disposition of the emperor to enter that empire, the Franciscans reöccupying their old station at Miako, and setting up a new one at Jedo, where the Jesuits had never been. This was the seat of the emperor's son, whom, according to the Japanese custom, he had associated with him in the empire. He himself had his residence at Seruga, no great distance to the west. The young Fide Jori, the titular Kubo-Sama, still dwelt in the castle of Osaka, Miako being given up exclusively to the Dairi, or ecclesiastical emperor. The prohibition to pass from the Philippines to Japan was little regarded. As there was no civil arm to enforce it, the friars laughed at the excommunication denounced by the Pope's bull. The Jesuits, on the other hand, did not submit to this invasion without loud complaints.

In the Tensa, or five provinces nearest to Miako, and including, also, the cities of Sakai and Osaka, the ancient imperial domain, the adherents of the new religion were seldom molested, and the governor of Miako even built a magnificent church for the Jesuits in the upper city, in addition to one which they already possessed in the lower city. An observatory at Osaka had gained additional credit for their religion by displaying their scientific knowledge. A seminary for nobles was reöpened at Nagasaki, and, by the special zeal of Father Gnecchi, hospitals for lepers, which had been from the first a favorite charity, were set up at Osaka and in several other cities. By the favor of particular princes, Jesuit mission-

aries even penetrated into the more remote and hitherto unvisited provinces. Persecution, however, still went on within the jurisdiction of several of the local rulers, especially in the island of Ximo; and some of the converted princes, having apostatized, became themselves persecutors. But the bishop, having made a journey to Miako in 1606, was very favorably received by the Kubo-Sama — a circumstance not without its influence in all the local courts.

Such was the state of things in Japan when the hold of the Portuguese and the Jesuits upon that country, already shaken by the consolidation of the empire under one head, and by the intrusion of Dominican and Franciscan friars and Spanish merchants and negotiators, encountered a still more alarming disturbance from the appearance of the Dutch flag in the eastern seas.*

* Father Valignani died in 1606, at Macao, whither he had gone to look after the Chinese missions, a few Jesuits having at length got admission into that empire. Father Rodriguez, in his annual letter of 1606, from Miako, in noticing Valignani's death, speaks of him as justly entitled to be called the apostle of the missions of Japan and China, — a title, indeed, which he had already received from the king of Portugal. Purchas, who published a few years later, mentions him as the "great Jesuit." He enjoyed in his own day, and deservedly, a reputation quite equal to that of our most famous modern missionaries; but these missionary reputations are apt not to be very long-lived. Five of his letters are in the collection of Hay, *De Rebus Japonicis*, &c.

The death of Father Louis Froez has been mentioned in the previous chapter. We have of his letters, in Maffei's *Select Epistles*, nine, written between the years 1563 and 1578; and in Hay's collection eight, written between 1577 and 1596. Many of these are of great length. That of February, 1565, contains a curious account of what he saw at Miako, on his going thither with Almeida to aid Vilela, who had labored there alone for six years with only Japanese assistants. The translation of it in Hackluyt has an important passage in the beginning, giving a general account of the Japanese, not in the Latin editions that I have seen. Those in Hay's collection are rather reports than letters. That of 1586 contains an account of Valignani's first interview with Taiko-Sama, that of 1592 a full account of Valignani's embassy, the second of 1595 the history of Taiko-Sama's quarrel with his nephew, and the two of 1596 a full account of the first martyrdoms, and of the state of the church at the time.

Almeida had died in 1583, after a missionary life of twenty-eight years. We have five of his letters, which show him a good man, but exceedingly credulous, even for a Portuguese Jesuit.

CHAPTER XX.

ATTEMPT OF THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH TO DISCOVER A NEW ROUTE TO THE FAR EAST. — VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD. — ATTEMPTED ENGLISH VOYAGE TO JAPAN. — ENGLISH AND DUTCH VOYAGES TO INDIA. — FIRST DUTCH VOYAGE TO JAPAN. — ADAMS, THE ENGLISH PILOT. — HIS ADVENTURES AND DETENTION IN JAPAN.* — A. D. 1513—1607.

For a full century subsequent to the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, the commerce of the Indian seas, so far as Europe was concerned, remained almost a complete monopoly in the hands of the Portuguese. The ancient Venetian commerce with India, by the Red Sea, had been speedily brought to an end, while the trade carried on over land, by way of Aleppo and the Persian Gulf, was mainly controlled by the Portuguese, who held possession of Ormus, through which it mostly passed. Nor did the Spanish discovery of another passage to India, by the Straits of Magellan, and the lodgment which the Spaniards made about the year 1570, in the Philippine Islands, very materially interfere with the Portuguese monopoly. The passage by the Straits of Magellan was seldom or never attempted, the Spanish trade being confined to two annual ships between Acapulco and Manilla.

It was the desire to share in this East India commerce (which made Lisbon the wealthiest and most populous city of Europe), that led to so many attempts to discover a north-eastern, a north-western and even a northern passage to India (directly over the pole), not only as shorter, but as avoiding any collision with the Portuguese and Spanish, who did not hesitate to maintain by force their respective exclusive claims to the passages by the Cape of Good Hope

* This chapter, also the twenty-second, is taken, with alterations and additions, from an article (written by the compiler of this work) in *Harper's Magazine* for Jan., 1854.

and the Straits of Magellan. These attempts were at first confined to the English, beginning with that made by Sebastian Cabot, on his third and last voyage from England. The Dutch and Belgians were long content to buy Indian merchandise at Lisbon, which they resold in the north of Europe; but after the union of the Spanish and Portuguese dominions, in 1580, and the seizure, which soon followed, of the Dutch ships at Lisbon, and their exclusion from any trade with Portugal, the Dutch began to entertain, even more ardently than the English, the desire of a direct commerce with the far East. Drake, in his voyage round the world (1577–80), outward by the Straits of Magellan, and homeward by the Cape of Good Hope, a track in which he was speedily followed by Cavendish (1586–8), led the way to the Indian seas; but the failure of Cavendish in a second attempt to pass the Straits of Magellan, and the capture, A. D. 1594, by Spanish-American cruisers in the Pacific, of Sir Richard Hawkins, a son of the famous Sir John Hawkins, who had attempted a voyage to Japan by the same route, served to keep up the terrors of that passage.

Meanwhile, Captain Lancaster, as early as 1592, accomplished the first English voyage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. After a rather disastrous voyage, he returned in 1594, having been greatly delayed by his ignorance of the monsoons. A second expedition, destined for China, sailed in 1596, but perished miserably at sea. It is to the Dutch that the credit mainly belongs of first breaking in upon the Portuguese and Spanish monopoly of Indian commerce.*

Among other Dutch ship captains and merchants who had been thrown into prison at Lisbon, was Cornelius Houtman, who improved that opportunity to acquire, by conversation with Portuguese seamen, a knowledge of the Indian seas; and it was by his persuasions that the merchants of Amsterdam, associating as an East India Company, fitted out, in 1695, eight vessels, — four to renew the experiment of a north-eastern passage, and four to proceed to India by the Cape of Good Hope. The voyage of the first four, under the direction of Hugh Linschooten,* who had lately returned from Goa, where he had resided six years in the service of the archbishop, resulted in the discovery of Nova Zembla, beyond

* See Appendix, note R.

which, neither this expedition nor two subsequent ones were able to proceed. The four other ships, under the charge of Houtman, reached the west coast of Java, and, in spite of the arts and opposition of the Portuguese, whom they found established at Bantam, in that island, they opened a trade with the natives, not without an occasional intermixture of hostilities, in which they lost more than half their numbers, besides being obliged to abandon and burn one of their vessels. The other three ships returned to Holland in 1598. This voyage had not been profitable; yet the actual commencement of the long desired Indian traffic greatly stimulated the hopes of the merchants, and that same year not less than four distinct India squadrons were fitted out—one of two vessels, under Houtman; another, under Jacques Mahay, of five vessels, known as Verhagen's fleet, from the chief promoter of the enterprise; a third, of three vessels, under Oliver Noort; and a fourth, of not less than eight vessels, set forth by a new East India association, including not only the merchants of Amsterdam, but those of the other cities of the province of Holland, rudiment of the afterwards so celebrated DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY. The first and last of these expeditions proceeded by the Cape of Good Hope. The other two were to attempt the passage by the Straits of Magellan.

The Dutch merchants were at this time much richer than those of England, and for these enterprises of theirs to India they obtained the assistance of quite a number of adventurous Englishmen. Houtman had an English pilot, named Davis; Noort carried, in the same capacity, Thomas Melis, who had made the voyage round the world with Cavendish. The fleet of Mahay had two English pilots, William Adams and Timothy Shotten, with the former of whom, as being the first Englishman who ever reached Japan, and long a resident there, our narrative has chiefly to do.

Born, according to his own account, on the banks of the Medway, between Rochester and Chatham, Adams, at the age of twelve, had commenced a seafaring life, apprentice to Master Nicholas Diggins, of Limehouse, near London, whom he served for twelve years. He acted afterward as master and pilot in her majesty's (Queen Elizabeth's) ships. Then, for eleven or twelve years, he was employed by the worshipful company of the Barbary merchants. The Dutch traffic with India beginning, desirous, as he tells us, "to

make a little experience of the small knowledge which God had given him," he was induced to enter that service.

Mahay's squadron, in which Adams sailed as chief pilot, consisted of the *Hope*, of two hundred and fifty tons and one hundred and thirty men, the *Faith*, of one hundred and fifty tons and one hundred and nine men, the *Charity*, of one hundred and sixty tons and one hundred and ten men, the *Fidelity*, of one hundred tons and eighty-six men, and the *Good News*, of seventy-five tons and fifty-six men; but these names of good omen did not save these small and over-crowded vessels from a succession of disasters, too common in the maritime enterprises of those days. They left the Texel the 24th of June, and on the 21st of August reached the Cape Verde Islands, where they remained twenty-one days to refresh the men, of whom many were sick with scurvy, including Mahay, their chief commander, who died soon after they had recommenced their voyage. Encountering contrary winds and heavy rains, they were forced to the coast of Guinea, and landed on Cape Gonsalves, just south of the line. The sick were set on shore, and soon after, a French sailor came aboard, who promised to do them all favor with the negro king. The country could furnish very few supplies; and as the sick recovered from the scurvy, those hitherto well began to suffer from fever.

In this state of distress they set sail for the coast of Brazil; but falling in soon after with the island of Annabon, in the Gulf of Guinea, they landed, took the town, which contained eighty houses, and obtained a supply of oxen, and of oranges and other fruits; but still the men continued to die, of whom they buried more than thirty on this island.

Two months were thus spent on the African coast. The ships, setting sail again about the middle of November, were greatly delayed by one of the vessels losing her mainmast, and it was five months before they reached the Straits of Magellan, the crews during most of that time on short allowance, and driven to such extremity as to eat the calf-skins with which the ropes were covered.

Having entered the straits the beginning of April, 1599, they obtained a good supply of penguins for food; but the commander stopping to wood and water, they were overtaken by the winter,

then just setting in, during which they lost more than a hundred men by cold and hunger, and were thus detained — though, according to Adams, there were many times when they might have gone through — till the 24th of September, when at last they entered the South Sea.

A few days after, they encountered a violent storm, by which the ships were separated. Capt. Wert, with the Faith and Fidelity, was driven back into the straits, where he fell in with Oliver Noort, who had left Holland a few days after the Verhagen fleet, had followed in the same track, had encountered many of the same difficulties, but who, more fortunate, not only passed the strait, but succeeded in completing the fourth circumnavigation of the globe, — a feat accomplished before his voyage only by the ships of Magellan, Drake and Cavendish. As Noort was unable to afford him any aid, Wert abandoned the enterprise, and returned with his two ships to Holland.

The other three ships steered separately for the coast of Chili, where a rendezvous, in the latitude of forty-six degrees, had been appointed. The Charity, in which Adams was, on reaching the place of rendezvous, found some Indian inhabitants, who at first furnished sheep in exchange for bells and knives, with which they seemed well satisfied, but who shortly after disappeared, probably through Spanish influence. Having waited twenty-eight days, and hearing nothing of her consorts, the Charity ran by Valdivia to the island of Mocha, and thence toward the neighboring island of Santa Maria. Seeing on the main land near by a number of people, boats were sent for a parley; but the people would suffer none to land from the boats, at which they shot a multitude of arrows. "Nevertheless," says Adams, "having no victuals in our ship, and hoping to find refreshing, we forcibly landed some seven-and-twenty or thirty of our men, and drove the wild people from the water-side, having the most of our men hurt with their arrows. Having landed, we made signs of friendship, and in the end came to parley, with signs that our desire was to have victuals for iron, silver and cloth, which we showed them. Whereupon they gave our folks wine, with batatas (sweet potatoes), and other fruits, and bade them, by signs and tokens, to go aboard, and the next day to come again, and they would bring us victuals."

The next day, after a council, in which it was resolved not to

land more than two or three men at once, the captain approached the shore with all the force he had. Great numbers of people were seen, who made signs for the boats to land; and in the end, as the people would not come near the boats, twenty-three men landed with muskets, and marched up toward four or five houses; but before they had gone the distance of a musket-shot, they found themselves in an ambush, and the whole, including Thomas Adams, a brother of William, the chief pilot, were slain or taken. "So our boats waited long," says Adams, "to see if any of them would come again; but seeing no hope to recover them, our boats returned, with this sorrowful news, that all our men that landed were slain, which was a lamentable thing to hear, for we had scarce so many men left as could wind up our anchor."

After waiting a day longer, they went over to the neighboring island of Santa Maria, where they found the Hope, which had just arrived, but in as great distress as themselves, having, at the island of Mocha, the day before the Charity had passed there, lost their commander and twenty-seven men in an attempt to land to obtain provisions. Some provisions were finally got, by detaining two Spaniards, who came to visit the ships, and requiring them to pay a ransom in sheep and oxen. It was proposed to burn one of the ships, as there were not men enough for both; but the new captains, of whom the one in command of the Charity was named Quackernack, could not agree which of the ships to burn.

At length, the men being somewhat refreshed, a council was called to consider what should be done to make the voyage as profitable as possible to the merchants. It was stated by one of the sailors, who had been to Japan in a Portuguese ship, that woollen cloth, of which they had much on board, was good merchandise there; and considering that the Moluccas, and most parts of the East Indies, were not countries in which woollen cloths would be likely to be very acceptable; hearing also from the people on shore that Spanish cruisers were after them, — by whom, in fact, their third vessel was captured, news of their intentions and force having been sent from Spain to Peru about the time of their departure from Holland, — it was finally resolved to stand away for Japan. Leaving the coast of Chili on the 27th of November, and standing northwesterly across the equator for three or four months, they had the

trade-wind and pleasant weather. In their way, they encountered a group of islands somewhere about 16 degrees of north latitude (perhaps the Sandwich Islands), to which eight of their men ran off with the pinnace, and were eaten, as was supposed, by the islanders, who, by the report of one who was taken, were cannibals.

In the latitude of 27 degrees north, the vessels, encountering variable winds and stormy weather, were separated. The Hope was never more heard of; the Charity still kept on her course, though with many of her men sick, and others dead: when, on the 11th of April, being then in great misery, with only four or five men, out of a company of four-and-twenty, able to walk, and as many more to creep on their knees, the whole expecting shortly to die, at last they made the hoped-for land — which proved to be the eastern coast of Ximo. They were immediately boarded by numerous boats, which they had no force to resist; but the boatmen offered no injury beyond stealing what they could conveniently lay their hands on. This, however, was put a stop to the next day by the governor of the neighboring district, who sent soldiers on board to protect the cargo, and who treated the crew with great kindness, furnishing them with all necessary refreshments, and giving them a house on shore for their sick, of whom nine finally died.

For some days the only conversation was by signs; but, before long, a Portuguese Jesuit, with some other Portuguese, arrived from Nagasaki, on the opposite western coast of the island.

The Dutch now had an interpreter; but, what with religious and what with national antipathies, little was to be hoped from a Jesuit and a Portuguese. In fact, the Portuguese accused them of being pirates, and two of their own company, in hopes to get control of the cargo, turned traitors, and plotted with the Portuguese. After nine days the emperor sent five galleys, in which Adams, attended by one of the sailors, was conveyed to Osaka, distant about eighty leagues. Here he found the emperor, "in a wonderful costly house, gilded with gold in abundance," who, in several interviews, treated him with great kindness, and was very inquisitive as to his country and the cause of his coming. Adams replied that the English were a people who had long sought out the East Indies, desiring friendship, in the way of trade, with all kings and potentates, and having in their country divers commodities which might be exchanged to

mutual advantage. The emperor then inquired if the people of Adams' country had no wars. He answered that they had with the Spanish and Portuguese, but were at peace with all other nations. He also inquired as to Adams' religious opinions, and the way in which he got to Japan; but when Adams, by way of answer, exhibited a chart of the world, and pointed out the passage through the Straits of Magellan, he showed plain signs of incredulity.

Notwithstanding this friendly reception, Adams was ordered back to prison, where he was kept for nine-and-thirty days, expecting, though well treated, to be crucified, which he learnt was the customary mode of execution in that country.

In fact, as he afterwards discovered, the Portuguese were employing this interval in poisoning the minds of the natives against these new-comers, whom they represented as thieves and common sea-robbers, whom it was necessary to put to death to prevent any more of their freebooting countrymen from coming, to the ruin of the Japanese trade. But at length the emperor gave this answer: that, as these strangers had as yet done no damage to him nor to any of his people, it would be against reason and justice to put them to death; and, sending again for Adams, after another long conversation and numerous inquiries, he set him at liberty, and gave him leave to visit the ship and his companions, of whom, in the interval, he had heard nothing. He found them close by, the ship having in the interval been brought to Sakai, within seven or eight miles of Osaka. The men had suffered nothing, but the ship had been completely stripped, her whole company being thus left with only the clothes on their backs. The emperor, indeed, ordered restitution; but the plundered articles were so dispersed and concealed that nothing could be recovered, except fifty thousand rials in silver (five thousand dollars), which had formed a part of the cargo, and which was given up to the officers as a fund for their support and that of the men. Afterward the ship was taken still eastward to a port near Jedo. All means were used to get her clear, with leave to depart, in which suit a considerable part of the money was spent; till, at the end of two years, the men refusing any longer to obey Adams and the master, the remaining money was, "for quietness' sake," divided, and each was left to shift for himself. The emperor, however, added an allowance to each man of two

pounds of rice a day, besides an annual pension in money amounting to about twenty-four dollars. In Adams' case this pension was afterward raised to one hundred and forty dollars, as a reward for having built two ships for the emperor on the European model. Adams' knowledge of mathematics also proved serviceable to him, and he was soon in such favor as to be able, according to his own account, to return good for evil to several of his former maligners. The emperor acknowledged his services, and endeavored to content him by giving him "a living like unto a lordship in England, with eighty or ninety husbandmen as his servants and slaves;" but he still pined for home, and importuned for leave to depart, desiring, as he says, "to see his poor wife and children, according to conscience and nature." This suit he again renewed, upon hearing from some Japanese traders that Dutch merchants had established themselves at Acheen in Sumatra, and Patania on the east coast of Malacca. He promised to bring both the Dutch and English to trade in Japan; but all he could obtain was leave for the Dutch captain and another Dutchman to depart. This they presently did, for Patania, in a Japanese junk, furnished by the king or prince of Firando, whence they proceeded to Jor, at the southern end of the peninsula of Malacca, where they found a Dutch fleet of nine sail. In this fleet the Dutch captain obtained an appointment as master, but was soon after killed in a sea-fight with the Portuguese, with whom the Dutch were, by this time, vigorously and successfully contending for the mastership of the eastern seas.*

* An account of Adams' voyage in two letters of his from Japan, may be found in Purchas *His Pilgrimes*, part I., book III., sect. 5. Purchas also gives, book II., chap. v., Captain Wert's adventures and return; and in book III., chap. i., sect. 4, a narrative by Davis, who acted as chief pilot of the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies, under Houtman. Hackluyt gives, in his second volume, a narrative of Lancaster's voyage, taken down from the mouth of Edmund Baker, Lancaster's lieutenant. Henry May's narrative of the same voyage is given in Hackluyt's second volume. What is known of the English expedition fitted out in 1594, will be found in Hackluyt, vol. iv., and *Pilgrimes*, book III., chap. i., sect. 2. The English East India Company was formed in 1600, and Lancaster was immediately despatched on a second voyage "with four tall ships and a victualler," and by him the English trade was commenced. —*Pilgrimes*, book III., chap. iii., sect. 1.

CHAPTER XXI.

SPANISH FRIARS IN JAPAN. — EXTENSION OF JAPANESE TRADE. — PROGRESS OF THE DUTCH IN THE EASTERN SEAS. — THEY OPEN A TRADE WITH JAPAN. — EMPEROR'S LETTER. — SHIPWRECK OF DON RODRIGO DE VIVERO ON THE JAPANESE COAST. — HIS RECEPTION, OBSERVATIONS AND DEPARTURE. — DESTRUCTION OF A PORTUGUESE CARAC BY THE JAPANESE. — ANOTHER DUTCH SHIP ARRIVES. — SPEX'S CHARTER. — EMBASSIES FROM MACAO AND NEW SPAIN. — FATHER LOUIS SOTELO AND HIS PROJECTS. — A. D. 1607—1613.

THE Dutch and English, though they had not yet reached Japan, were already, especially the Dutch, making great progress in the Indian seas; but it was not by them alone that the Portuguese monopoly of Japanese commerce and Japanese conversion was threatened.

Taking advantage of the bull of Clement VII., already referred to, a multitude of Spanish friars from Manilla poured into Japan, whose first and chief business it was, according to the Jesuit letter-writers and historians, to declaim with vehemence against the conduct of the fathers of the Company, whom they represented as altogether too circumspect, reserved and timid, in the publication of the Gospel. The fanaticism of these Spanish friars was excessive, in illustration of which the Jesuit historians relate, with malicious satisfaction, the following story: One of them, in a dispute with one of the shipwrecked Hollanders of Adams' company (perhaps with Adams himself), to sustain the authority of the Catholic church, appealed to its miraculous power, and when this obstinate Dutch heretic questioned the reality of any such power, and challenged an exhibition of it, the fanatical missionary undertook to convince him by walking himself on the sea. A day was appointed for the miracle. The Spaniard prepared himself by confession, prayer and fasting. A crowd of Japanese assembled to see it, and the friar, after a confident exhortation to the multitude, stepped, crucifix in hand, into the water,

certain of being buoyed up by faith and providence. But he was soon floundering over his head, and was only saved from drowning by some boats sent to his assistance; nor did this experiment add much either to the faith of the Dutchman, or to the docility of the Japanese. About the same time, also, the institution of parish priests was introduced; but this, like the admission of friars, led only to new disputes and collisions.

The merchants of Manilla, no less than the monks, still looked with longing eyes in the direction of Japan, anxious to share in its commerce; and Don Rodrigo de Vivero, upon his accession to that government, by way of conciliation, discharged from confinement and sent home some two hundred Japanese, whom he found imprisoned there, either by way of retaliation for the confiscation of the San Philip and the execution of the Spanish missionaries, or for some other cause.

Besides these European rivals, a dangerous competition in the way of trade seems to have been threatened on the part of the Japanese themselves, who appear to have been much more adventurous at this time, whether in point of navigation or the visiting of foreign countries, than the present jealous policy of their government permits. Japanese vessels frequented Manilla for the purchase of rich China silks, which formed the chief article of export from Macao to Japan, the policy of China and the relations of Japan towards her not allowing a direct trade. Japanese vessels appeared even in the Pacific Spanish American ports. It is to this period that the Japanese ascribe the conquest by the king of Saxuma of the Lew Chew Islands; and Macao, Siam and Annam are enumerated, on Japanese authority, as additional places to which Japanese vessels traded.*

The Portuguese seem, on the other hand, to have had little left of that courage and spirit by which their forefathers of the preceding century had been so distinguished. The Dutch cruisers in the East Indies proved a great annoyance to them. In 1603, they blockaded Goa, and the same year Hemkirk took the carac of Macao, a prize of fourteen hundred tons, and valued, with her

* See Klaproth's translation (*Nov. Journal Asiatique*, tom. II.) of a curious Japanese tract, on the Wealth of Japan, written in 1708.

cargo, at several millions of florins. When the Dutch, under Matelief, attacked Malacca, in 1606, the Portuguese were greatly indebted to a small body of Japanese, who formed a part of the garrison, for their success in repelling the assault. On the other hand, in 1608, a large number of Japanese, obliged to winter at Macao, got into collision with the Portuguese authorities of that city, who suspected them of a design to seize the place, and who, in consequence, put a number of them to death. During this and the two preceding years the annual Portuguese carac had been prevented from sailing from Macao by fear of Dutch cruisers; and, with the effect of this interruption of intercourse and of the bad feeling produced by the collision at Macao, still other circumstances coöperated to endanger the Portuguese ascendency.

The first was the arrival at Firando, in July, 1609, of the Dutch vessel, the Red Lion, attended by the yacht Griffon. They belonged to the fleet of Verhœven, who had left Holland December 12th, 1607, with thirteen ships (of which several were of a thousand tons burden), nineteen hundred men, and three hundred and seventy-seven pieces of artillery. The Portuguese fleet, which sailed, about the same time, from Lisbon, to take out a new viceroy to Goa, was composed of eight great caracs and six galleons. This fleet was scattered by a storm off the Canaries, and one of the galleons, mounting ten cannon, and with one hundred and eighty men, fell into Verhœven's hands. He had previously made an unsuccessful attack on Mozambique, but had taken, however, in the harbor a carac, mounting thirty-four guns, and loaded with merchandise. Off Goa another carac was burnt by the Portuguese, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Dutch, who proceeded to Calicut, where a treaty of alliance against the Portuguese was entered into with the king. The Dutch then proceeded by Cochin to Johor, on the peninsula of Malacca (whence the two ships were despatched to Japan), and finally to Bantam and the Moluccas, where the Dutch expected that a truce with Spain, announced by a ship late from Holland, would enable them to devote all their strength to guard against the English, who were also aiming at an establishment in those islands.

The ships detached from Johor, equally equipped for trading and for fighting, as were all the Indiamen of that period, having missed, by being a few days too late, the carac of Macao, proceeded to carry

out their instructions for opening a commercial intercourse with Japan. They were very kindly received at Firando, whence they sent a deputation to the emperor's court, with presents, in the name of the Stadtholder, and were successful in obtaining leave to establish a factory at Firando, for the supply of which with goods the Dutch were to send a ship or two yearly. The Red Lion, arriving in the Texel, July, 1610, carried back the following letter:

THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN TO THE KING OF HOLLAND.

"I, emperor and king of Japan, wish to the king of Holland [prince of Orange] who hath sent from so far countries to visit me, greeting.

"I rejoice greatly in your writing and sending unto me, and wish that our countries were nearer the one to the other, whereby we might continue and increase the friendship begun betwixt us, through your presence, whom I imagine in earnest to see; in respect I am unknown unto your majesty, and that your love towards me is manifested through your liberality in honoring me with four presents, whereof, though I had no need, yet, coming in your name, I received them in great worth, and hold them in good esteem.

"And further, whereas the Hollanders, your majesty's subjects, desire to trade with their shipping in my country (which is of little value and small), and to traffic with my subjects, and desire to have their abiding near unto my court, whereby in person I might help and assist them, which cannot be as now, through the inconvenience of the country; yet, notwithstanding, I will not neglect, as already I have been, to be careful of them, and to give in charge to all my governors and subjects that, in what places and havens, in what port soever they shall arrive, they shall show them all favor and friendships to their persons, ships and merchandise; wherein your majesty or your subjects need not to doubt or fear aught to the contrary. For they may come as freely as if they came into your majesty's own havens and countries, and so may remain in my country to trade. And the friendship begun between me and my subjects with you shall never be impaired on my behalf, but augmented and increased.

"I am partly ashamed that your majesty (whose name and renown through your valorous deeds is spread through the whole world) should cause your subjects to come from so far countries into a country so unfitting as this is, to visit me, and to offer unto me such friendships as I have not deserved. But considering that your affection hath been the cause thereof, I could not but friendly entertain your subjects, and yield to their requests, whereof this shall serve for a testimony; that they in all places, countries and islands, under mine obedience, may trade, and traffic, and build houses serviceable and needful for their trade and merchandises, where they may trade without any hindrance at their pleasure, as well in time to come as for the present, so that no man shall do them any wrong. And I will maintain and defend them as mine own subjects.

"I promise, likewise, that the persons whom I understand shall be left here, shall now and at all times be held as recommended unto me, and in all things to favor them, whereby your majesty shall find us as your friends and neighbors.

"For other matters passed between me and your majesty's servants, which would be too long here to repeat, I refer myself unto them." *

The Dutch were greatly indebted for their success to *Foyne-Sama*, king of Firando, who interested himself greatly in the establishment of a Dutch factory in his island. In fact, it had been at his expense that the two Dutchmen, shipmates of Adams, had some years before been sent to Patania upon their promise to induce their countrymen to open a trade to Japan. In addition to this outlay, which had amounted to fifteen hundred taels, he had furnished the Dutch belonging to the two recently arrived vessels, with a galley manned with fifty-six rowers, for their visit to court, of which they had the use for two months; and he had, besides, accommodated them by purchasing all their pepper and silk, the latter article at a considerable loss to himself.

Some time previous to the arrival of these Dutch ships, in the autumn of 1608, Don Rodrigo de Vivero, the late governor of Manilla, returning to New Spain in the galleon, the St. Francis, was wrecked on the south-east coast of Nipon. At first it was not known what land it was; but a Japanese Catholic on board soon recognized it. The crew, who had escaped to the shore, proceeded to a neighboring village, the people of which evinced much compassion for them, the women even shedding tears. They gave them clothing and food (consisting of rice, pulse and a little fish), and sent word to the tono, or lord of the district, who issued orders that they should be well treated, but not suffered to remove.

They were soon visited by the tono, who came in great pomp, preceded by three hundred men; some bearing banners, others armed with lances, matchlocks and halberts. He saluted Don Rodrigo with much politeness, by a motion of his head and hand,

* This letter is given by Purchas, vol. i., p. 406. It has neither date nor signature, nor does it appear who is responsible for the correctness of the translation.

and placed him on his left, that being considered the place of honor among the Japanese, because the swords are worn on that side. He made Don Rodrigo several presents, and took upon himself the subsistence of the party, allowing two Spanish officers to proceed to the emperor's court, to communicate to him and to his son and, according to the Japanese custom, colleague, the details of the case.

Jedo, where the emperor's son resided, was about forty leagues distant, and Seruga, where the emperor held his court, still forty leagues further. The messengers returned in twenty-four days, with an officer of the prince, charged with a message of condolence from the emperor, and leave to visit their courts. All the property that could be saved from the wreck was given up to the Spaniards.

The first place on their route was a town of ten or twelve thousand inhabitants. The tono took Don Rodrigo to his castle, situated on a height, and surrounded by a ditch fifty feet deep, passed by a drawbridge. The gates were of iron; the walls of solid masonry, eighteen feet high, and the same in thickness. Near the first gate stood a hundred musketeers, and between that and the second gate, which opened through a second wall, were houses, gardens, orchards and rice-fields. The dwelling rooms were of wood, exquisitely finished and adorned with a profusion of gold, silver, varnish, &c.

All the way to Jedo the density of the population greatly surprised the Spaniards, who were everywhere well lodged and entertained. They entered that city amid such a crowd, that the officers of police had to force a way for them, — and yet the streets were very broad. Such crowds collected about the house which the prince had ordered to be prepared for them, that they had no rest; till at last a guard was placed about it, and a tablet set up, prohibiting the populace from molesting them. Of the city, Rodrigo gives this description: "Jedo contains seven hundred thousand inhabitants, and is traversed by a considerable river which is navigable by vessels of moderate size. By this river, which divides in the interior into several branches, the inhabitants are supplied with provisions and necessaries, which are so cheap that a man may live comfortably for a rial (five cents) a day. The Japanese do not

make much wheaten bread, though what they do make is excellent. The streets and squares of Jedo are very handsome, clean and well kept. The houses are of wood, and mostly of two stories. The exterior is less imposing than with us, but they are far handsomer and more comfortable within. Towards the street the houses have covered galleries, and each street is occupied by persons of the same calling; carpenters in one, jewellers in another, tailors in another, including many trades unknown in Europe. The merchants and traders dwell together in the same way. Provisions also are sold in places appointed for each sort. I observed a market where game was sold; there was a great supply of rabbits, hares, wild boars, deer, and other animals which I never saw before. The Japanese rarely eat any flesh but that of game, which they hunt. The fish market, very extensive and extremely neat and clean, affords a great variety of fish, sea and river, fresh and salt; and there were large tubs containing live fish. Adjoining the inns are places where they let and sell horses, and these places are so numerous, that the traveller, who, according to custom, changes his horse every league, is only embarrassed where to choose. The nobles and great men inhabit a distant part of the city, and their quarter is distinguished by the armorial ornaments, sculptured, painted or gilt, placed over the doors of the houses, — a privilege to which the Japanese nobles attach great value. The political authority is vested in a governor, who is chief of the magistracy, civil and military. In each street resides a magistrate who takes cognizance, in the first instance, of all cases, civil and criminal, submitting the more difficult to the governor. The streets are closed at each end by a gate, which is shut at nightfall. At each gate is placed a guard of soldiers, with sentinels at intervals; so that, if a crime is committed, notice is conveyed instantly to each end of the street, and, the gates being closed, it rarely happens that the offender escapes. This description is applicable to all the other cities in the kingdom."

After an interval of two days, the prince sent his secretary, whose name was Konsekondono, to invite Don Rodrigo to visit him. The palace he describes as enclosed by a wall of immense blocks of freestone, put together without cement, with embrasures, at equal distances, well furnished with artillery. At the foot of this wall was

a deep wet ditch, crossed by a drawbridge of a peculiar and very ingenious construction. Don Rodrigo passed through two ranks of musketeers, about one thousand in number, to the second wall, distant from the first three hundred paces. At the gate four hundred lancers and pikemen were stationed. A third wall, about twelve feet high, was guarded by three hundred halberdiers. Within was the palace, with the royal stables on one side, containing three hundred horses, and on the other an arsenal with arms for one hundred thousand men. Rodrigo affirms that from the entrance to the palace were more than twenty thousand men, not assembled for the occasion, but constantly employed and paid for the daily service of the court.

The first apartment of the palace was entirely covered with rich ornaments, carpets, stuffs, velvet and gold. The walls were hung with pictures representing hunting subjects. Each apartment exceeded the preceding in splendor, till the further one was reached, in which the prince was seated on a superb carpet of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold, placed upon a kind of platform, raised two steps, in the centre of the apartment. He wore three dresses, one over the other, the exterior one green and yellow; in his girdle were his longer and shorter swords. His hair was tied up with ribbons of different colors, and his head had no other ornament. He was about thirty-five years of age; of a brown complexion, a pleasing figure and good height. Don Rodrigo was conducted to a seat on the left hand of the prince, who conversed with him on a variety of indifferent subjects.

Four days after, the travellers set off for Suruga, on a visit to the emperor. The road is thus described: "On whatsoever side the traveller turns his eyes, he perceives a concourse of people passing to and fro, as in the most populous cities of Europe. The roads are lined on both sides with superb pine-trees, which keep off the sun. The distances are marked by little eminences planted with two trees." In the hundred leagues between Suruga and Miako, several towns were passed, estimated to contain one hundred thousand inhabitants, and a village occurred at every quarter of a league. Rodrigo declares himself so delighted with Japan, that, "if he could have prevailed upon himself to renounce his God and his king, he should have preferred that country to his own."

He estimated Suruga to contain from five to six hundred thousand inhabitants. The climate was more agreeable than that of Jedo, but the city not so handsome. As at Jedo, a convenient residence was provided for him, which the crowd besieged as they had done there. The emperor sent a secretary to compliment him on his arrival, with a present of rich dresses, and in about a week he had his presentation. He was conveyed in an elegant litter to the palace, which was a fortress like that at Jedo. On the whole, there was less display than at the prince's court, but more marks of power and fear. The interview with the emperor is thus described: "I followed the minister, who conducted me into the presence of the sovereign, whom I saluted. He was in a kind of square box, not very large, but astonishingly rich. It was placed two steps above the floor, and surrounded at four paces' distance by a gold lattice-work, six feet high, in which were small doors, by which the emperor's attendants went in and out, as they were called from the crowd, prostrate on their hands and knees around the lattice.* The monarch was encircled by nearly twenty grandees, ministers or principal courtiers, in long silk mantles, and trousers of the same material, so long that they entirely concealed the feet. The emperor was seated on a kind of stool, of blue satin, worked with stars and half-moons of silver. In his girdle he wore a sword, and had his hair tied up with ribbons of different colors, but had no other head-dress. His age appeared to be about sixty. He was of the middle stature, and of a very full person. His countenance was venerable and gracious; his complexion not near so brown as that of the prince."

As if to magnify the emperor, Don Rodrigo was detained during the introduction of a tono of high rank, who brought presents in gold, silver and silk, worth twenty thousand ducats. At a hundred paces from the throne he prostrated himself with his face to the floor, and remained in this posture for several minutes in perfect silence, neither the emperor nor either of the ministers vouchsafing a word. He then retired with his suite, consisting of three thousand persons. After other exhibitions of the same sort, Don Rodrigo, having been directed to make what requests he would, was conducted

* Most likely this "box" was formed by movable screens. See chapter XXXVIII.

by two ministers to a third apartment, whence other great officers escorted him out of the palace with all ceremony.

Afterwards he was entertained by Konsekondono, the prime minister, at a magnificent collation, the host pledging his health in exquisite Japanese wine [saki?] by placing the glass upon his head.* The Spaniard presented at this time a memorandum of his requests translated into Japanese. They were three — first, that the royal protection might be granted to the Christian priests of different orders who then resided in the empire, and that they might not be molested in the free use and disposal of their houses and churches; secondly, that amity might continue between the emperor and the king of Spain; and, lastly, that, as an evidence of that friendship, the emperor would not permit the Dutch (whose arrival has already been mentioned) to reside in his territories, but would drive them out — since, besides being enemies of Spain, they were little better than pirates and sea-rovers.

The minister, the next day, after another collation, reported the emperor's answer, who had remarked, with admiration, that Don Rodrigo, though destitute, had asked nothing for himself, but had regarded only the interests of his religion and his king. The two first requests were granted. As to the expulsion of the Hollanders, that, the emperor said, "will be difficult this year, as they have my royal word for permission to sojourn in Japan; but I am obliged to Don Rodrigo for letting me know what characters they are." The emperor offered the shipwrecked Spaniard one of the ships of European model, which the pilot Adams had built for him, in which to proceed to New Spain; and he begged him to request King Philip to send to Japan fifty miners, as he understood those of New Spain to be very skilful, whereas those of Japan did not obtain from the ore half the silver it was capable of yielding.

Don Rodrigo soon after set out for Ximo, where he was to take ship. From Seruga to Miako, estimated at one hundred leagues, the country was mostly level and very fertile. Several considerable rivers were crossed in large ferry-boats by means of a cable stretched from bank to bank. Provisions were very cheap. His

* It is customary among the Japanese, on receiving a present from a superior, to touch the top of the head with it. This custom is alluded to in the king of Bungo's letter to the Pope, page 90.

idea of the population of the country grew more and more exaggerated. He insists that he did not pass a town of less population than one hundred and fifty thousand; and Miako, which he considers the largest city in the world, he sets down at one million five hundred thousand.* Situated upon a highly-cultivated plain, its walls were ten leagues in circuit, as Don Rodrigo ascertained by riding round them on horseback. It took him an entire day. He enters into a number of details about the Dairi and his court. He was powerless, and lived in splendid poverty. The court of the governor of Miako, who had six vice-governors under him, was scarcely less splendid than that of the emperor. He told Don Rodrigo that this city contained five thousand temples and more than fifty thousand public women. He showed him a temple, the largest building he had seen in Japan, containing statues of all the gods, and another in which was an immense bronze statue, the size of which filled him with astonishment. "I ordered," he says, "one of my people to measure the thumb of the right hand; but, although he was a person of the ordinary size, he could not quite encircle it with both arms. But the size of the statue is not its only merit; the feet, hands, mouth, eyes, forehead, and other features, are as perfect and as expressive as the most accomplished painter could make a portrait. When I first visited this temple it was unfinished; more than one hundred thousand men were daily employed upon it. The devil could not suggest to the emperor a surer expedient to get rid of his immense wealth." †

The temple and tomb of Taiko-Sama, raised since his death to the rank of the gods, is thus described by Rodrigo, who deplores the dedication of such an edifice to one whose "soul is in hell for all eternity." The entrance was by an avenue paved with jasper, four hundred feet by three hundred. On each side, at equal distances, were posts of jasper, on which were placed lamps lighted at

* Descriptions of it will be found in chapters XXXVI. and XL., and also a census taken in 1690.

† This image was first set up in the year 1576, by the Emperor Taiko. The temple in which it was placed was destroyed by the great earthquake of 1596. The rebuilding was commenced in 1602. The colossus, however, was seriously injured by another earthquake in 1662, after which it was melted down, and a substitute prepared of wood covered with gilt paper. For a description of it see chapters XXXVIII. and XL.

night. At the end of this passage was the peristyle of the temple, ascended by several steps, and having on the right a monastery of priests. The principal gate was encrusted with jasper and overlaid with gold and silver ornaments skilfully wrought. The nave of the temple was supported by lofty columns. There was a choir, as in European cathedrals, with seats and a grating all round. Male and female choristers chanted the prayers, much as in Catholic churches, and the surplices put Rodrigo in mind of the prebends of Toledo. The church was filled with silent devotees. Four of the priests accosted him, and seem to have put him to great uneasiness by conducting him to the altar of their "infamous relics," surrounded with an infinite number of lamps. After raising five or six curtains, covering as many gratings, first of iron, then of silver, and the last one of gold, a kind of chest was exposed, in which were contained the ashes of Taiko-Sama. Within this enclosure none but the chief priests could enter. All the Japanese present prostrated themselves.

Hastening to quit "this accursed spot," Rodrigo was accompanied by the priests to their gardens, exceeding, he says, those of Aranjuez.

Of the religion of Japan he makes the following observations: "The Japanese, like us, use holy, or rather unholy, water, and chaplets consecrated to their false gods, Xaka and Nido [Amida], which are not the only ones that they worship, for there are no less than thirty-five different sects or religions in Japan. Some deny the immortality of the soul, others adore divers gods, and others yet the elements. All are tolerated. The bonzes of all the sects having concurred in a request to the emperor, that he would expel our monks, the prince, troubled with their importunities, inquired how many different religions there were in Japan. 'Thirty-five,' was the reply. 'Well,' said he, 'where thirty-five sects can be tolerated, we can easily bear with thirty-six; — leave the strangers in peace.'" He estimates the Christians at three hundred thousand — a much more probable number than the eighteen hundred thousand, at which they were reckoned by the missionaries,* whose reckoning was the same now that it had been ten years before.

* The total number of baptisms in Japan, in 1606, according to the annual

From Miako Don Rodrigo proceeded to Faxima (Fucimi) adjoining, where he embarked for Osaka, ten leagues down a river, as large as the Guadalquivir at Seville, and full of vessels. Osaka, built close to the sea, he reckons to contain one million inhabitants. Here he embarked in a junk for Nagasaki. Not finding his vessel in proper repair, he accepted an invitation from the emperor to return to Seruga, where he renewed his endeavors to persuade that prince to expel the Dutch, but without effect. At last, with presents and despatches for the king of Spain, he set sail August 1st, 1610, after a stay in Japan of nearly two years.*

Meanwhile an event occurred, of which Rodrigo makes no mention, but for which the Portuguese were inclined to hold him responsible, no less than the Dutch. The annual carac from Macao had arrived, as we have seen, in the autumn of 1609, after an interval of three years, comma[illegible]it happened, by the very same person who had been chief magistrate there on occasion of the late seizure and execution of certain Japanese. The emperor, strengthened, as it was thought, by the expectation of Dutch and Spanish trade, encouraged the prince of Arima to revenge the death of his subjects who had perished at Macao; and when the carac was ready to sail on her return voyage she was attacked by a fleet of Japanese boats. They were two or three times repulsed, but, taking the carac at a disadvantage, becalmed and drifted into a narrow passage, they succeeded in setting her on fire, and in destroying her with all her crew.

Both the Dutch factors who had been left in Japan, and the king of that island, Foyne-Sama (or Foie-Sama), who had exerted himself greatly for the establishment of Dutch commerce, were not

letter of that year, was almost three thousand. According to the letter of 1608, the number of confessions heard that year was eighty thousand. It appears from these letters that many female converts were made, among the higher classes, by the reputed efficacy of relics and the prayers of the church in cases of difficult labor.

* Don Rodrigo published in Spanish a narrative of his residence in Japan. Of this very rare and curious work an abstract, with extracts, is given in the *Asiatic Journal*, vol. ii., new series, 1830. The Spaniard is rather excessive in his estimates of population, but appears to have been sensible and judicious. His accounts are well borne out, as we shall see, by those of Saris, Kämpfer, and others. His whole title was Don Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco.

a little annoyed at the non-appearance of any Dutch vessels at Firando during the year 1610. The Dutch in the East Indies had, indeed, at this moment other things to attend to. Verhœven, after his return to the Moluccas, had been entrapped and treacherously slain at Banda, by the natives of that island, along with many of his principal officers. This, however, did not prevent the Dutch from soon after making a treaty with these islanders, by which they obtained the sole right of purchasing their nutmegs and mace, and which they followed up by the establishment of not less than seven forts in the Molucca Islands, and by vigorous, though as yet unsuccessful attempts to drive away the Spaniards who had come to the aid of the Portuguese.

The Moluccas thus occupied, Admiral Wittert, who had succeeded to the command of the Dutch fleet, sailed with part of the ships for Manilla; for though the truce between Spain and Holland was known, it had not been proclaimed in the East Indies, and was not regarded by either party. Here, unfortunately, Wittert suffered himself to be surprised by a much superior Spanish force, and though he fought with the greatest courage till he fell, his own ship and two others were taken, and another blown up, two only making their escape.

Immediately upon the arrival of the Red Lion in Holland, a number of ships had been fitted out for Japan; but the first to arrive was a small yacht, called the Brach, in July, 1611, with only a trifling cargo of cloths, silks, pepper, ivory and lead. Presently a government officer came on board to demand a manifest of the cargo to be sent to the emperor; but this the Dutch did not like to submit to, as the Portuguese were free from it, and especially as the present cargo was so trifling. These demands being renewed, finally, though somewhat perplexed by the small means they had of making presents, they resolved upon a new mission to the emperor's court. The king of Firando advised them also to extend their visit to the hereditary prince at Jedo, and not to omit paying their respects to Fide Jori, at Osaka, son of the late emperor, and who might yet mount the throne. The king of Firando furnished a galley, in addition to one belonging to the factories, and two commissioners, of whom the principal was Jacob Spex, set out for Seruga,

July 17, with an interpreter and a Japanese gentleman as a guide or conductor.*

The 6th of August they reached Osaka, defended by a fine castle, in which dwelt Fide Jori, now eighteen years of age. He had always been kept secluded, but enjoyed a large revenue, and had many adherents, by whom, as the Dutch learnt, the hope of placing him on the throne was zealously entertained.

Arriving at Miako, they learnt that a Portuguese embassy had passed through it four days preceding. They were deputies from Macao, who had landed at Kangoxima in a small vessel, and had gone with rich presents to the emperor to solicit a renewal of trade and indemnification for the vessels destroyed at Nagasaki two years before. Accompanied by a large number of trumpeters and other musicians, they marched, with great pomp, to the sound of the instruments, the whole of them, even their black slaves, clothed in velvet of a uniform color. The governor of Miako, to whom they had made rich presents, had furnished them with eighty-eight horses, which they had equipped at their own expense.

Nor was this governor (the same apparently who had entertained Don Rodrigo) less bountiful to the Dutch. He furnished them with horses, a passport and letters to the chief of the emperor's council, but refused their presents, not being accustomed, he said, to take anything from strangers. When they pressed him, he still refused to accept anything now, but promised, if they had anything left at their return, to allow them to remember him — a piece of disinterestedness by which the economical Dutch were greatly charmed.

Just before reaching Seruga, they encountered Adams, the English pilot, to whom they had written, and who, upon arriving at Seruga, hastened to Konsequidono, the same secretary of the emperor seen by Don Rodrigo, but whom the Dutch call president of the council, to solicit for them a speedy audience. While waiting for it, they learnt that the Portuguese ambassadors had not been

* There is a narrative of this journey, rather a perplexed one, apparently written by Spex himself, added to the Relation of Verhœven's voyage in *Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi a l'establisement de la Compagnie des Indes Oriental dans les Provinces Unies.* A full abstract of it is in the great collection, *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, vol. viii.

very successful; nor had a Spanish embassy, which had just arrived from New Spain, with thanks to the emperor for his courtesies to Don Rodrigo. The presents of this ambassador were very splendid; but his carriage was so haughty as to displease the Japanese. He demanded leave for the Spaniards to build ships, for which the forests and workmen of Japan afforded greater facilities than either Manilla or New Spain, and to explore the coasts, the Spaniards' ignorance of which had cost them the loss of some valuable vessels. This was agreed to; but the emperor declined the request for the expulsion of the Dutch, saying that he had nothing to do with these European quarrels. Adams was present at these interviews; nor did he fail by his representations to excite the suspicions of the emperor against the Spaniards.

Sionsubrondono, the emperor's treasurer, freely told the Dutch that the Spaniards and Portuguese had represented them as coming to Japan rather as privateersmen than as traders, and that, as might be seen by the smallness of their present cargo, their chief resource for trade was in the prizes they took. But Adams entered with great zeal into their defence, insisting upon their honesty and fairness as the qualities which had given them such success in trade, referring to the recent truce with Spain as showing that plunder was not their object, and excusing the smallness of the present venture by the lack, as yet, of any regular treaty.

These representations were not without their effect. Konsequidono received the Dutch very graciously, approved the requests which they made on the subject of trade, and promised to lay them before the emperor pending their visit to Jedo, for which he furnished them with vessels, horses and guides. With much persuasion he was at last induced to accept a present, which the Dutch regarded as a special favor, as he had positively declined any from the Portuguese and Spaniards. Before their departure, they were admitted to an audience from the emperor, who inquired of them how many soldiers they had in the Moluccas;* whether they traded to Borneo; whether it were true that the best camphor came from that island; what odoriferous woods the Dutch had in their country; and other similar questions, to which they replied through their interpreter.

* They had about four hundred, and the Spaniards about twice as many.

After they had taken their leave, Konsequidono and Sionsubrondono reconducted them out of the hall, at the same time felicitating them on their favorable audience. It was very unusual, they said, for the emperor to make himself so familiar; he did not bestow such a favor even on the greatest lords of the empire, who brought him presents of the value of ten, twenty and thirty thousand taels; nor had he said a single word to the Portuguese and Spanish ambassadors. To Adams, who was called back to the royal apartments, the emperor expressed himself greatly delighted with the presents, as showing that the Dutch were "past masters" in arts as well as in arms.

The Dutchmen, having caused their propositions to be written out in Japanese, placed them in the hands of Konsequidono, and, on the 18th, they were furnished with an order for ten horses, and a letter to the hereditary prince at Jedo. Adams, who was in as great favor at this court as at Seruga, lodged them in a house of his own, and undertook to give notice of their arrival to Sadudono, president of the prince's council and father of Konsequidono, who sent an officer in return to make his compliments to the Dutchmen.

They made him a visit the next day, with a present, which, as a great favor, he condescended to accept. He inquired of them particularly the cause of the war which had lasted so long between the Spaniards and the Dutch, and the history of the negotiations which had brought about the recent truce. The Dutch did not conceal the small extent of their country, and the Japanese minister expressed great astonishment that so feeble a state should have resisted with such success so powerful a king. Finally, he treated them to a collation of fruit. Though very old and infirm, he conducted them to the passage, and promised to accompany them the next day to the palace. Admitted to the imperial palace, the prince thanked them for the journey they had undertaken to see him; but when (pretending orders from Holland to that effect) they besought his favor and protection, he dismissed them with a nod. An officer, however, conducted them over the palace, and the prince sent them some presents, though not very magnificent ones. They themselves made many presents, principally cloth and glass bottles, to many lords of the court, among whom they found, in high favor, a brother of the young king of Firando.

From Jedo they proceeded to a port eighteen leagues distant, (probably Uragawa), where Adams had another house, and where they found the Spanish ship which had brought the ambassador from New Spain. The ambassador himself was also there. He sent them a very civil message, to which they responded with equal civility. Pressing invitations for a visit passed between them, but neither party would be the first to call on the other. By some Flemings, however, attached to the ambassador's suite, they were assured that the ambassador had no authority to demand the exclusion of the Dutch, which he had done on his own authority. The embassy, they said, had been fitted out at an expense of fifty thousand dollars.

Upon their return to Seruga, October 1st, Adams brought them the patent which the emperor had granted for their commerce, and which, being translated, proved to be in the following words:

"All Dutch ships that come into my empire of Japan, whatever place or port they put into, we do hereby expressly command all and every one of our subjects not to molest the same in any way, nor to be a hindrance to them; but, on the contrary, to show them all manner of help, favor and assistance. Every one shall beware to maintain the friendship in assurance of which we have been pleased to give our imperial word to these people; and every one shall take care that our commands and promises be inviolably kept.

"Dated (according to the Japanese calendar equivalent to) August 30, 1611."*

The Dutch were very much troubled to find that the clause guaranteeing freedom from the visits of inspectors and guards, and interference with their trade by the government, which had been the great object of their mission, was omitted. They made representations on the subject to Konsequidono, who advised them not to press it. But as they conceived it of the greatest importance, they drew up a Japanese memorial, which Adams presented to the emperor, and the request of which Konsequidono seconded with such effect that the emperor ordered an edict granting the wishes of the Dutch to be drawn up, which he immediately proceeded to sign. Such is the statement in Spex's narrative; but no such

* Kämpfer gives this translation, and also a fac-simile of the original Japanese. The same translation is also given by Spex.

document appears to be preserved in the archives of the Dutch factory, the short one already given being everywhere cited and relied upon as the charter of the Dutch trade to Japan, without any mention anywhere else of any such supplement to it.

The return of the Dutchmen, by way of Miako, to Firando, does not offer anything remarkable, except their meeting at Sakai (whither they went to learn the price of goods and the course of trade there), with Melichor von Santvoort, one of the Dutchmen who had reached Japan at the same time with Adams. After selecting factors to stay behind, ordering the erection of warehouses, and making such presents as their small means admitted to their Japanese friends, their vessel set sail on her return the 28th of September.

The Dutch, as we have seen, had been greatly assisted by Adams. The Spanish envoy, in his negotiations, relied chiefly, as Don Rodrigo had done before him, on the advice and assistance of Father Louis Sotelo, a Franciscan friar of noble descent,* established at Miako, who entered with great zeal into the project of a regular trade between Japan and Mexico. But the old jealousy which the Japanese had long entertained of the Spaniards soon broke out afresh. Some soundings made along the coast by the vessel which brought out the Spanish ambassador were looked upon with great suspicion and jealousy, which Adams is said to have aggravated. Sotelo, despairing of success with the emperor, though at first he had seemed to favor his projects, subsequently proposed the same scheme to Mazamoney, who ruled over a part, or the whole, of the kingdom of Oxu, or Mouts, in the north of Japan, hitherto almost unknown, but to which a few missionaries had lately made their way. The prince of Oxu adopted Sotelo's project with zeal, affecting also quite a leaning towards the new faith, and, at Sotelo's suggestion, he sent an ambassador to the Pope and the king of Spain.

After many disappointments, Sotelo with this ambassador set sail at length for New Spain, about the end of the year 1613, in a vessel belonging to Mazamoney; and, by way of the city of Mexico, proceeded to Seville and Madrid, where they arrived in October, 1614.

* The Franciscan martyrology says he was born at Seville of the blood royal.

Thence they proceeded to Rome, and had an audience of the Pope, November 30, 1615, by whom Sotelo was nominated bishop for the north and east parts of Japan, and his legate for the whole of it.* Having reached New Spain on his return, he found in the port of Acapulco a Japanese vessel belonging to Mazamoney, — the same, probably, in which he had arrived, and which, having disposed of a cargo of Japanese goods, took on freight for Manilla a part of the suite of a new Spanish governor of the Philippines, intending to purchase at Manilla a cargo of Chinese silks. But the Council of the Indies, under the influence of the Jesuits, and on the plea that the nomination of all eastern bishops belonged to the king, opposed Sotelo's consecration; and the merchants of Manilla, alarmed at the rivalry of New Spain for the Japanese trade, made such representations that, on his arrival there, his papers were seized, and he himself was sent back to the superiors of his order in New Mexico.

But long before the occurrence of this event, — in fact, previous to the departure of Sotelo from Japan, — the Catholic faith there had received a blow from which it never recovered, and which brought it to speedy ruin.

* An account in Italian of Sotelo's embassy, *Historia del Regno de Voxu del Graponi, &c., e del Ambasciata, &c.*, was published at Rome the same year, 1615. There is no Japanese letter of later date than 1601, in the collection of Hay, or, as perhaps it ought rather to be called, of Martin Nutius (at least so his name was written in Latin), citizen and bookseller of Antwerp, at the sign of the two storks, "a man zealous for the Catholic faith," so Hay says, and by whom the collection was projected. He applied to the rector of the Jesuit college at Antwerp, for an editor, and Hay was appointed. A few of the letters were translated by Hay; the greater part had already appeared as separate pamphlets, translated by others. Hay's vehement Scotch controversial spirit breaks out hotly in some of the dedicatory letters which he has introduced. Of the Japanese letters subsequent to 1601, there is no collection. They were published separately as they were received, translated into Italian, from which were made French and Spanish translations.

CHAPTER XXII.

ORIGIN AND COMMENCEMENT OF ENGLISH INTERCOURSE WITH JAPAN. — CAPTAIN SARIS' VOYAGE THITHER, AND TRAVELS AND OBSERVATIONS THERE. — NEW SPANISH EMBASSY FROM THE PHILIPPINES. — COMMERCIAL RIVALRY OF THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH. — RICHARD COCKS, HEAD OF THE ENGLISH FACTORY. — A. D. 1611–1613.

THE pilot, Adams, having heard from Spex that certain English merchants had established themselves in the island of Java, he wrote to them, under date of October 22, 1611, giving an account of himself, and inclosing a letter to his wife, which he besought these unknown countrymen of his to convey to his friends at Limehouse or in Kent, so that his wife, "in a manner a widow," and his fatherless children, might hear of him, and he of them, before his death. "You shall understand," wrote Adams, "that the Hollanders have here an Indies of money, so that they need not to bring silver out of Holland to the East Indies, for in Japan there is much gold and silver to serve their turn in other places where need requireth." He enumerated as vendible in Japan for ready money, raw silk, damask, black taffetas, black and red cloth of the best kinds, lead, &c. To a somewhat exaggerated, and otherwise not very correct account of the extent and the geography of the Japanese dominions, he added the following description of the inhabitants: "The people of this island of Japan are good of nature, courteous above measure, and valiant in war. Their justice is severely executed, and without partiality, upon transgressors. They are governed in great civility. I think no land in the world better governed by civil policy. The people are very superstitious in their religion, and are of diverse opinions. There are many Jesuits and Franciscan friars in this land, and they have converted many to be Christians, and have many churches in the island."

This letter, which was given in charge to the master's mate of the Dutch vessel, must have reached the English East India Company's factory at Bantam, in Java, previous to the first of June, 1612; for on that day an answer to it was despatched by the Globe, which had just arrived from England, and which, sailing from Bantam to Patania, met there the same master's mate who had brought Adams' letter, and who, being just about to return to Japan in a Dutch pinnace, promised to deliver the answer.

Already, however, independently, of Adams' letter, a project had been started in England for opening a trade with Japan, founded upon a knowledge of Adams' being there, derived from the crew of the Dutch ship, the Red Lion. The Globe, which left England January 5, 1611, carried letters to Adams to that effect, and she was followed in April by the Clove, the Thomas and the Hector, under the command of Captain John Saris, an old adventurer in the East, and a former resident at Bantam, with letters from the king of England to the emperor of Japan.

After touching, trading, negotiating and fighting, at Socotra, Mocha, and other ports of the Red Sea, Saris arrived at Bantam in October, 1612. Soon after his arrival the letter of Adams was re-read in presence of the assembled merchants; and doubtless it encouraged Saris in his project of visiting Japan. Having taken in seven hundred sacks of pepper, in addition to the broadcloths, gunpowder, and other goods brought from England, Saris sailed on the 14th of January, 1613, in the Clove, his crew consisting of seventy-four English, one Spaniard, one Japanese, to serve as an interpreter, he speaking also the Malay language, which Captain Saris understood, and five Swarts, probably Malays.

Passing in sight of the south coast of Celebes, Saris touched at several of the ports in the group of the Moluccas, occupied at that time, some of them by Dutch and others by Spanish factories,— the Spaniards from Manilla having come to the rescue of the Portuguese, whom the Dutch had driven out. Regarding all new comers (if of any other nation than their own) with scarcely less suspicion and hostility than they did each other, and both of them joining to oppress and plunder the unhappy natives, "who were wrought upon," so Saris says, "to spoil one another in civil war," the Dutch and Spaniards, secure in strong forts, sat by and looked

on, "prepared to take the bone from him that would wrest it from his fellow." The Dutch fort at Buchian had a garrison of thirty Dutch soldiers, and eleven Dutch women, "able to withstand the fury of the Spaniard, or other nation whatsoever, being of a very lusty, large breed."

The Dutch commander would not allow the natives to trade with the English, even to the extent of a single *katty* of cloves, threatening with death those who did so, and claiming all the Spice Islands held by them as "their country, conquered by the sword, they having, with much loss of blood and money, delivered the inhabitants from the tyranny of the Portuguese, and having made a perpetual contract with them for the purchase of all their spices at a fixed rate," in the case of cloves at about eight cents the pound. This claim of exclusive right of trade Captain Saris declined to acknowledge; at the same time he professed his readiness to give the Dutch, "as neighbors and brethren in Christ," a preference in purchasing any part of his cargo of which they might happen to stand in need.

The English and Dutch had been ready enough to join together in breaking up the Portuguese and Spanish monopoly, and in forcing a trade in the Indian seas; but it was already apparent that the Dutch East India Company, which in the amount of capital at its command very far surpassed the English Company, was bent on establishing a monopoly of its own, not less close than that formerly maintained by the Portuguese. The Spaniards, on the other hand, professed friendship, and made some offers of trade; but Captain Saris, suspecting treachery, did not choose to trust them.

On the 14th of April, he left the Moluccas, and stood on his course for Japan. On the 10th of June, having been in sight of land for a day or two, his ships were boarded by four great fishing-boats, fitted with both sails and oars, from whose crews they learned that they were off the harbor of Nagasaki. In fact, one of these boats belonged to the Portuguese, and was manned by "new Christians," who had mistaken the ships of Captain Saris for the annual Portuguese carac. Finding their mistake, no entreaty could prevail upon them to stay; but two of the other boats, for thirty dollars each in money, and rice for food, agreed to pilot the ship to Firando, by the pilot's reckoning some thirty leagues to

the north, and the boatmen coming on board began to assist in working the vessel, showing themselves not less handy than the English sailors.

No sooner had the ship anchored off Firando, than she was visited by the king or hereditary governor of that island, by name Foyne-Sama, — the same who had shown so much favor to the Dutch, — upward of seventy years old, attended by his nephew or grandchild, a young man of two-and-twenty, who governed under him. They came with forty boats or galleys, with from ten to fifteen oars a side; but on approaching the vessel, all fell back, except the two which carried the princes, who came on board unattended, except by a single person each. They were bareheaded and barelegged, wearing shoes, but no stockings; the fore-part of their heads shaven to the crown, and their hair behind, which was very long, gathered up into a knot. They were clad in shirts and breeches, over which was a silk gown girt to them, with two swords of the country at their side, one half a yard in length, the other half as long. Their manner of salutation was to put off their shoes, and then stooping, with their right hand in their left, and both against their knees, to approach with small sidling steps, slightly moving their hands at the same time, and crying *Augh! Augh!*

Captain Saris conducted them to his cabin, where he had a banquet spread, and a concert of music, with which they seemed much delighted. The old king received with much joy a letter from the king of England, but put off reading it till "*Auge*" (or, according to Adams' way of writing it, *Angiu**) should come — that word being the Japanese for pilot, and the name by which Adams was known, to whom, then at Jedo, letters were sent the same night, as also to the emperor.

As soon as the king had gone on shore, all his principal people, attended by a multitude of soldiers, entered the ship, each man of consequence bringing a present of venison, wild boar, large and fat wild fowl, fruits, fish, &c.; but as the crowd proved troublesome, king Foyne sent an officer on board to keep order and prevent mischief. The next day came some three-score great boats or galleys,

* "I am called in the Japanese tongue ANGIU SAMA. By that name am I known all the coast along." — *Letters of Adams*, Jan. 12, 1614.

very well manned, which towed the vessel into the harbor, of which the entrance was narrow and dangerous. Here they anchored in five fathoms, so close to the shore that they could talk with the people in the houses, saluting the town with nine pieces of ordnance — a compliment which the inhabitants were unable to return, having no cannon, only pieces for small shot. The ship was speedily surrounded with boats full of people, who seemed much to admire her head and stern, and the decks were so crowded with men, women and children, that it was impossible to move about. The captain took several of the better sort of women into his cabin, where a picture of Venus and Cupid "did hang somewhat wantonly, set out in a large frame, which, mistaking it for the Virgin and her Son, some of those women kneeled to and worshipped with great devotion," at the same time whispering in a low tone, that they might not be overheard by their companions, that they were *Christianos;* by which it was understood that they were converts of the Portuguese Jesuits.

Soon after, king Foyne came again on board, and brought with him four women of his family. They were barelegged, except that a pair of half-buskins were bound by a silk ribbon about their insteps, and were clad in a number of silk gowns, one skirt over another, bound about their waists by a girdle, their hair very black and long, and tied in a comely knot on the crown of the head, no part of which was shaven, like the men's. They had good faces, hands and feet, clear-skinned and white, but wanting color; which, however, they supplied by art. They were low in stature and very fat, courteous in behavior, of which they well understood the ceremonials according to the Japanese fashion. At first they seemed a little bashful; but the king "willing them to be frolic," and all other company being excluded except Captain Saris and the interpreter, they sang several songs, playing on an instrument much like a guitar, but with four strings only, which they fingered very nimbly with the left hand, holding in the other a piece of ivory, with which they touched the strings, playing and singing by book, the tunes being noted on lines and spaces, much the same as European music.

Not long after, desirous to be "frolic," the king brought on board a company of female actors — such as were common in Japan, little better, it would seem, than slaves and courtesans, being under the control of a master, who carried them from place to place, selling

their favors, and "exhibiting comedies of war, love and such like, with several shifts of apparel for the better grace of the matter acted."

It appeared, however, on a subsequent occasion, on which several of the English were present, that, besides these professional actors, the king and his principal courtiers were accustomed, on certain great festivals, at which the whole country was present, to present a play, of which the matter was the valiant deeds of their ancestors, from the beginning of their kingdom or commonwealth, intermixed, however, with much mirth, "to give the common people content." On that occasion they had as musical instruments, to assist their voices, little tabors or stringed instruments, small in the middle and large at both ends, like an hour-glass; also fifes; but though they kept exact time, the whole performance was very harsh to English ears.

While waiting for Adams, who presently arrived, after being seventeen days on his way, a house on shore for a factory was hired, furnished with mats, according to the custom of the country, for a rent of about ninety-five dollars for six months. Not long after, leaving Mr. Richard Cocks in charge of the factory and the trade, Captain Saris set out on a visit to the emperor, attended by Adams and seventeen persons of his own company, including several mercantile gentlemen, a tailor, a cook, the surgeon's mate, the Japanese interpreter, the coxswain, and one sailor. He was liberally furnished by old king Foyne with a conductor for the journey, a large galley, of twenty-five oars a side, manned with sixty men, and also with a hundred taels in Japanese money (equal to one hundred and twenty-five dollars), to pay his expenses, which, however, Captain Saris directed Cocks to place to king Foyne's credit as so much money lent.

The galley being handsomely fitted up with waist-cloths and ensigns, they coasted along the western and northern shores of the great island of Ximo (or Kiusiu), off the north-west coast of which the small island of Firando lay. As they coasted along, they passed a number of handsome towns. Faccata, distant two days' rowing from Firando, had a very strong castle of freestone, with a wide and deep ditch and drawbridge, kept in good repair, but without cannon or garrison. Here, finding the current too strong, they

stopped to dine. The town seemed as large as London within the walls, very well built, with straight streets. As they landed, they had experience, repeated almost wherever they went, of that antipathy to foreigners, so characteristic a trait of the country; for the boys, children, and worser sort of idle people, would gather about them, crying out *Coré*, *Coré*, *Cocoré*, *Waré*, taunting them by these words as Coreans with false hearts, whooping, hollowing, and making such a noise, that the English could hardly hear each other speak, and even in some places throwing stones at them — all which went on without any interference on the part of the public officers. In general, however, the police was very strict, and punishments very prompt and bloody. Saris saw several executions in the streets, after which, every passer-by was allowed to try his sword on the dead bodies, which thus are chopped into small pieces, and left for the birds of prey to devour. All along the coast they noticed many families living in boats upon the water, as in Holland, the women being very expert fishers, not only with lines and nets, but by diving, which gave them, however, blood-shot eyes.

Coasting through the Strait of Sinomosiqui and the channel which separates Nipon from the two more southern islands, on the twentieth day after leaving Firando they reached the entrance of a river, a short distance up which lay the town of Osaka, which, however, they could only reach in a small boat. This town, which seemed as large as Faccata, had many handsome timber bridges across a river as wide as the Thames at London. It had, also, a great and very strong castle of freestone, in which, as they were told, the son of the late emperor, left an infant at his father's decease, was kept a close prisoner. Some nine miles from Osaka, on the other side of the river, lay the town of Sakai, not so large, but accessible to ships, and a place of great trade.

Leaving their galley at Osaka, Captain Saris and his company passed in boats up a river or canal, one day's journey, to Fusimi, where they found a garrison of three thousand soldiers, maintained by the emperor to keep in subjection Osaka, and the still larger neighboring city of Miako. The garrison being changed at that time, the old troops marching out, and new ones marching in, a good opportunity was afforded to see their array. They were armed with a species of fire-arms, pikes, swords and targets, bows

and arrows, and *wagadashes*, described as like a Welsh hook. They marched five abreast, with an officer to every ten files, without colors or musical instruments, in regiments of from a hundred and fifty to five hundred men, of which one followed the other at the distance of a league or two, and were met for two or three days on the road. Captain Saris was very favorably impressed with the discipline and martial bearing of these troops. The captain-general, whom they met in the rear, marched in very great state, hunting and hawking all the way, the hawks being managed exactly after the European fashion. The horses were of middle size, small-headed, and very full of mettle.

At Fusimi, Captain Saris and his company quitted their bark, and were furnished each man with a horse to travel over land to Suruga, where the emperor held his court. For Captain Saris a palanquin was also provided, with bearers to carry it, two at a time, six in number where the way was level, but increased to ten when it became hilly. A spare horse was led beside the palanquin for him to ride when he pleased, and, according to the custom of the country with persons of importance, a slave was appointed to run before him, bearing a pike.

Thus they travelled, at the rate of some forty-five miles a day, over a highway for the most part very level, but in some places cut through mountains; the distances being marked, in divisions of about three miles, by two little hillocks on each side of the way, planted at the top with a fair pine-tree, "trimmed round in fashion of an arbor." This road, which was full of travellers, led by a succession of farms, country-houses, villages, and great towns. It passed many fresh rivers by ferries, and near many *fotoquis*, or temples, situated in groves, "the most pleasantest places for delight in the whole country."

Every town and village was well furnished with taverns, where meals could be had at a moment's warning. Here, too, lodgings were obtained, and horses and men for the palanquin were taken up by the director of the journey, like post-horses in England. The general food was observed to be rice. The people ate also fish, wild fowl of various kinds, fresh and salted, and various picked herbs and roots. They ploughed with horses and oxen, as in Europe, and

raised good red wheat. Besides saki, made from rice, they drank with their food warm water.*

The entrance of the travellers into Suruga, where the emperor held his court, and which they reached on the seventh day, was not very savory, as they were obliged to pass several crosses, with the dead and decaying bodies of the malefactors still nailed to them. This city they judged to be as large as London with all the suburbs.† The handicraftsmen dwelt in the outskirts of the town, so as not to disturb with their pounding and hammering the richer and more leisurely sort.

After a day or two spent in preparations, Saris, accompanied by the merchants and others, went in his palanquin to the palace, bearing his presents, according to the custom of the country, on little tables, or rather salvers, of a sweet-smelling wood. Having entered the castle, he passed three drawbridges, each with its guard, and, ascending a handsome stone staircase, he was met by two grave, comely men, Kaskadono, the emperor's secretary,‡ and Fungodono, the admiral, who led him into a matted antechamber. Here they all sat down on the mats, but the two officers soon rose again, and took him into the presence-chamber, to bestow due reverence on the emperor's empty chair of state. It was about five feet high, the sides and back richly ornamented with cloth of gold, but without any canopy. The presents given in the name of the king, and others by Captain Saris in his own name (as the custom of the country required), were arranged about this room.

After waiting a little while longer in the antechamber, it was announced that the emperor had come, when the officers motioned Saris into the room, but without entering themselves. Approaching the emperor, he presented, with English compliments (on his

* Saris makes no mention of tea, not yet known to the Europeans, and which, perhaps, he confounded with this hot water. All subsequent travellers have noted this practice of the Japanese of drinking everything warm, even to water. Cold drinks might tend too much to check the digestion of their vegetable food; at any rate, they are thought to be frequently the occasion of a violent colic, one of the endemic diseases of Japan.

† London had at that time a population of two hundred and fifty thousand.

‡ This appears, from various circumstances, to be the same person called Konsekondono in the narratives of Don Rodrigo and Jacob Spex.

knee, it may be presumed), the king's letter, which the emperor took and raised toward his forehead, telling the interpreter to bid them welcome after their wearisome journey, and that in a day or two his answer would be ready. He invited them in the mean time to visit his son, who resided at Jedo.

The country between Suruga and Jedo, which were two days' journey apart, was found to be well inhabited. They saw many temples on the way, one of which contained a gigantic image of Buddha, made of copper, hollow within, but of very substantial thickness. It was, as they guessed, twenty-two feet high, in likeness of a man kneeling on the ground, and seated on his heels, clothed in a gown, his arms of wonderful size, and the whole body in proportion. The echo of the shouts of some of the company, who went into the body of it, was very loud. Some of the English left their names written upon it, as they saw was customary.

Jedo was found to be a city much larger than Suruga, and with much handsomer buildings, making a very glorious appearance as they approached, the ridge tiles and corner tiles, and the posts of the doors, being richly gilded and varnished. There were, however, no glass windows, but window-shutters instead, opening in leaves, and handsomely painted.

From Jedo, where our travellers were received much as they had been at Suruga, they proceeded some forty miles, by boats, to Oringa, an excellent harbor on the sea-side, whence, in eight days, they coasted round a projecting point of land back to Suruga, where they received the emperor's answer to the king's letter, also an engrossed and official copy of certain privileges of trade, a draught of which they had furnished to the emperor's secretary, and which, having been condensed as much as possible, to suit the Japanese taste for brevity, and thus reduced from fourteen articles to eight, were expressed in the following terms:

"1. *Imprimis.* We give free license to the subjects of the king of Great Britain, namely, Sir Thomas Smith, governor, and the company of the East India merchants and adventurers, forever, safely to come into any of the ports of our empire of Japan, with their ships and merchandises, without any hindrance to them or their goods, and to abide, buy, sell and barter, according to their own manner, with all nations: to tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart at their pleasures

"2. *Item.* We grant unto them freedom of custom for all such merchandises as either now they have brought or hereafter they shall bring into our kingdoms, or shall from hence transport to any foreign part; and do authorize those ships that hereafter shall arrive and come from England, to proceed to present sale of their commodities, without further coming or sending up to our court.

"3. *Item.* If any of their ships shall happen to be in danger of shipwreck, we will our subjects not only to assist them, but that such part of ship and goods as shall be saved be returned to their captain or cape-merchant,* or their assigns: and that they shall or may build one house or more for themselves, in any part of our empire where they shall think fittest, and at their departure to make sale thereof at their pleasure.

"4. *Item.* If any of the English, merchants or other, shall depart this life within our dominions, the goods of the deceased shall remain at the dispose of the cape-merchant: and all offences committed by them shall be punished by the said cape-merchant, according to his discretion; our laws to take no hold of their persons or goods.

"5. *Item.* We will that ye our subjects, trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for the same according to agreement, without delay, or return of their wares again unto them.

"6. *Item.* For such commodities as they have now brought, or shall hereafter bring, fitting for our service and proper use, we will that no arrest be made thereof, but that the price be made with the cape-merchant, according as they may sell to others, and present payment upon the delivery of the goods.

"7. *Item.* If, in discovery of other countries for trade, and return of their ships, they should need men or victuals, we will that ye our subjects furnish them for their money as their need shall require.

"8. And that, without further passport, they shall and may set out upon the discovery of Yeadzo,† or any other part in and about our empire." ‡

* This word, though not to be found in any of our dictionaries, was in current use, at this time, in the signification of head merchant of a factory ship or trading post, — *cape* being, probably, a contraction of captain.

† Jeso, otherwise called Matsmai, the island north of Nipon. There is in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, vol. i., p. 364, a short account of this island, obtained from a Japanese, who had been there twice. It was visited in 1620 by Jerome de Angelis, who sent home an account of its gold-washings, which reads very much like a California letter. It was also then as now the seat of extensive fisheries. The gold which it produced made the Dutch and English anxious to explore it. The Dutch made some voyages in that direction, and discovered some of the southern Kuriles; but the geography of those seas remained very confused till the voyages of La Perouse. Matsmai was the scene of Golownin's captivity in 1812. [See ch. XLIV.] One of the ports granted to the Americans (Hocodade) is on the southern coast of this island.

‡ These Privileges are given by Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, vol. i., p. 376, with a fac-simile of the original Japanese.

The letter from the emperor to the king of England did not differ very materially from that to the prince of Orange, already given. [See Appendix, Note I.]

In the original draught of the Privileges, there had been an additional article, to the effect that, as the Chinese had refused to trade with the English, in case the English should capture any Chinese ships, they might be allowed the privilege of selling such prizes in the Japanese ports; but this article, upon consideration, the emperor refused to grant.

While these documents were under consideration, a Spanish ambassador from the Philippines had arrived at Suruga with the request that such Portuguese and Spaniards as were in the emperor's territories without authority from the king of Spain might be delivered up to be transported to the Philippines — a request occasioned by the great want of men to defend the Spanish posts in the Moluccas against the Dutch, who were then preparing to make an absolute conquest of the whole of those islands. But to this demand the emperor replied that his country was a free country, and nobody should be forced out of it; but if the ambassador could persuade any of his countrymen to go, they should not be prevented; whereupon the ambassador departed, not a little discontented.

The day after receiving the emperor's letter and the Privileges, being the 9th of October, Captain Saris and his company set out by land for Miako, where the presents were to be delivered to him, over the same road by which they had travelled from Osaka to Suruga; but, owing to the heavy rains and the rising of the river, their progress was much delayed.

Miako they found to be the greatest and most commercial city of Japan. Here, too, was the largest *fotoqui*, or temple, in the whole country, built of freestone, begun by the late emperor, and just finished by the present one, as long, they estimated, as the part of St. Paul's, in London, westerly from the choir, being as high-arched, and borne upon pillars like that.* This temple was attended upon by a great many bonzes, or priests, who thus obtained their living, being

* The old Gothic edifice, afterwards destroyed in the great fire of 1666, is the one here referred to.

supported by the produce of an altar, on which the worshippers offered rice and small pieces of money, and near which was a colossal copper image, like that already described, but much larger, reaching to the very arch of the temple, which itself stood on the top of a hill, having an avenue of approach on either side of fifty stone pillars, ten paces apart, on each of which was suspended a lantern, lighted every night.*

Here, also, the Jesuits had a very stately college, in which many of them resided, both Portuguese and natives, and in which many children were trained up in the Christian religion according to the Romish church. In this city alone there were not less than five or six thousand professing Christians.†

But already that persecution was commenced which ended in the banishment of the Jesuits from Japan, and, indeed, in the exclusion of all Europeans, with a slight exception in favor of the Dutch. Following up an edict of the previous year, against the Franciscans, the emperor had issued a proclamation, about a month before Captain Saris' arrival at Suruga, that no church should stand, nor mass be sung, within ten leagues of his court, upon pain of death.

Having at length received the emperor's presents for the king of England, being ten *beobs*, or "large pictures to hang a chamber with," they proceeded the same day to Fusimi, and the next to Osaka, where they reëmbarked in the galley which had been waiting for them, and returned to Firando, having spent just three months on the tour.

Captain Saris found that, during his absence, seven of his crew had run away to Nagasaki, where they had complained to the Portuguese of having been used more like dogs than men. Others, seduced by drink and women, and sailor boarding-house keepers, — just the same in Japan as elsewhere, — had committed great irregularities, quarreling with the natives and among themselves, even to wounding, and maiming, and death. What with these troubles, added

* This is the same temple and idol seen and described by Don Rodrigo.

† Captain Saris states that the New Testament had been translated into Japanese for their use ; but this is doubtless a mistake. A number of books of devotion were translated into Japanese, but we hear nowhere else of any New Testament, nor were such translations a part of the Jesuit missionary machinery.

to a "*tuffon*," — a violent storm, — which did a good deal of damage, (though the ship rode it out with five anchors down), and alarms of conflagration, founded on oracles of the bonzes, and numerous festivals and entertainments, at which Cocks had been called upon to assist, — one of which was a great feast, lasting three days and three nights, to which the Japanese invited their dead kindred, banqueting and making merry all night at their graves,* — but little progress had been made in trade. The cargo consisted largely of broadcloths, which the Dutch had been selling, before the English came, at seventeen dollars the yard. Captain Saris wished to arrange with them to keep up the price, but the head of their factory immediately sent off to the principal places of sale large quantities, which he disposed of at very low prices, in order to spoil the market. The natives, also, were the more backward to buy, because they saw that the English, though very forward to recommend their cloth, did not much wear it themselves, the officers being clothed in silks, and the men in fustians. So the goods were left in charge of the factory, which was appointed to consist of eight English, including Cocks and Adams (who was taken into the service of the East India Company on a salary of one hundred pounds a year), three Japanese interpreters, and two servants, with charge, against the coming of the next ships, to search all the neighboring coasts to see what trade might be had with any of them.

This matter arranged, and having supplied the place of those of his crew who had died or deserted, by fifteen Japanese, and paid up a good many boarding-house and liquor-shop claims against his men,

* Of another festival, on the 23d of October, Cocks gives the following account: "The kings with all the rest of the nobility, accompanied with divers strangers, met together at a summer-house set up before the great pagoda, to see a horse-race. Every nobleman went on horseback to the place, accompanied with a rout of slaves, some with pikes, some with small shot, and others with bows and arrows. The pikemen were placed on one side of the street, and the shot and archers on the other, the middest of the street being left void to run the race; and right before the summer-house, where the king and nobles sat, was a round buckler of straw hanging against the wall, at which the archers on horseback, running a full career, discharged their arrows, both in the street and summer-house where the nobles sat." This, from the date, would seem to be the festival of Tensio dai Sin. See p. 272, Caron, *Relation du Japon*, gives a similar description.

to be deducted out of their wages, Captain Saris sailed on the 5th of December for Bantam, where he arrived the 3d of January, 1614. Having taken in a cargo of pepper, he sailed for home on the 13th of February, anchored off the Cape of Good Hope on the 16th of May, and, on the 27th of September, arrived at Plymouth, having in the preceding six weeks experienced worse weather and encountered more danger than in the whole voyage beside.*

* Captain Saris' account of his voyage and travels in Japan (which agrees remarkably with the cotemporaneous observations of Don Rodrigo, and with the subsequent ones of Kämpfer and others), may be found in Purchas, "*His Pilgrimes*," Part I., Book IV., chap. i., sect. 4–8. Cocks' not less curious observations may be found in chap. iii., sect. 1–3, of the same book and part. There is also a readable summary of what was then known of Japan, in Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, Book V., ch. XV.

Rundall, in his "*Memorials of the Empire of Japan*," printed by the Hackluyt Society, 1850, has re-published Adams' first letter, from two MSS. in the archives of the East India Company; but the variations from the text, as given by Purchas, are hardly as important as he represents. He gives also from the same records four other letters from Adams, not before printed. It seems from these letters, and from certain memoranda of Cocks, that there were three reasons why Adams did not return with Saris, notwithstanding the emperor's free consent to his doing so. Besides his wife and daughter in England, he had also a wife, son and daughter in Japan. Though he had the estate mentioned as given him by the emperor (called Phebe, about eight miles from Uragawa), on which were near a hundred households, his vassals, over whom he had power of life and death, yet he had little money, and did not like to go home with an empty purse. He had quarrelled with Saris, who had attempted to drive a hard bargain with him. The E. I. Company had advanced twenty pounds to his wife in England. Saris wanted him to serve the company for that sum and such additional pay as they might see fit to give. But Adams, whom the Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese, were all anxious to engage in their service, insisted upon a stipulated hire. He asked twelve pounds a month, but consented to take a hundred pounds a year, to be paid at the end of two years.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ECCLESIASTICAL RETROSPECT. — NEW PERSECUTION. — EDICT OF BANISHMENT AGAINST THE MISSIONARIES. — CIVIL WAR BETWEEN FIDE JORI AND OGOSHO-SAMA. — TRIUMPH OF OGOSHO-SAMA. — HIS DEATH. — PERSECUTION MORE VIOLENT THAN EVER. — MUTUAL RANCOR OF THE JESUITS AND THE FRIARS. — PROGRESS OF MARTYRDOM. — THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH. — A. D. 1613—1620.

BETWEEN the edict of Taiko-Sama against the Catholics, and those the issue of which by Ogosho-Sama is briefly alluded to in the preceding chapter, sixteen years had elapsed, during the whole of which time the missionaries and the Catholic Japanese had been kept in a state of painful uncertainty.

It is true that the new emperor had greatly relaxed from the hostility of his predecessor, and seemed at times decidedly favorable. In many parts of Japan the Catholic worship was carried on as openly as ever. Many new laborers, both Jesuits and others, had come into the field, and conversions still continued to be made among persons of the highest rank. There was scarcely any part of the empire in which converts were not to be found, and the missionaries occasionally penetrated into the most remote provinces. The general of the Jesuits had been encouraged to raise Japan to the dignity of a province, of which China and the neighboring regions had been made a part, and of which Father Valentine Carvilho was made provincial. Japan had also a resident bishop, or at least coadjutor, in the person of Father Louis Serqueyra, himself taken from the order of the Jesuits; and under the bishop, as we have seen, were a few secular clergy. By a brief of Pope Paul V., just published in Japan, that empire had been opened to the members of all the religious orders of the church, with liberty to proceed thither by way of Manilla as well as of Macao.

Yet, during these sixteen years, the Catholics of the different subordinate kingdoms had been more or less exposed to persecution,

especially in the island of Ximo, where they were most numerous, and which, from being mainly ruled by converted princes, was now chiefly governed by apostates or infidels; nor could the favor of the emperor be at any time certainly relied upon.

The new Dutch and English visitors were prompted no less by religious than by mercantile jealousies and hatreds to do all they could to diminish the credit of the Catholic missionaries; and it is by no means improbable that, as the Portuguese asserted, their suggestions had considerable weight in producing the new persecuting edicts of Ogosho-Sama. Indeed, they had only to confirm the truth of what the Portuguese and Spanish said of each other to excite in the minds of the Japanese rulers the gravest distrust as to the designs of the priests of both nations.

The edicts already mentioned were followed by another, about the beginning of the year 1614, of which the substance was that all priests and missionaries of the Catholic faith should forthwith depart the empire, that all their houses and churches should be destroyed, and that all the Japanese converts should renounce the foreign faith.

There were in Japan when this edict was issued about a hundred and thirty Jesuits, in possession of some fifty schools, colleges and convents, or houses of residence, also some thirty friars of the three orders of St. Augustin, St. Dominic and St. Francis, besides a few secular ecclesiastics, or parish priests. Most of them were shipped off at once. Some found means to return in disguise; but the new persecution speedily assumed a character far more alarming than any of the former ones. Severe measures were now taken against the native converts. Those who refused to renounce their faith were stripped of their property, those of the most illustrious rank, among whom was Ucondono, being shipped off to Manilla and Macao, and others sent into a frightful sort of Siberian banishment among the mountains of Northern Japan, now first described in the letters of some of the missionaries who found their way thither to console and strengthen these exiles. Many, also, were put to death, most of whom exhibited in the midst of torments all the firmness of the national character.

The violence of this persecution was interrupted for a moment by an attempt on the part of Fide Jori, now grown to man's

estate, to recover his father's authority — a rebellion in which many of the converts joined in hopes of gaining something by the change.

On the 10th of December, 1614, Cocks, the English resident at Firando, wrote to Saris that, since his departure, the emperor had banished all Jesuits, priests, friars and nuns, out of Japan, and had pulled down and burned all their churches and monasteries, shipping them away, some for Macao and others for Manilla; that old king Foyne was dead, on which occasion three of his servants had cut themselves open to bear him company, according to a common Japanese fashion of expressing attachment and gratitude; that a civil war had broken out between the emperor and his imprisoned son-in-law; and that all Osaka, except the castle, where the rebels were entrenched and besieged, had been burned to the ground. Jedo had also suffered exceedingly by a terrible tuffon or hurricane, which the Christians ascribed to the judgment of God, and the pagan Japanese to the conjurations of the Jesuits. Sayer, another of the English Company, wrote, December 5, 1615, that the emperor had got the victory, with the loss — doubtless exaggerated — of four hundred thousand men on both sides.

The death of Ogosho-Sama,* in 1616, left his son Xogun-Sama sole emperor. He continued to reside at Jedo, which, thenceforth, became the capital. He diligently followed up the policy of his three predecessors, — that of weakening the particular kings and princes so as to reduce them to political insignificance; nor does it appear that, from that time to this, the empire, formerly so turbulent, has ever been disturbed by civil wars, or internal commotions. He also began that system of foreign policy since pushed to such extremes. The English, by a new version of their privileges,† were restricted to the single port of Firando, while the new emperor

* He was deified, and is still worshipped under the name of Gonsen-Sama, given to him after his death. It is from him that the reigning emperors of Japan trace their descent. He is buried at the temple of Niko, built in 1636, three days' journey from Jedo, of the splendor of which marvellous stories are told. Caron, who wrote about the time it was built, speaks as if he had seen it. In 1782, M. Titsingh, then Dutch director, solicited permission to visit this temple, but was refused, as there was no precedent for such a favor.

† These modified privileges have been printed for the first time by Rundall.

positively refused to receive a present from the viceroy of New Spain, or to see the persons who brought it.

At the commencement of the new reign, there were yet concealed within the empire thirty-three Jesuits, sixteen friars of the three orders, and seven secular priests, who still continued to minister to the faithful with the aid of a great number of native catechists. Seven Jesuits and all the friars but one were in Nagasaki and its environs. Of the other Jesuits, several resided in the other imperial cities where they still found protectors, while the rest travelled from place to place as their services were needed. Those at Nagasaki were disguised as Portuguese merchants, who were still allowed full liberty to trade; while those in the provinces adopted the shaven crowns and long robes, the ordinary guise of the native bonzes. After a while some of them even ventured to resume the habits of their order, and to preach in public; but this only drew out from the emperor a new and more formal and precise edict. It was accompanied with terrible menaces, such as frightened into apostasy many converts who had hitherto stood out, and even drove some of them, in order to secure favor for themselves, to betray the missionaries, who knew no longer whom to trust.

The missionaries sent home lamentable accounts of their own sufferings and those of their converts, and all Catholic Europe resounded with lamentations over this sudden destruction of what had long been considered one of the most flourishing and encouraging provinces of missionary labor, not unmingled, however, with exultations over the courage and firmness of the martyrs.*

* Lopo de Vega, the poet, who held the office of procurator fiscal to the apostolic chamber of the archbishopric of Toledo, celebrated the constancy of the Japanese martyrs, in a pamphlet entitled, *Triumpho de la Fe en los Regnos del Japon, pas los annos de* 1614 *and* 1615, published in 1617. "Take away from this work," says Charlevoix, "the Latin and Spanish verses, the quotations foreign to the subject, and the flourish of the style, and there will be nothing left of it." The subject was much more satisfactorily treated by Nicholas Trigault, himself a very distinguished member of the Chinese mission, which he had joined in 1610. He returned to Europe in 1615, travelling on foot through Persia, Arabia and Egypt, to obtain a fresh supply of laborers. Besides an account of the Jesuit mission to China (from which, next to Marco Polo's travels, Europe gathered its first distinct notions of that empire), and a sum-

Such, indeed, was the zeal for martyrdom on the part of the Japanese, in which they were encouraged by the friars, and which the Jesuits strove in vain to keep within some reasonable limits, as to lead to many acts of imprudence, by which the individual was glorified, but the church damnified. Henceforth the missionary letters, which still found their way to Rome, though in diminishing numbers and with decreasing regularity, contain little but horrible accounts of tortures and martyrdoms, mingled, indeed, with abundant exultations over the firmness and even the jubilant spirit with which the victims met their fate, now by crucifixion, now by the axe, and now by fire. Infinite were the prayers, the austerities, the fasts, the penitential exercises, to which the converts resorted in hopes to appease the wrath of Heaven. Even infants at the breast were made to bear their share in them, being allowed to nurse but once a day, in the hope that God would be moved by the cries of these innocents to grant peace to his church. But, though many miraculous things

mary of the Japanese mission from 1609 to 1612, published during this visit to Europe, just before his departure in 1618 (taking with him forty-four missionaries, who had volunteered to follow him to China), he completed four books concerning the triumphs of the Christians in the late persecution in Japan; to which, while at Goa, on his way to China, he added a fifth book, bringing down the narrative to 1616. The whole, derived from the annual Japanese letters, was printed in 1623, in a small quarto of five hundred and twenty pages, illustrated by numerous engravings of martyrdoms, and containing also a short addition, bringing down the story to the years 1617—1620, and a list of Japanese martyrs, to the number of two hundred and sixty-eight. There is also added a list of thirty-eight houses and residences (including two colleges, one at Arima, the other at Nagasaki), which the Jesuits had been obliged to abandon; and of five Franciscan, four Dominican and two Augustinian convents, from which the inmates had been driven. These works of Trigault, published originally in Latin, were translated into French and Spanish. Various other accounts of the same persecution appeared in Spanish, Italian and Portuguese. *A Brief Relation of the Persecution lately made against the Catholic Christians of Japan* was published at London, 1616. Meanwhile Purchas, in the successive editions of his *Pilgrimage*, gave an account of the Japanese missions, which is the best and almost the only one (though now obsolete and forgotten) in the English language. That contained in the fourth edition (annexed as a fifth part to the *Pilgrimes*), and published in 1625, is the fullest. Captain Saris, according to Purchas, ascribed the persecution to the discovery, by the Japanese, that the Jesuits, under the cloak of religion, were but merchants.

are told of the martyrs, many of them, it is said, distinctly pronouncing the name of Jesus and Mary after their heads were cut off, the persecution continued to rage with unabated fury..

While the persecution of the Catholics was thus fiercely pursued in Japan, the Dutch, not in those islands only, but throughout the eastern seas, were zealously pushing their mercantile enterprises; and in Japan, as elsewhere, they got decidedly the advantage of the English, their companions and rivals, in these inroads upon the Portuguese and Spaniards.

The English at Firando bought junks and attempted a trade with Siam, where they already had a factory, one of their first establishments in the East; and with Cochin China and Corea; but without much advantage. In 1616, two small vessels arrived from England, one of which was employed in trading between Japan and Java. The operations of the Dutch were on a much larger scale. Not content with driving the Spaniards from the Moluccas, they threatened the Philippines, and sent to blockade Manilla a fleet, which had several engagements with the Spaniards. Five great Dutch ships arrived at Firando in 1616, of which one of nine hundred tons sailed for Bantam, fully laden with raw silk and other rich China stuffs; and another, of eight hundred tons, for the Moluccas, with money and provisions. Several others remained on the coast to watch the Spanish and Portuguese traders, and to carry on a piratical war against the Chinese junks, of which they captured, in 1616, according to Cocks' letters, not less than twenty or thirty, pretending to be English vessels, and thus greatly damaging the English name and the chance of a trade with China.*

On a visit to Miako, in 1620, Cocks, as appears by his letters, saw fifty-five Japanese martyred, because they would not renounce the Christian faith; among them little children of five or six years old, burned in their mothers' arms, and crying to Jesus to receive their souls. Sixteen others had been put to death for the same cause at Nagasaki, five of whom were burned, and the rest beheaded, cut in pieces, and cast into the sea in sacks; but the

* Such was the charge of the English. The Dutch narratives, however, abound with similar charges against the English. Both probably were true enough, as both nations captured all the Chinese junks they met.

priests had secretly fished up their bones and preserved them for relics. There were many more in prison, expecting hourly to die; for, as Cocks wrote, very few turned pagans.

Nagasaki had been from its foundation a Catholic city. Hitherto, notwithstanding former edicts for their destruction, one or two churches and monasteries had escaped; but, in 1621, all that were left, including the hospital of Misericordia, were destroyed. The very graves and sepulchres, so Cocks wrote, had been dug up; and, as if to root out all memory of Christianity, heathen temples were built on their sites.

One of the Jesuits wrote home that there was not now any question as to the number of Jesuit residences in Japan, but only as to the number of prisons. Even those who had not yet fallen into the hands of the persecutors had only caves and holes in the rocks for their dwellings, in which they suffered more than in the darkest dungeons.

It is not necessary to give implicit credit to all which the contemporary letters and memoirs related, and which the Catholic historians and martyrologists have repeated, of the ferocity of the persecutors, the heroism of the sufferers, and especially of the miracles said to be wrought by their relics. Yet there can be no question, either of the fury of the persecution, or of the lofty spirit of martyrdom in which it was unavailingly met. Catholicism lingered on for a few years longer in Japan, yet it must be considered as having already received its death-blow in that same year in which a few Puritan pilgrims landed at Plymouth, to plant the obscure seeds of a new and still growing Protestant empire.

CHAPTER XXIV.

COLLISIONS OF THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH IN THE EASTERN SEAS. — THE ENGLISH RETIRE FROM JAPAN. — THE SPANIARDS REPELLED. — PROGRESS OF THE PERSECUTION. — JAPANESE PORTS, EXCEPT FIRANDO AND NAGASAKI, CLOSED TO FORSIGNERS. — CHARGES IN EUROPE AGAINST THE JESUITS. — FATHERS SOTELO AND COLLADO. — TORMENT OF THE FOSSE. — APOSTASIES. — THE PORTUGUESE CONFINED TO DESIMA. — REBELLION OF XIMABARA. — THE PORTUGUESE EXCLUDED. — AMBASSADORS PUT TO DEATH. — A. D. 1621–1640.

Already the relations of the Dutch and English in the East had assumed the character of open hostility. A letter from Cocks, of March 10th, 1621,* complains that the Hollanders, having seven ships, great and small, in the harbor of Firando, had, with sound of trumpet, proclaimed open war against the English, both by sea and land, to take their ships and goods, and kill their persons as mortal enemies; that they had seized his boat, fired at his barks, and had beset the door of his factory — a hundred Dutchmen to one Englishman — and would have entered and cut all their throats but for the interference of the Japanese: all because Cocks had refused to give up six Englishmen, who had escaped from two English ships which the Dutch had captured, and whom they claimed to have back, representing them to the Japanese as their "slaves."

To sustain the English interest in the eastern seas, the English East India Company, by great efforts, had fitted out, in 1617, the largest expedition yet sent from England to the East Indies. It consisted of the *Royal James*, of one thousand tons; the *Royal Anne*, of nine hundred; the *Gift*, of eight hundred; the *Bull*, of four hundred; and the *Bee*, of one hundred and fifty tons; and

* The date, as given by Purchas (evidently by a misprint), is 1610.

sailed from London under the command of Martin Pring, who, twelve years before, following up the discoveries of Gosnold, had entered and explored — the first Englishman to do so — Penobscot bay and river, on the coast of what had since begun to be known as New England. Pring sailed first for Surat, where the Company had a factory, and where he assisted the native prince against the Portuguese, with whom he was at war. On the 17th of June, 1618, he arrived at Bantam, whence he proceeded, in September, to Jacatra, a city of the natives, the site of the present Batavia. There he received news that the Dutch in the Moluccas, not content with driving out the Spaniards, had attacked the English also, making prisoners of the merchants, whom they had treated with great harshness. News had also reached England of these Dutch outrages, and to make head against them, the Company, not long after Pring's departure, despatched Sir Thomas Dale — also well known, to readers of American history, as high-marshal of the colony of Virginia, one of its first legislators, and for three or four years its deputy governor — with a fleet of six large ships, with five of which he joined Pring in November, 1618, in the Bay of Bantam, assuming the command of the whole, including others which he found there.

Both fleets were in a very leaky condition, and after some skirmishing with the Dutch, and the capture of a richly-laden Dutch ship from Japan, the English sailed for the coast of Coromandel, to refit and to obtain provision, which could not be had on the coast of Java. Having arrived at Musilapatam, Dale died there August 9th, 1619. Toward the end of the year, Pring, who succeeded in the command, returned again towards the Straits of Sunda, and on the 25th of January, 1620, met, off the coast of Sumatra, three English ships of a new fleet, from which he learned that four others of the squadron to which they belonged had been surprised while at anchor off the coast of Java, and taken by the Dutch; that another had been wrecked in the Straits of Sunda; and that the Dutch were in pursuit of two others, with every prospect of taking them.

As the Dutch at Jacatra were three times as strong as the three squadrons now united under Pring, and as three of his largest ships were very leaky, and the whole fleet short of provisions, it

was resolved to send part of the vessels to a place at the north end of Sumatra, in hopes to meet with the Company's ships on their way with rice from Surat, while Pring himself, with his leaky vessels, should proceed to Japan — reported to be a good place for repairs as well as for obtaining provisions. Just at this time the happy news arrived, brought by two vessels despatched for that purpose from Europe, of an arrangement of the pending dispute, and of the union of the Dutch and English East India Companies into one body.

Shortly after this welcome information, Pring sailed for Japan with two of his leaky vessels, having made an arrangement to be followed in a month by a united fleet of five English and five Dutch ships. These ships were intended partly, indeed, for trade, but their principal object appears to have been attacks upon Manilla and Macao.

All these vessels, the Unicorn excepted, arrived safely at Firando. She was stranded on the coast of China, and her crew were the first Englishmen known to have landed there. A joint embassy was sent to the emperor with presents, which, notwithstanding the privileges of trade, were expected from every vessel that came. Having completed his repairs, and leaving the other vessels behind him, Pring sailed on the 7th of December, 1620, in the Royal James, for Jacatra, carrying with him the news of the death of Adams, who, having remained in the service of the Company, had never again visited England.*

* From Jacatra Pring proceeded to England with a cargo of pepper. It would seem that he had not forgotten his early voyages to the coast of America, for while his ship lay in the road of Saldanha, near the Cape of Good Hope, a contribution of seventy pounds eight shillings and sixpence was raised among the ship's company, to endow a school, to be called the *East India* School, in the colony of Virginia. Other contributions were made for this school, and the Virginia Company endowed it with a farm of a thousand acres, which they sent tenants to cultivate; but this, like the Virginia University, and many other public-spirited and promising enterprises, was ruined and annihilated by the fatal Indian massacre of 1622.

The Royal James carried also to England a copy in Japanese, still preserved in the archives of the East India Company, of Adams' will. With commendable impartiality, he divided his property, which, by the inventory annexed, amounted to nineteen hundred and seventy-two tael, two mas, four

The arrangement with the Dutch was but of short duration. Fresh quarrels broke out. In 1623 occurred the famous massacre of Amboyna, followed by the expulsion of the English from the Spice Islands; and, about the same time, the Company aban-

kandarins (two thousand four hundred and sixty-five dollars and twenty-nine cents), equally between his Japanese and his English family; the English share to go, one half to the wife and the other half to the daughter, it not being his mind — so Cocks wrote — "his wife should have all, in regard she might marry another husband, and carry all from his child." By the same ship Cocks made a remittance to the English family, having delivered "one hundred pounds sterling to diverse of the Royal James' Company, entered into the purser's books, to pay in England, two for one," — a very handsome rate of exchange, which throws some light on the profits of East India trade in those days. Adams' Japanese estate probably descended to his Japanese son; and who knows but the family survives to this day? The situation of this estate was but a very short distance from the spot where the recent American treaty was made; nor is the distance great from Simoda, one of the ports granted by that treaty. The command of the fleet left behind, on Pring's departure, devolved on Captain Robert Adams. According to Cocks' account, the crews, both Dutch and English, inferior officers as well as men, were a drunken, dissolute, quarrelsome set. Rundall gives a curious record of the trial by jury and execution of an Englishman of this fleet, for the murder of a Dutchman; and it seems the Dutch reciprocated by hanging a Dutchman for killing an Englishman. Master Arthur Hatch was chaplain of this fleet. Purchas gives (vol. I., part II., book X., ch. i.) a letter from him, written after his return, containing a brief sketch of his observations in Japan. Purchas also gives a letter from Cocks, which, in reference to the kofk of rice, agrees very well with Titsingh's statement quoted on page fifty-four. Cocks represents the revenues of the Japanese princes as being estimated in mangoca (mankofk) of rice, each containing ten thousand goca (kofk), and each goca containing one hundred gantas (guntings), a ganta being a measure equal to three English ale pints.

Cocks states the revenue of the king of Firando at six mangoca. He maintained four thousand soldiers, his quota for the emperor's service being two thousand. The income of Koskodono, formerly three, had lately been raised to fifteen mangoca. That of the king of Satsuma was one hundred, and that of the prince next in rank to the emperor two hundred mangoca. The value of the mangoca was calculated at the English factory at nine thousand three hundred and seventy-five pounds, which would make the kofk, or goca, worth eighteen shillings and sixpence sterling, or four dollars and fifty cents, and agrees very well with Caron's estimates of the kofk, which he calls *cokien*, as worth ten Dutch florins, or four dollars. The estimates of Kämpfer and Titsingh, given on page fifty-five, are higher.

doned the trade to Japan, after having lost forty thousand pounds in the adventure. This massacre of Amboyna consisted in the execution, by the Dutch, of ten or twelve factors of the English East India Company, on the charge of having conspired with some thirty *Japanese* residents to seize the Dutch fort. One of these Japanese having put some questions to a Dutch sentinel about the strength of the fort, he and others of his countrymen were arrested on suspicion, and by torture were compelled to accuse the English, who were then tortured in their turn into accusing each other. The residence of these Japanese at Amboyna is a proof, in addition to those already mentioned, of the adventurous spirit of the Japanese of that day, who had indeed a reputation for desperate daring, such as might give some color to the suspicions of the Dutch.*

Meanwhile the persecution continued as violently as ever. In the year 1622 fourteen Jesuits were burnt at the stake, including Spinola, a missionary of illustrious birth, who had been twenty years in Japan. Two friars were also burnt, who had been found on board a Japanese vessel from the Philippines, captured in 1620, by one of the English ships, the Elizabeth, employed in the blockade of Macao, and by her commander carried to Firando. The master and crew of the Japanese vessel, and many other native converts, were executed at the same time. The Spaniards were suspected of smuggling in missionaries, and were wholly forbidden the islands. As a greater security against this danger, by an edict, issued in 1624, — shortly previous to which there had been a very severe inquisition in Jedo and its neighborhood for concealed priests, — all the ports of Japan were closed against foreigners, except Firando and Nagasaki, of which Firando remained open to the Dutch and English, Nagasaki to the Portuguese, and both to the Chinese. At the same time was introduced the custom of requiring an exact muster roll, and making a strict inspection of the crews of all foreign vessels. By the same edict all the subjects of the Catholic king, whether Portuguese or Spaniards, were banished the country, however long they might have been settled there, and even though they might have families by Japanese wives.

What aggravated the misfortunes of the Japanese church, and

* See Appendix F.

greatly diminished the dignity of its fall, was the still hot jealousy and mutual hatred of the Jesuits and of the friars, inflamed rather than quenched by all this common danger and suffering. The bishop of Japan having died (it was said of grief, at the peril of his flock) just as the persecution broke out, a most unseemly quarrel arose, which was carried on for several years with great virulence, as to the administration of the bishopric. It was claimed, on the one hand, by Father Corvailho, the provincial of the Jesuits, under an authority from the Pope; and, on the other, by Father Pierre Baptiste, a Franciscan, as vicar-general of the archbishop of Manilla, to whose jurisdiction it was pretended the bishopric of Japan appertained. This quarrel about the administration of the bishopric was finally settled by the Pope in favor of the Jesuits.

The Jesuit seminaries in Japan being broken up, they had organized one at Macao for the education of Japanese ecclesiastics; but the severe penalties denounced against all priests coming into Japan, and against all, whether natives or foreigners, who should shelter them after their arrival, made the existence of the church, and the celebration of divine service, every day more precarious. From year to year it grew more and more difficult for new missionaries to get landed, great as was the zeal for that service. Of those who did land, the greater part were immediately seized and put to death. Large rewards were offered to any person who would betray or take a missionary. Those already in the country lived in hourly danger of arrest, forced to conceal themselves in cellars, holes and caverns and the huts of lepers, exposing to tortures and death all who might bring them food, or in any way assist in concealing them. The greatness of their sufferings does not depend merely upon the testimony of their own letters. Roger Gysbert, a Dutch Protestant and a resident in Japan, between the years 1622 and 1629, wrote an affecting narrative of it, and the general fact is strongly stated in Caron's account of Japan written a few years later.

Gysbert, in his narrative,* relates the martyrdom of more than five hundred persons; but there was a still larger amount of suffering which terminated not in martyrdom, but in recantation. The

* It may be found in Thevenot's Collection of Voyages, also in *Voyages des Indes*, tom. v.

Japanese officers seldom exhibited any personal malice against the Catholics. Their sole object was the extinction of that faith. They made it a study to deny the crown of martyrdom so enthusiastically sought, and by a series of protracted and ingenious tortures to force a renunciation. For this purpose the prisoners were sprinkled with water from the boiling sulphur springs, not far from Nagasaki, and exposed to breathe their stifling odors. The modesty of the women was barbarously assailed, and numerous means of protracted torture were resorted to, such as in general proved sooner or later successful. Other means were employed still more efficacious. All natives engaged in foreign trade were required to give in an exact statement of their property, which, unless the proprietors would conform to the national faith, was declared forfeited. It was even forbidden that European merchants should lodge in the houses of any who were or had been Catholics. At Firando and Nagasaki all heads of families were obliged to swear, in the presence of an idol, that there were no Catholics in their houses, and, according to the Japanese usage, to sign this declaration with their blood. From Melichor Santvoort, an old Dutchman, one of the companions of Adams in the first Dutch voyage to Japan, and long a resident at Nagasaki, the authorities were indeed satisfied to take instead a declaration that he was a Hollander, — a circumstance which gave occasion to the scandal at which Kämpfer is so indignant, that the Hollanders were accustomed to report themselves to the Japanese authorities as not Christians, but Dutchmen. All who refused to conform to the national worship were deprived of their employments, and driven out to live as they could among the barren mountains. The seafaring people had been mostly Catholics, but no Catholic was henceforth to be permitted to sail on board any ship. So successful were these means, that although when Gysbert first visited Nagasaki, in 1626, it was said to contain forty thousand native Christians, when he left it, in 1629, there was not one who admitted himself to be such.

In the midst of these martyrdoms, the Jesuits were called upon to suffer still severer torments, in new attacks upon their policy and conduct in Japan, published throughout Europe. Father Collado, a Dominican, for some time resident at Nagasaki, who returned to Europe in 1622, was known to have gone home charged with accu-

sations against the Jesuits; by way of answer to which a memorial was transmitted, prepared by the provincial Father Pacheco, who, four years after, himself suffered martyrdom at the stake. Nor was Collado their only assailant. Among those arrested in 1622, was Father Sotelo, that same enterprising Franciscan, of whom already we have had occasion to make mention. Insisting upon his character of legate from the Pope, he had disobeyed the orders of his superiors, had sailed from New Spain to Manilla, and had contrived to get a passage thence to Nagasaki, in a Chinese vessel, under the character of a merchant. But the captain detected and betrayed him; he was immediately arrested and thrown into prison, and in 1624 was put to death.

In 1628 there was published at Madrid what purported to be a letter from Sotelo to Pope Urban VIII., written in Latin, dated just before his martyrdom, and containing, under the form of a narrative of his own proceedings, a violent attack upon the Jesuits, and their conduct in Japan. Not liking to be thus attacked as it were by a martyr from his grave, they denied its authenticity. A memorial of Collado, printed in 1633, reiterated the same charges, to most of which it must be admitted that the replies made on behalf of the Jesuits are entirely satisfactory.*

* A candid and conclusive answer to Sotelo, or the false Sotelo, as the Jesuits persisted in calling him, was published at Madrid immediately after the appearance of his letter by Don Jean Cevicos, a commissary of the holy office, who was able to speak from personal observation. Cevicos had been captain of the galleon St. Francis, the ship in which Don Rodrigo de Vivero had been wrecked on the coast of Japan, as related in a former chapter. After a six months' stay in Japan, and an acquaintance there with Sotelo, Cevicos sailed for Manilla, was captured on the passage by the Dutch, but recaptured by a Spanish fleet. Arrived at Manilla, he renounced the seas, commenced the study of theology, was ordained priest, and became provisor of the archbishopric of the Philippines. The business of this office brought him to Spain, and being at Madrid when the letter ascribed to Sotelo appeared, he thought it his duty to reply to it. A full abstract of this answer, as well as of Sotelo's charges, may be found at the end of Charlevoix' *Histoire du Japon*. It appears, from documents quoted in it, that the missionaries of the other orders agreed with the Jesuits, in ascribing the persecution mainly to the idea, which the Dutch made themselves very busy in insinuating, that the independence of Japan was in danger from the Spaniards and the Pope, who were on the watch to gain, by means of the missionaries, the mastery of Japan, as they had of Portugal and so many other countries.

Finding that the means as yet employed had little effect upon the missionaries and their native assistants, a new and more effectual, because more protracted, torture was resorted to, known in the relations of the missionaries as the *Torment of the Fosse.* A hole was dug in the ground, over which a gallows was erected. From this gallows the sufferer, swathed in bandages, was suspended by his feet, being lowered for half his length, head downward, into the hole, which was then closed by two boards which fitted together around the victim so as to exclude the light and air. One hand was bound behind the back, the other was left loose, with which to make the prescribed signal of recantation and renunciation of the foreign creed; in which case, the sufferer was at once released.

This was a most terrible trial indeed. The victim suffered under a continual sense of suffocation, the blood burst from the mouth, nose and ears, with a twitching of the nerves and muscles, attended by the most intolerable pains. Yet the sufferer, it was said, lived sometimes for nine or ten days. The year 1633, in which this punishment was first introduced, the second year of a new emperor, son of Xogun-Sama,* and himself known as Toxogun-Sama, proved more fatal than any previous one to the new religion. In the month of August of that year forty-two persons were burnt alive in various parts of Japan, eleven decapitated, and sixteen suspended in the fosse. The Dutchman Hagenaar, who was at Firando in 1634, states, in his printed voyages, that during the time of his visit thirty-seven persons lost their lives at that place on the charge of being Catholics. Five of these perished by the torment of the fosse, others were beheaded, others cut to pieces, and others burnt.

The charges made in the name of Sotelo against the Jesuits are of more interest from the fact that, at the time of the Jansenist quarrel, they were revived and reürged with a bitterness of hatred little short of that which had prompted their original concoction.

A Spanish history of the Franciscan mission, full of bitter hatred against the Jesuits, was published at Madrid in 1632, written down to 1620, by Father Fray Jacinto Orfanel, who was arrested that year, and burnt two years after, and continued by Collado, who was also the author of a Japanese grammar and dictionary mentioned in the Appendix, A.

* Xogun-Sama seems to be only Sogun-Sama, a title, not a name.

What at last struck the deepest horror to the souls of the few surviving Jesuits, and was greatly improved in Europe to the damage of the Company by its enemies, was the apostasy of Father Christopher Ferreyra, a Portuguese, an old missionary, the provincial of the order, and the administrator of the bishopric. He was taken in 1633 at Nagasaki, and being suspended in the fosse, after five hours he gave the fatal signal of renunciation. After having been kept some time in prison, and given what information he could for the detection of those of his late brethren still concealed in Japan, he was set at liberty; and, having assumed the Japanese dress and a Japanese name, he lived for several years at Nagasaki. He had been compelled to marry a Japanese woman, who was very rich, being the widow of a Chinese goldsmith, who had been executed for some offence; but the Jesuits comforted themselves with the idea that the marriage was never consummated; and they even got up a report that in his old age this renegade brother recovered his courage, and having, on his death-bed, confessed himself a Christian, was immediately hurried off to perish a martyr by that very torment of the fosse, the terror of which had first made and had so long kept him an apostate. But for this fine story there seems to have been no foundation except the wishes and hopes of those who circulated it.

As a further security against the surreptitious introduction of missionaries, the policy was adopted, in 1635, of confining the Portuguese sailors and merchants to the little artificial island of Desima, in the harbor of Nagasaki, a spot but just large enough to hold the necessary residences and warehouses. Shortly after the issue of this edict, the people of the kingdom of Arima, all of them still Catholic except the king and the nobility, seeing no other hope, broke out into open revolt. They were headed by a descendant of their ancient kings, and mustering, it is said, to the number of thirty-seven thousand, took possession of the fortress of Ximabara, situated about due east from Nagasaki, on the gulf of the same name. Here they were besieged; and the place being taken in 1637, those who held it were cut off to a man.

The Portuguese were accused of having encouraged this revolt; in consequence of which an edict was issued, in 1638, not only banishing all the Portuguese, but forbidding also any Japanese

to go out of the country. That edict as given by Kiimpfer, was as follows:

"No Japanese ship or boat whatever, nor any native of Japan, shall presume to go out of the country: whoso acts contrary to this shall die, and the ship with the crew and goods aboard shall be sequestered till further order.

"All Japanese who return from abroad shall be put to death. Whoever discovers a priest shall have a reward of 400 to 500 *shuels* of silver, and for every Christian in proportion.*

"All persons who propagate the doctrine of the Catholics, or bear this scandalous name, shall be imprisoned in the *Ombra*, or common jail of the town.

"The whole race of the Portuguese, with their mothers, nurses and whatever belongs to them, shall be banished to Macao.

"Whoever presumes to bring a letter from abroad, or to return after he hath been banished, shall die with all his family; also whoever presumes to intercede for him shall be put to death. No nobleman nor any soldier shall be suffered to purchase anything of a foreigner."

The Portuguese ships of 1639 were sent back with a copy of this edict, without being suffered to discharge their cargos. The corporation of the city of Macao, greatly alarmed at the loss of a lucrative traffic, on which their prosperity mainly depended, sent deputies to solicit some modification of this edict. But the only reply made by the emperor was to cause these deputies themselves, with their attendants, to the number of sixty-one persons, to be seized and put to death, as violators of the very edict against which they had been sent to remonstrate. Thirteen only, of the lowest rank, were sent back to Macao, August, 1640, with this account of the fate of their company.†

* A shuet of silver weighs about five ounces, so that the reward offered was from $2000 to $2500.

† A narrative of this transaction was published at Rome, in 1643. A short but curious document, purporting to be a translation of a Japanese imperial edict, commanding the destruction of all Portuguese vessels attempting to approach the coasts of Japan, is given in *Voyages au Nord*, tom. IV. Ships of other nations were to be sent under a strong guard to Nagasaki. [See Appendix, Note I.]

CHAPTER XXV.

POLICY OF THE DUTCH. — AFFAIR OF NUYTS. — HAGANAAR'S VISITS TO JAPAN. — CARON'S ACCOUNT OF JAPAN. — INCOME OF THE EMPEROR AND THE NOBLES. — MILITARY FORCE. — SOCIAL AND POLITICAL POSITION OF THE NOBLES. — JUSTICE. — RELATION OF THE DUTCH TO THE PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLICS. — THE DUTCH REMOVED FROM FIRANDO AND CONFINED IN DESIMA. — ATTEMPTS OF THE ENGLISH, PORTUGUESE AND FRENCH, AT INTERCOURSE WITH JAPAN. — FINAL EXTINCTION OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH. — A. D. 1620—1707.

THROUGHOUT the whole of the long and cruel persecution of the Catholics, the Dutch had striven by extreme subserviency to recommend themselves to the favor of the Japanese, in hopes of exclusively engrossing a trade which appears at this time to have been more extensive and more lucrative than at any former period. The Japanese, however, seem not to have been insensible to the advantages of competition; and, so long as the Portuguese commerce continued, they extended to the vessels of that nation a certain protection against the Dutch, and even preference over them. The danger from Dutch cruisers appears to have caused the substitution, for the single great carac of Macao, of a number of smaller vessels; nor were the Dutch, however urgent their solicitations, allowed to leave Firando till such a number of days after the departure of the Portuguese from Nagasaki as would prevent all danger of collision.

Yet, however cringing the general policy of the Dutch East India Company, their trade, through the folly of a single individual, was near being exposed to a violent interruption. In the year 1626, Conrad Kramer, the head of the Dutch factory, was extremely well received on his visit to Jedo, and was allowed to be present at Miako during the visit of the emperor to the Dairi — an occasion which drew together an immense concourse, and which, according

to the account that Kramer has left of it, was attended with vast confusion.* The annual visit to Jedo was made the next year by Peter de Nuyts, who gave himself out as ambassador from the king of Holland, and at first was treated as such; but the Japanese having discovered that he had no commission except from the council of Batavia, sent him away in disgrace.

Shortly after Nuyts was appointed governor of Formosa. The Dutch, following in the footsteps of some Japanese adventurers, had formed an establishment on that island, about the year 1620, with a view to a smuggling trade with China; and, by erecting a fort at the mouth of the harbor, had speedily obtained the exclusive control of it. Not long after Nuyts' appointment as governor, there arrived two Japanese vessels, on a voyage to China. They merely touched at Formosa for water, but Nuyts, to gratify the spite he had conceived against the Japanese nation, contrived to detain them so long that they missed the monsoon; and having required them, as the sole condition on which he would allow their entrance, to give up their sails and rudders, upon one pretence and another, he refused to return them, till at length the patience of the Japanese was entirely exhausted. They numbered five hundred men; and at last, all their reiterated and urgent applications for leave to depart being refused, they attacked the governor by surprise, overpowered his household, and made him prisoner; nor did the garrison of the neighboring fort dare to fire upon them for fear of killing their own people. Thus the brave Japanese extorted liberty to depart and indemnity for their losses, to which the Dutch assented, notwithstanding their superior force, for fear of reprisals in Japan. These, however, they did not avoid, for, as soon as the Japanese reached home, the emperor put under sequestration nine vessels with their cargoes, then at Firando, belonging to the Dutch East India Company, and forbade any further trade with their agents. Things remained in this state for three years, the Japanese, however, receiving as usual Dutch vessels which came from Batavia, under the assumed character of belonging not to the East India Company, but to private merchants. At last it was resolved to

* This curious piece may be found in French, in the *Voyages des Indes*, tom. v.

seek an accommodation by surrendering up Nuyts to the mercy of the Japanese, which was done in 1634.

Having obtained his unconditional surrender, they treated him with great clemency; for, though detained in custody, he was not kept a close prisoner; and, in return for this concession, the Company's ships were released, and their trade reëstablished. The liberation of Nuyts was granted two years afterwards as a mark of the emperor's satisfaction, with a splendid chandelier among the annual presents of the Company, and which was used as an ornament for the temple-mausoleum of the emperors of the race of Gongen-Sama, completed about that time.

In the solicitation for the release of Nuyts both Haganaar and Caron were employed, to each of whom we are indebted for some curious memoirs of the state of Japan in their time. Haganaar made three visits thither. The first included the last four months of 1634. The second extended from September, 1635, to November, 1636; during which, he made a visit to Jedo, and was at the head of the factory. The third was limited to three months in the autumn of 1637. Of each of these visits he has given brief notes in his printed travels,* besides adding some observations of his own to Caron's account of Japan. Firando, which he describes as a town of thirty-six streets, had grown up suddenly, in consequence of the Dutch trade — a single street producing more revenue to the lord than the whole town formerly had done; yet there were hardly any merchants in the place, except those who lodged at the factory, and who were drawn thither from all parts by the Dutch trade.

During Haganaar's second visit, the Dutch were called sharply to account for having presumed to sell their silk at a higher rate than that asked by the Portuguese, and a price was prescribed, which they were not to exceed. Being deputed to visit Jedo, on the business of Nuyts' release, Haganaar proceeded thither by sea, and took lodgings at the house of a Japanese bonze, who was the usual host of the Dutch. The agency of the lord of Firando and of his secretary was employed with several of the imperial counsel-

* Haganaar's travels may be found in *Voyages des Indes*, tom. v., and a narrative of Nuyt's affair in *Voyages au Nord*, tom iv.

lors, but owing, as it would seem, to a deficiency of presents, without success. Caron arranged this matter more successfully the next year. From Jedo to Osaka Haganaar travelled by land, and from Osaka by water to Firando, where, during his absence, thirteen or fourteen persons had suffered death because they belonged to Catholic families. He notes that the Japanese whale fishery, for the season of 1636, resulted in the capture of two hundred and seventy-four whales; which, however, were much smaller and less fat than the Greenland whales, and were taken more for food than oil. Shortly after his return to Firando, news came of an order from court that all the Portuguese half-castes — that is, descendants of Portuguese by Japanese women — should be shipped off with their wives and children to Macao.

Returning to Japan a third time, in 1637 — in the seventh Dutch ship which arrived that year — Haganaar heard that Admiral Woddell was at Nagasaki with four richly-laden English ships. They had been refused entrance into Macao, and had come thence to Japan, but could not obtain permission to trade, nor even to land. Six Portuguese galliots had also arrived from Macao with full cargoes of rich silks, which were sold, however, at little profit. Yet they were reported to have carried back, in return, two thousand six hundred chests of silver, or more than three millions of dollars.

To relieve the necessities of the Dutch governor of Formosa, who was engaged in hostilities with the natives, and had been obliged to borrow of Chinese traders, at the rate of three per cent. a month, Haganaar was despatched thither with four ships and four hundred and fifty chests of silver, of which two hundred had been borrowed at Miako of Japanese capitalists, at twenty-four per cent. per annum. The following year he returned to Holland, where he soon after printed his voyages, and along with them the answers made by Francis Caron to a series of questions which had been submitted to him by the director of the Company, and which throw not a little light upon the condition of Japan at this time.

Caron, born in Holland of French parents, had originally gone to Japan quite young, Kämpfer says, as cook of a Dutch ship. Bad treatment caused him to quit the ship in Japan, where he was presently taken into the service of the Dutch factory, and taught reading, writing and accounts. He gave evidence of remarkable abili-

ties, and rose in time to the head of the establishment. He spoke the language fluently, had married a Japanese wife, and from the liberty of intercourse then allowed, and his long residence in the country, enjoyed means of information which no European has since possessed.

In describing the political state of Japan, Caron gives the names, residences and revenues, of thirty-two princes, that is, rulers of one or more provinces (spoken of in the earlier relations as kings), of whom the prince of Kanga, who was also ruler of two other provinces, had a revenue of one hundred and nineteen mankokf, and the others revenues varying from seventy to eighteen mankokf. He adds the names, residences and incomes, of one hundred and seven other lords, twenty of whom had revenues of from fifteen to seven mankokf, and the others of from six to two mankokf. Another list contains the names of forty-one lords, with revenues of from one to two mankokf; and in a fourth list, he enumerates sixteen lords attached to the imperial court, of whom the first four had from fifteen to nine mankokf, and the others from six to one mankokf. The total revenues of these one hundred and ninety-six great nobles amounted to nineteen thousand three hundred and forty-five mankokf, exclusive of nine thousand mankokf of imperial revenue, of which four thousand were employed in the maintenance of the court, and the remainder in the support of the imperial guard, all of whom were nobles, many of them children of the concubines of the emperors and great princes, and excluded on that account from the prospect of succession.* Thus the total annual revenues of the great landed proprietors of Japan amounted to twenty-eight million three hundred and forty-five thousand kokfs of rice, equal to about ninety million cwt., or one hundred and thirty-three million five hundred thousand bushels; nor is it probable that in this respect there has been much change from that time to this.† Caron gives

* According to Titsingh, they amounted in his time (1780) to eighty thousand in number. Apparently they are the *Dosiu*, or imperial soldiers, of whom we shall have occasion hereafter to speak.

† This quantity of rice would suffice for the support of twelve million persons or more. The cultivators of the imperial domains retained, according to Kämpfer, six tenths of the produce, and those who cultivated the lands of inferior lords four tenths. Hence it may be conjectured that the estimate of twenty-five millions of people for Japan, is not excessive.

as the current value of the kokf, or, as he calls it, cokien, ten guilders (or four dollars), which would make the mankokf equal to one hundred thousand florins (forty thousand dollars), or what the Dutch called a ton of gold. The prince of Satsuma, who was lord also of four other provinces, is put down in the above lists at sixty-four mankokf, the prince of Fisen at thirty-six, and the lord of Firando at six.*

These revenues arose in part from mines of gold, silver, copper, iron, tin and lead, from timber, hemp, cotton and silk, and from fisheries; but chiefly from the rice and other crops. There were no taxes or duties in Japan, except ground rents for lands and houses, payable in produce or money, and in personal services. All these nobles had residences at Jedo, in the precinct of the imperial palace, in which their children resided as hostages for their fidelity. For each thousand kokfs of revenue these lords furnished on demand twenty foot soldiers and two horsemen, and maintained them during the campaign, exclusive of the necessary servants and camp followers. The whole of their quotas, or of the feudal militia of Japan, thus amounted to three hundred and sixty-eight thousand foot, and thirty-eight thousand eight hundred horse, in addition to a standing army of one hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, maintained by the emperor from his own revenues, as garrisons and guards. The princes, however, prided themselves on keeping up many more troops than their regular quotas. To every five men there was an officer. Five of these sections composed a platoon, which had its commander. Two platoons made a company, which had its captain. Five of these companies, of fifty privates and thirteen officers, composed a battalion of two hundred and fifty rank and file, with its special officer; and ten battalions a division of two thousand five hundred men. The civil division was much the same. Every five houses had an inspector, who kept a register of all births and deaths, and every street its magistrate and watch.

Though the revenues of the nobles were great, their expenses were still more so. They were obliged to pass six months at the imperial court; those of the northern and eastern provinces during

* These lists were doubtless copied from the *Jedo Kagami* (Mirror of Jedo), a kind of Blue Book, still published twice a year, and containing similar lists. See *Annals des Empereurs du Japon* (Titsingh and Klaproth) page 37, note.

one half the year, those of the southern and western provinces during the other half. They travelled in great state, some of them with not less than four or five thousand men in their suite, and, on their arrival and departure, gave great entertainments. The prince of Firando, though one of the lesser class, was always attended in his journeys by at least three hundred men, and entertained in his two houses at Jedo more than a thousand persons. What with their households, the clothing of their followers, their women, of whom they entertained a great number, their children, — the prince of Mito, the emperor's uncle, had fifty-four boys, and daughters still more numerous, — presents and festivals, their expenses generally exceeded their incomes; and, besides, they were often required to furnish workmen, at the demand of the emperor, for building new castles, temples, or anything he might undertake. The honor of a visit from the emperor was very highly esteemed. He seldom paid more than one to the same house. No expense was spared, and years were spent in preparations, which often ruined those who enjoyed this honor. The visit made by the emperor to the Dairi at Miako, once in seven years, was a still more magnificent affair.

The emperor maintained on the estate of each noble a secretary, in fact a spy, sent nominally to assist and advise him in the management of his affairs. Those selected for this service were generally persons educated at court, and of known fidelity, who, before their departure, signed with their blood a promise to keep the emperor fully informed of the affairs and actions of the prince to whom they were sent.

The marriages of the nobles were arranged by the emperor. The wife thus given was entitled to great respect. Her sons alone succeeded to the lordship, which, in case she had none, was generally transferred to some other family. The children by the numerous concubines of the nobles had no share in the inheritance, and were often reduced to beggary. Besides concubines, free indulgence was allowed with the courtesans maintained by the lords of each district for public use. The lawful wives lived in splendid seclusion, attended by troops of female servants. Of women's rights the Japanese nobles had no very high idea. Not only the strictest chastity was expected from them, but entire devotion to their husbands, and abstinence from any intermeddling with business or pol-

itics; the Japanese opinion being — in which Caron seems fully to coincide — that women are only made for the pleasure of the men and to bring up children. The children, though treated with great indulgence, were exceedingly respectful to their parents.

The emperor had in every city and village officers for the administration of justice; but every householder had the right to dispense punishments in his own family. Justice was very strict and severe, especially in cases of theft; and for crimes against the state the punishment extended to the whole family of the offender. The nobles and military, in case they were convicted of crimes, enjoyed the privilege of cutting themselves open. Merchants and mechanics were held in mean esteem, — the former as cheats and tricksters, the latter as public servants. The cultivators were little better than slaves.

The account which Caron gives of domestic manners corresponds sufficiently well with the more extended observations to be quoted hereafter from subsequent observers. He did not regard the Japanese as very devout. The persecution against the Catholics he describes as equal to anything in ecclesiastical history. He particularly admired the steadiness and constancy of many young children of ten or twelve years. All the inhabitants were required once a year to sign a declaration that they were good Japanese, and that the Catholic religion was false. The Catholics had amounted to four hundred thousand; and their number was still considerable.*

The Dutch had all along stimulated the Japanese against the Portuguese. All missionaries bound for Japan, found on board of Portuguese and Spanish prizes taken in the neighboring seas, had been delivered into the hands of the Japanese authorities. The Dutch had even assisted at the siege of Ximabara, for which they had furnished a train of artillery, conducted thither by Kockebecker, the head, at that time, of the Dutch factory. But they were far

* There are two versions of Caron's account of Japan, materially different from each other; one with the original questions, as furnished by Caron himself to Thevenot, the other in the form of a continuous narrative, with large additions by Haganaar. The first may be found in Thevenot's *Voyages Curieuse*, also in *Voyages au Nord*, tom. IV. The other in *Voyages des Indes*, tom. V., and an English translation of it in Pinkerton's collection, vol. VII.

from realizing all the advantages which they had expected from the expulsion of their rivals. They, too, had excited suspicions by replacing their dilapidated wooden factory at Firando by a strong stone warehouse, which had something of the aspect of a fortress. In spite of their submissiveness in pulling down * this erection, their establishment at that place was suddenly closed, and in 1641 the Dutch factors were transferred to Nagasaki, where they were shut up in the same little artificial island of Desima, which had been constructed to be the prison-house of the Portuguese. And to this narrow island they have ever since been confined, with the exception of some occasional visits to Nagasaki and its environs, and an annual journey, by the chief officers of the factory, to pay their homage to the emperor at Jedo — a ceremony which seems to have been coëval with the first arrival of the Dutch. Hitherto the Portuguese and the Dutch also had freely intermarried with the Japanese; but this intimacy now came wholly to an end, and even the Dutch were thenceforth regarded rather as prisoners than as friends.

What contributed to increase this jealousy of the Dutch was the peace between Holland and the Portuguese, which followed the assumption of the crown of Portugal by the house of Braganza, and the separation of Portugal from Spain, in the year 1640.

Evidence of this very soon appeared. In the year 1643, the Dutch sent two ships from Batavia, the *Castricoom* and the *Breskens*, to explore the yet little-known northern coast of Japan, the island of Jeso and the adjacent continent, and especially to search out certain fabled islands of gold and silver, whence the Japanese were said to derive large supplies of those metals. These vessels, when off Jedo, were separated in a storm, and the Breskens, in need of supplies touched at a fishing village in about forty degrees of north latitude. The lord of the village, and a principal person of the neighboring district, visited the ship with great show of friendship, and having enticed the captain, Shaëp, and his chief officers on

* A curious contemporary narrative of this affair is given, among other tracts relating to Japan, in *Voyages au Nord*, tom. IV. It is not unlikely that the military operations of the Dutch in the neighboring island of Formosa, and their strong fort of Zelandia recently erected there, might have aroused the suspicions of the Japanese.

shore, made them prisoners, bound them and sent them off to Nambu, near by. They were permitted to communicate with the ship, and to obtain their baggage, but at first were treated with much rigor on suspicion of being Spaniards or Portuguese. It being found, however, that they paid no respect to the sign of the cross or to pictures of the Virgin, it was concluded that they were Hollanders, and they were treated with less severity. At Nambu they were splendidly entertained, and in their twenty days' journey thence to Jedo, in which they passed through a hundred well-built villages, they had nothing to complain of except the inconveniences of the crowds that flocked to see them. In every village they saw rewards posted up for the discovery of Christians. Not being willing to reveal the true object of their voyage, they stated themselves to have been driven to the north in an attempt to reach Nagasaki. It was plain, however, that their story about having come from Batavia, and being in the service of the East India Company, was not believed. It was suspected that they had come from Macao or Manilla for the purpose of landing missionaries, and they were subjected in consequence to numerous fatiguing cross-examinations, in which a bonze assisted, who spoke Spanish, Portuguese, English and Flemish, and whom they conjectured to be some apostate European. What increased the suspicions of the Japanese was, that five Jesuits from Manilla had recently, in an attempt to reach Japan, been arrested at the Lew Chew Islands, and sent thence to Jedo. The Dutchmen were confronted with these Jesuits, to their great alarm. They also feared, if the true object of the voyage came out, being exposed to punishment not only for undertaking unauthorized explorations, but for falsehood in concealing and misrepresenting their object; but when the Japanese had learned from Nagasaki that two Dutch ships had been sent on a voyage for the exploration of Tartary, of which the factors represented theirs as probably one, they excused their silence on that subject on the ground of not having been properly understood and interpreted. The factors at Nagasaki had been not less careful than themselves to say nothing about the search for mines.

New interpreters were brought from Nagasaki, among them another apostate, whom there are grounds for supposing was the ex-provincial Ferreyra, between whom and the Jesuit prisoners they

witnessed a bitter scene of mutual reproaches. A great many rigorous cross-examinations followed. The Dutchmen were required to sign a paper by which all the Company's property was pledged, for their reäppearance before the imperial tribunals at any time that it might be discovered that they had landed missionaries. Their having discharged some pieces of artillery from the ship was insisted upon as a crime; also their ship having sailed off without waiting for them. The recent peace between Holland and Portugal was pointedly alluded to, and even the search for mines seems to have been suspected. The appearance of a ship on the east coast of Japan, which proved to be the Castricoom, some of whose people who landed were seized and sent to Jedo, gave rise to many new interrogations. Elserak, the director, at length arrived, and, after a separate examination, was confronted with them and signed the paper above described, when the Dutch were finally released, after an imprisonment of upwards of four months.*

The Castricoom, more successful, discovered the Kurile Islands, *Eetoorpoo* and *Ooroop*, to which were given the names of *State's Islands* and *Company's Islands*, and made some explorations of the east coast of Jeso, and of Sagaleen, taken to be a part of it. The information thus obtained, together with the two relations of Father de Angelis, written in 1616 and 1621, was all that was known of these regions till the explorations of Broughton and La Perouse, towards the close of the last century. Golownin's adventures and experience there, as related in a subsequent chapter, bear a very remarkable and curious resemblance to those of Captain Schaëp and his companions. Their release was acknowledged in a solemn embassy from the Company, — that of Frisius. About the same time, in 1647, a Portuguese embassy arrived in Japan, in hopes, since the separation from Spain, of reviving the ancient commercial intercourse; but, though the ambassador was treated with respect, his request was peremptorily declined.

A new emperor, a minor, having succeeded in 1650, the Dutch Company sent Waganaar, in 1651, to congratulate him. Among

* There is an account of the voyage of the Castricoom in Thevenot's collection. It is also contained in *Voyages au Nord*, tom. III. Charlevoix gives a full and interesting abstract of the adventures of Captain Schaëp and his companions, derived from two different French versions of a Dutch original; but I know not where either the versions or the original can be found.

other presents he brought a Casuar, a strange bird of the ostrich kind, from Banda, but the officers at Nagasaki would not suffer it to be forwarded. During this visit there happened a terrible fire at Jedo, by which two thirds of that city were laid in ruins. Some violent disputes having arisen, and the Japanese having gone so far as to take away the rudders of the Dutch ships, Waganaar went on a second embassy to Jedo, in 1659.*

The establishment of the French East India Company by Colbert, led to some projects for a French trade with Japan, especially as Caron in some disgust had quitted the Dutch service, and enlisted into that of France. A letter from Louis XIV. to the emperor of Japan, dated in 1666, was prepared, and instructions for Caron, who was to be the bearer of it; but the project does not appear to have been prosecuted.† [See Appendix, Note I.]

In 1673, the English East India Company made an attempt at

* The journals of these embassies of Waganaar, Frisius and others, generally pretty dry documents, with extracts from Caron, furnished the basis for the *Memorable Embassies of the Dutch to the Emperors of Japan*, a splendid folio with more than a hundred copper plates, published at Amsterdam in 1669, purporting to be compiled by Arnold Montanus, of which an English translation, made by Ogilvy, with the same cuts, appeared the next year at London, under the title of *Atlas Japonensis*, and a French translation, with some additions and alterations, ten years later at Amsterdam.

The materials are thrown together in the most careless and disorderly manner, and are eked out by drawing largely upon the letters of the Jesuit missionaries. The cuts, whence most of the current prints representing Japanese objects are derived, are destitute of any authenticity. Those representing Japanese idols and temples evidently were based on the descriptions of Froez, whose accounts do not seem quite to agree in all respects with the observations of more recent travellers.

The dedication of Ogilvy's translation outdoes anything Japanese in the way of prostration, nor can the language of it hardly be called English. It is as follows: "To the supreme, most high and mighty prince, Charles II., by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. These strange and novel relations concerning the ancient and present state of the so populous and wealthy empire of Japan, being a book of wonders, dedicated with all humility, lies prostrate at the sacred feet of your most serene majesty, by the humblest of your servants, and most loyal subject, John Ogilvy."

† This letter, with the instructions and a memoir of Caron's on the subject, may be found in *Voyages au Nord*, tom. IV. Caron, who spent several years in the French service in the East Indies, perished by shipwreck near Lisbon,

the renewal of the trade with Japan, by despatching a ship thither. The Japanese, through the medium of the Dutch, kept themselves informed, as they still do, of the affairs of Europe; and the first question put to the new comers was, how long since the English king (Charles II.) had married a daughter of the king of Portugal. Though otherwise courteously enough received and entertained, the vessel was not allowed to sell her cargo. This refusal of intercourse the English ascribed to Dutch jealousy; but it probably was a step, as will be seen in the next chapter, to which the Japanese did not need any urging.*

Though the Catholics of Japan were effectually cut off from all intercourse with Europe, the Catholic faith still lingered for a good while in those parts of Ximo in which it had taken the deepest root. So late as 1690, there were, according to Kämpfer, fifty persons, men, women and children (of whom three had been arrested in 1683), imprisoned at Nagasaki for life, or until they should renounce the Catholic faith, and conform to the religious usages of the country. These were peasants, who knew little more of the faith which they professed, except the name of the Saviour and the Virgin Mary, which indeed, according to the Dutch accounts, was all that the greater part of the Japanese converts had ever known.

To land in Japan, to strengthen and comfort the faithful there, or at least to secure the crown of martyrdom in the attempt, long continued an attractive enterprise to the more romantic spirits among the religious orders of the Catholic church. Most of those who undertook this adventure were known to have been seized and executed soon after landing. The last effort of this sort appears to have been made in 1707. From that time, and notwithstanding the great revival, within fifty or sixty years past, of the missionary spirit, Japan has remained even less attempted by missionary than by mercantile enterprise.

on his return to France in 1674. He was president of the Dutch factory at the time of its removal to Desima; and Kämpfer undertakes to represent his mismanagement as in some degree the cause of that removal. This story was doubtless current at Desima in Kämpfer's time, but probably it grew out of disgust of the Dutch at Caron's having passed into the French service.

* A curious narrative of this visit is printed in Pinkerton's great collection, vol. VII.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PORTUGUESE TRADE TO JAPAN. — DUTCH TRADE. — SILVER, GOLD AND COPPER, THE CHIEF ARTICLES OF EXPORT. — EXPORT OF SILVER PROHIBITED. — CHINESE TRADE. — ITS INCREASE AFTER THE ACCESSION OF THE MANTCHEW DYNASTY. — CHINESE TEMPLES AT NAGASAKI. — A BUDDHIST DOCTOR FROM CHINA. — EDICT ON THE SUBJECT OF HOUSEHOLD WORSHIP. — RESTRICTIONS ON THE DUTCH TRADE. — INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF CHINESE VISITORS TO NAGASAKI. — THEIR OBJECTS. — RESTRICTIONS ON THE CHINESE TRADE. — THE CHINESE SHUT UP IN A FACTORY. — TRADE WITH LEW CHEW. — A. D. 1542—1690.

Of the real value and extent of the trade which for some ninety years the Portuguese carried on with Japan, and which was brought to a final close in the year 1638, we have no means of forming any very exact estimate. When we read in writers of two or three centuries ago glowing accounts of immense commercial profits, we must also recollect that, compared with the commerce of the present day, the trade upon which these great profits were made was exceedingly limited in amount.

For more than half of the above period of ninety years the intercourse of the Portuguese with Japan seems to have been reduced, or nearly so, to a single annual ship, known as the great carac of Macao, sent annually from that city, and laden chiefly with China silks, every Portuguese citizen of Macao having the right, if he chose to exercise it, of putting on board a certain number of packages, as did also the Society of Jesus, which had a college and a commercial agency in that city. Of this traffic the following account is given by Ralph Fitch, an intelligent Englishman, who was in Malacca in the year 1588:* "When the Portuguese go from Macao in China to Japan, they carry much white silk, gold, musk and porcelains, and they bring from thence nothing but silver.

* For a further account of Fitch and his travels, see Appendix, note E.

They have a great carac, which goeth thither every year, and she bringeth from thence every year about six hundred thousand crusados [not far from as many dollars]; and all this silver of Japan, and two hundred thousand crusados more in silver, which they bring yearly out of India, they employ to their great advantage in China; and they bring from thence gold, musk, silk, porcelains, and many other things very costly and gilded." *

If we allow to the Portuguese an annual average export of half a million of dollars, that will make in ninety years forty-five millions of dollars of silver carried away by the Portuguese; for, according to all accounts, they brought away nothing else.

* The China trade was shared at this time between the Portuguese of Macao and the Spaniards of the Philippines. On the Spanish trade, and the profits of it, some light is thrown by extracts from letters found on board Spanish prizes taken by the English, which Hackluyt translated and published in his fourth volume. Thus Hieronymo de Nabores writes from Panama (Aug. 24th, 1590), where he was waiting for the ship for the Philippines, — "My meaning is to carry my commodities thither, for it is constantly reported that for every one hundred ducats a man shall get six hundred ducats clearly." This, however, was only the talk at Panama; but Sebastian Biscanio had made the voyage, and he writes to his father from Acapulco (June 20th, 1590): "In this harbor here are four great ships of Mexico, of six hundred or eight hundred tons apiece, which only serve to carry our commodities to China, and so to return back again. The order is thus. From hence to China is about two thousand leagues, further than from hence to Spain; and from hence the two first ships depart together to China, and are thirteen or fourteen months returning back again. And when these ships are returned, then the other twain, two months after, depart from hence. They go now from hence very strong with soldiers. I can certify you of one thing: that two hundred ducats in Spanish commodities, and some Flemish wools which I carried with me thither, I made worth fourteen hundred ducats there in that country. So I make account that with those silks and other commodities which I brought with me from thence to Mexico, I got twenty-five hundred ducats by the voyage; and had gotten more, if one pack of fine silks had not been spoiled with salt water. So, as I said, there is great gain to be gotten, if that a man return in safety. But the year 1588, I had great mischance coming in a ship from China to New Spain; which, being laden with rich commodities, was taken by an Englishman [this was Cavendish, then on his voyage round the world], which robbed us and afterwards burnt our ship, wherein I lost a great deal of treasure and commodities."

Though the Spaniards were never allowed to trade to Japan, at one period, as we have seen, a considerable number of Japanese junks frequented Manilla for the purchase of Chinese goods; but this trade was brought to an end in 1624, in consequence of the facilities which it afforded for the introduction of Catholic priests into Japan.

The Dutch trade began in 1609. We have seen that in a short time it gained a very considerable extent; and it increased, as the trading establishments which the Dutch gradually obtained in India and Persia, and that on the island of Formosa, whence they had access to China, furnishing them with a supply of rich silks, the great article of import into Japan. As the Portuguese trade was carried on from Macao, so the Dutch trade was carried on, not from Holland, but from Batavia. The year preceding the shutting up of the Dutch in Desima is stated to have been the most profitable of any. The previous average sales in Japan had been about sixty tons of gold; but that year the Dutch had imported and disposed of goods to the value of eighty tons of gold (that is, three million two hundred thousand dollars, a Dutch ton of gold being one hundred thousand florins, or forty thousand dollars). Among the exports were fourteen hundred chests of silver, each chest containing one thousand taels, or near two million dollars in silver alone.* About this time, however, owing to the comparative

* The tael, reckoning the picul at one hundred and thirty-three and one third lbs. Avoirdupois, contains five hundred and eighty-three grains Troy. Our dollar weighs four hundred and twelve and a half grains; and supposing the Japanese silver to be of equal fineness, the tael is worth just about one dollar and forty cents. Kämpfer reckons it as equivalent to three and a half florins, which is precisely one dollar and forty cents, taking the florin at the usual valuation of forty cents. This, however, was rather above the valuation of the Dutch East India Company. There were, it seems, two kinds of Japanese silver, known among the Dutch as heavy and light money, the latter sometimes distinguished as bar-silver. Both kinds were carried to account without distinction down to the year 1635, at the rate of sixty-two and a half stivers, or one dollar and twenty-five cents per tael. After that period the bar-silver was reckoned at fifty-seven stivers, or one dollar and fourteen cents per tael. Reckoning the tael, as the Dutch commonly did, at one dollar and twenty-five cents of our money, and the mas is precisely equivalent to the Spanish eighth of a dollar. This statement is derived from

exhaustion of the silver, or the comparative increase of gold, that metal became a leading, as, indeed, it seems to have been before a considerable article of export with the Dutch. The gold kobang, the national coin of the Japanese, weighed at this time forty-seven kanderins, that is, two hundred and seventy-four grains Troy, which is sixteen grains more than our present eagle. But, if superior in weight, the kobang was inferior in fineness, containing of pure gold only two hundred and twenty-four grains, whereas the eagle contains two hundred and thirty-two grains. It passed in Japan and was purchased by the Dutch for six taels or less in silver, which enabled them to dispose of it to good advantage on the coast of Coromandel, where the relative value of gold was much higher. In the two years, 1670, 1671, more than one hundred thousand kobangs were exported, at a profit of a million florins; and down to that time the Dutch sent annually to Japan five or six ships a year. In 1644, the export of copper began, and went on gradually increasing. In 1671, an edict was issued, prohibiting the further export of silver; but

a Dutch memoir by Imhoff, quoted by Raffles (*History of Java*, Appendix B), and found by him, it would seem, among the Dutch records at Batavia. Of the chests of silver and gold, particularly the former, so often mentioned in the old accounts of the Dutch and Portuguese trade, I have met with no description, except in Montanus's *Memorable Embassies*. Unreliable and worthless as that huge volume generally is, its compilers certainly had access to valuable Dutch papers, and it is apparently from that source that they have drawn what they say of the moneys, weights and measures, of Japan. Of the chests of silver and gold they speak as follows: "Moreover, their paying of money is very strange; for the Japanese, having great store of gold and silver, observe a custom to receive their money without telling or seeing it. The mint-master puts the gold in papers, which contain the value of two hundred pounds sterling; these, sealed up, pass from one to another without being questioned. They also use little wooden boxes, in which they put twenty sealed papers of gold, which is as much as a man can handsomely carry; every box amounts to four thousand pounds sterling; and the like boxes, but of another fashion, they use for their silver, in every one of which is twelve hundred crowns, and is sealed with the coiner's seal. But doth it not seem strange that never any deceipt is found in that blind way of paying money?" "The silver, though weighed and coined, is of no certain value. The coiners put it together into little packs worth sixty crowns" — I suppose taels. Caron says, however, that these packages contained fifty taels.

this gave no concern to the Dutch, who had already ceased to export it. Its principal operation was against the Chinese, who at this time carried on a great trade to Japan.

Of the early commercial relations of China and Japan our knowledge is very limited. As the Japanese, at an early era, according to their own annals (constructed, it is probable, by Buddhist priests), as early as A. D. 600, had received from China Buddhist missionaries, and through them the language, graphic characters, science, &c., of the Chinese, it would seem probable that some commercial intercourse must have early existed between these two nations. If so, however, the threatened Mongol invasion, towards the end of the thirteenth century, would have been likely to have interrupted it. The native Chinese dynasty, which succeeded after the expulsion of the Mongols, was exceedingly jealous of all strangers and hostile to intercourse with them. No foreign trade was allowed, and every Chinese who left his country incurred a sentence of perpetual banishment. It is true that the Chinese colonists, that had emigrated, perhaps on the invasion of the Mongols, and had settled in the neighboring maritime countries (as others did afterwards on the invasion of the present Mantchew dynasty), still contrived to keep up some intercourse with China, while they carried on a vigorous trade with the adjacent islands and countries; but, at the time of the Portuguese discovery, no such trade would seem to have existed with Japan.

The Mantchew dynasty (the same now reigning) which mounted the throne in 1644, was much less hostile to foreigners; and under their rule the Chinese trade to Japan appears to have rapidly increased. This was partly by vessels direct from China, and partly by the commercial enterprise of the Chinese fugitives who possessed themselves of Formosa, from which, in 1662, they drove out the Dutch, or who had settled elsewhere on the islands and coasts of south-eastern Asia.

"They came over," says Kämpfer, "when and with what numbers of people, junks and goods, they pleased. So extensive and advantageous a liberty could not but be very pleasing to them, and put them upon thoughts of a surer establishment, in order to which, and for the free exercise of their religion, they built three temples at Nagasaki, according to the three chief languages spoken by

them (those of the northern, middle and southern provinces), each to be attended by priests of their own nation, to be sent over from China." *

These temples, called, each in the special dialect of its frequenters, "Temples of Riches" — the god which the Chinese chiefly worship — are described by Kämpfer, from his own observation, as remarkable for their handsome structure, and the number of monks or Buddhist clergy attached to them. As soon as any Chinese ships arrived in the harbor, the crews immediately took on shore the idols, which formed a part of the ship's outfit, and placed them in some small chapels, built for that purpose, near by the large temples, or convents as in fact they rather were. This was done with uncommon respect and particular ceremonies, playing upon cymbals and beating of drums, which same ceremonies were repeated, when, upon the departure of the junks, the idols were carried on board again.

Encouraged by this favorable reception of his countrymen, Ingen, who was at that time at the head of the Buddhist priesthood of China, claiming to be the twenty-eighth in succession from the founder of the Chinese Buddhist patriarchate, surrendered to a successor his high dignity at home, and, in the year 1658, came over to Japan, there to establish a sort of caliphate or archiepiscopal see, as Kämpfer expresses it, of the particular branch or sect of the Buddhist faith to which he belonged. "The princes and lords of several provinces came to compliment him, clad in their *kamisimo*,† or garments of ceremony. The emperor offered him for his residence a mountain in the neighborhood of the holy city of Miako, which he called *Obaku*, the name of his former papal residence in China. An incident which happened soon after his arrival contributed very much to forward his designs, and raised an uncommon

* These temples, built in Japan by the Chinese merchants, remind one of the temples built in Egypt by the Greek merchants, who first opened a trade with that country. See Grote's *History of Greece*, chap. xx.

† The *kamisimo* is a state dress, composed of two garments (*kami* signifies what is above, and *simo* what is below), a short cloak, without sleeves, called *katageno*, and breeches, called *vakama*. Both are of a particular form (the breeches being like a petticoat sewed up between the legs), and of colored stuffs. They are used only on days of ceremony and at funerals. — *Titsingh*.

respect for his person, and a great opinion of his holiness. After a very great drought, the country people, his neighbors, desired him to say a *kitoo*, or extraordinary solemn prayer, in order to obtain rain. He answered that it was not in his power to make rain, and that he could not assure them that his kitoo would obtain it. However, at their pressing instances, he promised to do his utmost. Accordingly, he went up to the top of the mountain and made his kitoo. The next day there fell such profuse showers as even to wash away the smaller bridges in the city of Miako, which made both the city and country believe that his kitoo had been rather too strong. His companions, who came over with him from China, had likewise very great respect paid them, as more immediate partakers of his glory; so that even a cook, who came over with this learned and sanctified company, was raised to the dignity of superior of one of the three convents of Nagasaki, where, by his sublime understanding and reputed great knowledge, he obtained," and in Kämpfer's time still held, "the name and repute of a *Godo*, that is, a person blessed with divine and most acute understanding, whom they suppose to be able to find out by his *Satori*, or Enthusiastic Speculations, such mysterious truths as are far beyond the reach of common knowledge."

What tended to favor Ingen's design was an edict lately issued by the emperor, aimed at the few remaining Catholics, and also at the sect of the *Siuto* or Moralists, requiring everybody to belong to some sect of the recognized religions of Japan, and to have a *Drusi* in their houses — that is, a corner or altar consecrated to some idol. Nevertheless, in spite of his favorable reception and eminent learning and sanctity, Ingen failed to gain the submission of the various Buddhist sects in Japan; nor was his spiritual headship acknowledged, except by the three Chinese convents.

Though the prohibition of the export of silver, mentioned as having taken place in 1671, did not affect the Dutch, the very next year the Japanese commenced a system of measures which, within a quarter of a century, reduced the Dutch commerce to the very narrow limit at which it has ever since remained. The first step was to raise the value of the kobang to six tael eight maas of silver; nor was this by any means the worst of it. The Dutch were

no longer allowed to sell their goods to the native merchants. The government appointed appraisers, who set a certain value on the goods, much less than the old prices, at which valuation the Dutch must sell, or else take the goods away. Anything which the goods sold for to the Japanese merchants, over the appraisement, went into the town treasury of Nagasaki.* These appraisements grew lower and lower, every year, till at last the Dutch, threatening, if things went on in this way, to abandon the trade altogether, petitioned the emperor to be restored to their ancient privileges, assured to them by the concession of Gongin-Sama. After waiting three years, they got a gracious answer. The appraisements were abolished, but at the same time, in 1685, an order was suddenly issued, limiting the amount which the Dutch might sell in any one year to the value of three hundred thousand taels, or in Dutch money to ten tons and a half of gold, equal to four hundred and

* Unfortunately for the English, their attempt at a revival of intercourse, mentioned in the last chapter, was made the very year of the introduction of this new check on foreign trade. The appraisement extended as well to the Chinese as the Dutch cargoes, as is apparent from the following closing paragraph of the English narrative: "During the time [July and August, 1672] we were in port, there came twelve junks in all, eight from Batavia, two from Siam, one from Canton, one from Cambodia, and six Dutch ships of the Company's. They had not any from Tycoun [Formosa], by reason the year before they put the price upon their sugar and skins; and so they intend to do for all other people, for whatsoever goods shall be brought to their port; which if they do, few will seek after their commodities on such unequal terms."

There is strong reason to suppose that these new restrictions on foreign trade grew out of the diminished produce of the mines, which furnished the chief article of export. The working of these mines seems to have greatly increased after the pacification of Japan by its subjection to the imperial authority. Such is the statement in the Japanese tract on the wealth of Japan, already referred to. According to this tract, the first gold coins were struck by Taiko-Sama. This increase of metallic product seems to have given, about the time of the commencement of the Dutch trade, a new impulse to foreign commerce. Though the Portuguese trade had been stopped, it had been a good deal more than replaced by the increase of the Chinese traffic, and already the metallic drain appears to have been seriously felt. This is a much more likely reason for the policy now adopted than the mere personal hostility of certain Japanese grandees, to which the Dutch at Desima, and Kämpfer as their echo, ascribed it.

twenty thousand dollars. All the goods of any one year's importation, remaining after that amount had been realized, were to lay over till the next annual sale. At the same time, the annual export of copper was limited to twenty-five thousand piculs; and so matters stood at the time of Kämpfer's visit.

The Chinese trade had meanwhile gone on increasing "to that degree" — we quote again from Kämpfer — "as to make the suspicious and circumspect Japanese extremely jealous of them. In the years 1683 and 1684, there arrived at Nagasaki, in each year, at least two hundred junks, every junk with not less than fifty people on board, making for each year more than ten thousand Chinese visitors." Nor was it trade alone that drew the Chinese thither. In China, the women, except those of servile condition, are kept in perfect seclusion. No man sees even the woman he is to marry, till she has actually become his wife; and courtesanship is strictly forbidden and punished. The case, as we have seen, is widely different in Japan, and numerous young and wealthy Chinese were attracted to Nagasaki, "purely for their pleasure," as Kämpfer observes, "and to spend some part of their money with Japanese wenches, which proved very beneficial to that town," — truly a very mercantile view of the matter!

"Not only did this increasing number of Chinese visitors excite jealousy; but what still more aroused the suspicion of the Japanese was, that the Jesuits, having gained the favor of the then reigning monarch of China, [the celebrated Kanghi,] with the liberty of preaching and propagating their religion in all parts of the empire, some tracts and books, which the Jesuit fathers had found the means to print in China, in Chinese characters, were brought over to Japan among other Chinese books, and sold privately, which made the Japanese, apprehensive that by this means the Catholic religion, which had been exterminated with so much trouble and the loss of so many thousand persons, might be revived again in the country." And they even suspected that the importers of these books, if not actual converts, were at least favorers of the Catholic doctrine.

These reasons combined to produce, in 1684, at the same time with the restrictions placed upon the Dutch, an edict, by which the Chinese were limited to an annual importation, double the value

of that allowed the Dutch; namely, six hundred thousand taels, equivalent to eight hundred and forty thousand dollars, the annual number of junks not to exceed seventy, of which a specific number was assigned to each province and colony, and each to bring not more than thirty persons. Chinese books were, at the same time, subjected to a censorship, two censors being appointed, one for theological, the other for historical and scientific works, none to be imported without their approval.

This was followed up, in the year 1688, by another order, by which the Chinese were, like the Dutch, shut up in a sort of prison, for which, like the Dutch, they were compelled to pay a heavy rent. The site chosen for this spot was a garden, pleasantly situated, just outside of the town, on the side of the harbor opposite Desima. It was covered with several rows of small houses, each row having a common roof, and the whole was surrounded with a ditch and a strong palisade, from which the only exit was through well-guarded double gates.* Even here the Chinese had no permanent residence, like the Dutch. They arrived in detachments, twenty junks in spring, thirty in summer, and twenty in autumn; and, after selling their goods, went away, leaving the houses empty.

Besides the trade with the Dutch and the Chinese, the Lew Chew Islands were also permitted to carry on a particular trade with the province of Satsuma, the prince of which they acknowledged as in some respects their sovereign. The import and sale of their goods was limited to the annual amount of one hundred and twenty-five thousand taels, though, in Kämpfer's time, a much larger amount was smuggled in, large quantities of Chinese goods being thus introduced.

* According to Titsingh, the Chinese factory was removed, in 1780, to a new situation, the site of an ancient temple. He gives a plan of the new factory after a Japanese draft.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ENGELBERT KÄMPFER. — HIS VISIT TO JAPAN. — DESIMA AND ITS INHABITANTS AS DESCRIBED BY HIM. — A. D. 1690.

ENGELBERT KÄMPFER was the first scientific and systematic observer who visited Japan. Of those who have since followed him, but one or two had either his zeal, his assiduity, or his qualifications, and it is to him that we remain indebted for no inconsiderable part of what we yet know of that country, especially of its natural history, and its social, religious and political institutions. Subsequent visitors, correcting him in some few particulars, have generally confirmed him. The Japanese, according to the most recent observations, appear to have changed very little since his time.

Kämpfer was born Sept., 1651, in the north-west of Germany, in the county of Lippe, at Lemgow, a small town of which his father was minister. He was early destined for the profession of physic, and, after the best school education his father could give him, spent three years at the university of Cracow, in Poland, and four years more at that of Koningsburg, in Prussia. Thence he passed to Sweden, where, inspired with a desire of seeing foreign countries, he obtained the place of secretary to an embassy about to be sent to the king of Persia. That country he reached by way of Moscow, Astracan and the Caspian Sea, arriving at Ispahan in 1684. During his residence there, he employed himself chiefly in researches into the natural history of the country; and for the sake of continuing those researches, when the embassy was the next year about to return home, he obtained, through the recommendation of the Swedish ambassador, the place of chief surgeon to the Dutch East India Company's fleet, then cruising in the Persian Gulf. "It agreed best with my inclination," so he says in the preface to his work on Japan, "to undertake a further journey, and I chose

rather to lead the restless and troublesome life of a traveller, than by coming home to subject myself to a share in that train of calamities my native country was then involved in. Therefore, I took my leave of the ambassador and his retinue (who did me the honor to attend me a mile out of Ispahan) with a firm resolution to spend some years longer in seeing other eastern courts, countries and nations. I was never used to receive large supplies of money from home. 'T was by my own industry I had till then supported myself, and the very same means maintained me afterwards, as long as I staid abroad, and enabled me to serve the Dutch East India Company, though in a less honorable employment.

"This offspring of Japhet enjoys, more than any other European nation, the blessing of Noah to live in the tents of Shem, and to have Canaan for their servant. God hath so blessed their valor and conduct, that they have enlarged their trade, conquests and possessions, throughout Asia, to the very extremities of the East, and there hath never been wanting among them a succession of prudent and able men, who have promoted their interests and welfare to the utmost of their capacity. But to come to the point. It was by the gracious leave, and under the protection, of this honorable Company, that I have often obtained my end in the Indies, and have had the satisfaction at last to see the remote empire of Japan, and the court of its powerful monarch."

Kämpfer remained at Gamroon, on the Persian Gulf, for near three years, employing his leisure in scientific researches. Leaving that unhealthy station in June, 1688, he proceeded in the fleet along the coasts of Persia and India to Ceylon, and thence by Sumatra to Batavia, where he arrived in September, 1689. Having obtained the appointment of physician to the factory in Japan, he left Batavia in May, 1690, and having touched at Siam, of which he has given an account in his book, on the 22d of September, about noon, he came in sight of the high mountainous country about Nagasaki. As soon as the land was seen, all on board were required, as the usage was, to give up their prayer-books and other books of divinity, as also all the European money they had about them, to the captain, who, having taken a memorandum of them, packed away all these surrendered articles in an old cask, to be hid away from the Japanese, but to be surrendered to the owners on leaving

Japan. At sunset, Nagasaki was six or seven leagues distant. At midnight they reached the entrance of the bay, in which they found fifty fathoms of water. This entrance was full of rocks and islands, which obliged them to wait till morning; and then, being becalmed, they fired cannon to notify their arrival. These were heard at the Dutch factory, six miles distant, and in the afternoon four small vessels came out with some persons from the factory, accompanied by swarms of Japanese officers, clerks and soldiers, and the chief interpreter, who, on boarding the ship, demanded all writings and letters, in the hands of whomsoever they might be. They soon left, and the ship followed slowly, making her way by kedging, till by ten at night she dropped anchor within half a league of the city. The next morning she was towed in still further by a fleet of Japanese boats.

The harbor was found to be well protected, and completely enclosed by rocks, islands and mountains, on the tops of which were guard-houses, from which those on the look-out, had, by means of their spy-glasses, detected the ship shortly after she had made the land, and had given notice of her arrival to the authorities. Along the shore several bastions were seen, with palisades painted red, but no cannon; and on the hills several fortifications, screened by cloths, so as to prevent what was in them from being visible.

Having dropped anchor within three hundred yards of the island of Desima, they were again boarded by two Japanese officers, with a host of attendants, who made a careful examination of all on board, according to a list given them, writing down their names and business. Five or six of the number were then subjected to a strict cross-examination as to all the particulars of the voyage. It so happened that the steward had died, the day before their arrival, of a fit of apoplexy, consequent upon his being denied any more arrack, or brandy — apart from his drinking, an able man, and, as Kämpfer tells us, the son of a noted divine at the Hague, but who, by early indulgence, had fallen into debaucheries and a dissolute life. Many questions were asked about the dead man, and his breast and other parts of the corpse were carefully examined to see if there were any cross or other mark of the popish religion upon it. After much urging, the Japanese consented to the immediate

removal of the body; but none of the ship's company were allowed to attend, or to see what was done with it.

As soon as this roll-calling and examination were over, Japanese soldiers and revenue officers were put into every corner, and the ship was, as it were, completely taken out of the hands of the Dutch. For that day only, they were left in possession of the boats to look after the anchor; but all their arms and gunpowder were taken away. "In short," says Kämpfer, "had I not been beforehand acquainted with their usual proceedings, I could not have helped thinking that we had got into a hostile country, and had been taken for spies." That evening was received from the factory a supply of fowls, eggs, fish, shell-fish, turnips, radishes, — which, as Kämpfer afterwards observed, were largely cultivated, and formed a great part of the food of the country people, — onions, fresh ginger, pumpkins, watermelons, white bread, and a barrel of saki, or Japanese rice-beer.

On the twenty-ninth the officers of the factory came on board, and calling the ship's company together, read to them the orders of the Dutch East India Company, and of the governor of Nagasaki, to the effect that every one was to behave soberly and discreetly with respect to the natives and to the laws and customs of the country. A paper containing these orders, written in Dutch, was, according to the Japanese custom, left on board for everybody to read. No one, except the captain of the ship and the director, or head officer (in Dutch, *Opperhoofd*), of the factory, could leave the ship for Desima, or return on board again, without a written passport, in the one case granted by the Japanese officers on board, in the other by those upon the island. On the twenty-sixth Kämpfer took his goods and landed for his two years' residence on the island. It was his object to get all the knowledge he possibly could of the present state and past history of Japan; but in this he encountered many difficulties. The Japanese officers, with whom the Dutch came in contact, were all bound by an oath, renewed every year, not to talk with the Dutch, nor to make any disclosures to them, respecting the domestic affairs of the country, its religion, or its politics; and not only that, they were also bound by oath to watch and report each other — which fear of being informed against was indeed their chief dread and restraint. "Naturally

the Japanese were," in Kämpfer's opinion, "their pride of warlike humor being set aside, as civil, as polite and curious a nation as any in the world, naturally inclined to commerce and familiarity with foreigners, and desirous to excess to be informed of their histories, arts and sciences. But," he adds, "as we are only merchants, whom they place in the lowest class of mankind, and as the narrow inspection we are kept under must naturally lead them to some jealousy and mistrust, so there is no other way to gain their friendship, and to win them over to our interest, but a willingness to comply with their desire, a liberality to please their avaricious inclinations, and a submissive conduct to flatter their vanity. 'T was by this means I worked myself into such a friendship and familiarity with my interpreters, and the officers of our island, who daily came over to us, as I believe none before me could boast of, ever since we have been put under such narrow regulations. Liberally assisting them as I did with my advice and medicines, with what information I was able to give them in astronomy and mathematics, and with a cordial and plentiful supply of European liquors, I could also in my turn freely put to them what questions I pleased about the affairs of their country, whether relating to the government in civil or ecclesiastical affairs, to the customs of the natives, to the natural and political history; and there was none that ever refused to give me all the information he could, when we were alone, even of things which they are strictly charged to keep secret. The private informations thus procured from those who came to visit me were of great use to me in collecting materials for my intended history of this country; but yet they fell far short of being altogether satisfactory, and I should not, perhaps, have been able to compass that design, if I had not by good luck met with other opportunities, and in particular the assistance of a discreet young man, by whose means I was richly supplied with whatever information I wanted concerning the affairs of Japan. He was about twenty-four years of age, well versed in the Chinese and Japanese languages, and very desirous of improving himself. Upon my arrival, he was appointed to wait upon me as my servant, and at the same time to be by me instructed in physic and surgery. The Ottona, who is the chief officer of our island [of Desima], having been attended by him under my inspection in a serious illness, suffered him to con-

tinue in my service during the whole time of my abode in the country, which was two years, and to attend me in our two journeys to court, consequently four times, almost from one end of the empire to the other — a favor seldom granted to young men of his age, and never for so long a time. As I could not well have obtained my end without giving him a competent knowledge of the Dutch language, I instructed him therein with so much success, that in a year's time he could write and read it better than any of our interpreters. I also gave him all the information I could in anatomy and physic, and further allowed him a handsome yearly salary to the best of my ability. In return I employed him to procure me as ample accounts as possible of the then state and condition of the country, its government, the imperial court, the religions established in the empire, the history of former ages, and remarkable daily occurrences. There was not a book I desired to see on these and other subjects, which he did not bring to me, and explain to me out of it whatever I wanted to know. And because he was obliged, in several things, to inquire, or to borrow, or to buy of other people, I never dismissed him without providing him with money for such purposes, besides his yearly allowance. So expensive, so difficult a thing is it to foreigners, ever since the shutting up of the Japanese empire, to procure any information about it."

After two years thus spent, Kämpfer left Japan in November, 1692, and reached Amsterdam, by way of Batavia, the October following, bringing with him a very rare collection of Japanese books, maps, coins, &c. It had been his intention immediately on his return to prepare his notes and memoirs for publication; but being appointed physician to the count of Lippe, his native prince, and speedily obtaining a large private practice, and assuming also the responsibility and cares of a family, this purpose was long delayed. His *Amoenitates Exoticae*, notes of his eastern travels, did not appear till 1712, and he died in 1716, leaving his *History of Japan* still unpublished. It first appeared in 1727, translated from the German into English, and published in two folios, with numerous engravings,* under the patronage of Sir Hans Sloane and the

* Thunberg notices an odd mistake by the engravers, in representing the Japanese as wearing their swords as we do, with the edge downward, whereas their custom is just the reverse, the edge being turned upwards.

Royal Society. There was prefixed to it by the translator, Dr. I. G. Scheuchzer, a valuable introduction, containing a catalogue of works upon Japan, which Charlevoix, in the similar catalogue at the end of his History of Japan, has mainly copied; as was done also by his publishers, as to most of Kämpfer's engravings.

Kämpfer's work is divided into five books. The first book contains, first, a general and particular geographical description of the empire, derived mainly from Japanese writers; second, a disquisition on the origin of the Japanese, — whom Kämpfer thinks, from the evidence as well of language as of character, not to be a Chinese colony, nor even to belong to the same stock; third, the stories, evidently mythical, which the Japanese give of their own origin; and fourth, an account of the climate of Japan, its minerals and metals, plants, animals, reptiles, fish and shells.

The second book devoted to the political state of Japan contains, first, their mythological history; second, the annals of the Dairi, with a description of their court and residence; and third, a list of the Kubo-Sama. This part of the work, at least the annals, is sufficiently dry; but it contains the substance of all that the Japanese know or believe as to the chronology of their own history.

The third book describes the religious state of Japan, giving an analytical view of the different creeds prevailing there, such as throws great light upon the confused and mixed up view taken in the letters of the Jesuit missionaries.

The fourth book treats of foreign relations and trade. The rise and fall of the Portuguese missions, although the most interesting portion of the history of Japan, is very slightly touched upon, as it seems to have been no part of Kämpfer's plan to revamp old materials, but to collect new ones.

The fifth book, and much the largest, is devoted to his two journeys from Nagasaki to Jedo and back — those journeys having furnished him with the principal opportunity he enjoyed of seeing Japan as it was.

"The place where the Dutch live," says Kämpfer, "is called *Desima*, that is, the Fore Island, the island situated before the town; also, *Desimamatz*, or the Fore Island Street, it being reck-

oned as one of the streets of Nagasaki. It has been raised from the bottom, which is rocky and sandy, lying bare at low water. The foundation is of free-stone, and it rises about half a fathom above high water mark. In shape it nearly resembles a fan without a handle, being of an oblong square figure, the two longer sides segments of a circle. It is joined to the town by a small stone bridge, a few paces long, at the end of which is a guard-house, where there are soldiers constantly upon duty. On the north, or seaward side, are two strong gates, never opened but for lading and unlading the Dutch ships. The island is enclosed with pretty high deal boards, covered with small roofs, on the top of which is planted a double row of pikes, like a chevaux-de-frise, but the whole very weak, and unable to hold out against any force.

"Some few paces off, in the water, are thirteen posts, standing at proper distances, with small wooden tablets at the top, upon which is written, in large Japanese characters, an order from the governors, strictly forbidding all boats or vessels, under severe penalties, to come within these posts, or to approach the island.

"Just by the bridge, towards the town, is a place where they put up the imperial mandates and proclamations, and the orders of the governors.

"Besides this, the *ottona*, or chief officer of the street, chiefly at the time of the sale, causes orders of his own, much to the same purpose with those of the governors, to be put up on the other side of the bridge, just by the entry into the island.*

"By my own measuring I found the breadth to be eighty-two common paces, and the length of the longest side two hundred and thirty-six. The surface is commonly estimated at a stadium (about

* A translation of one of these tablets is given by Kämpfer, as follows:

"Courtesans only, but no other women, shall be admitted. Only the ecclesiastics of the mountain *Kofu* shall be admitted. All other priests, and all *Jammabos*, shall stand excluded." [Note by Kämpfer. — *Kofu* is stated to be a mountain near Miako, a sanctuary and asylum for criminals, no officers of justice being suffered to come there. Its inhabitants, many thousand in number, lead an ecclesiastical life. All are admitted that desire it, or who fly there for shelter, and are afterwards maintained for life, if they can but bring in thirty taels for the use of the convent, and are otherwise willing to serve the community in their several capacities. These monks are not absolutely confined to this mountain, but many travel up and

three acres). There is a narrow walk to go round along the deal boards which enclose it. The houses are on both sides of a broad street that runs across the island. These houses, and the whole island, were built at the expense of some of the inhabitants of Nagasaki, to whom, or their heirs, the Dutch pay a yearly rent of six thousand five hundred taels — a price far beyond the real value. The houses, built of wood, and very sorry and poor, are two stories high, the lower stories serving as warehouses, and the uppermost to live in.

"The other buildings are three guard-houses, one at each end and one in the middle of the island, and a place by the entrance, where are kept all the necessary instruments to extinguish fires. Water for the kitchen and for common use, which is a separate charge in addition to the rent, comes from the river which runs through the town, being brought over in pipes made of bamboos, into a reservoir within the island.

"Behind the street is a convenient house for the sale of goods, and two warehouses, strong enough to hold out against fire, built by the Company at their own expense; also, a large kitchen; a house for the deputies of the governors of Nagasaki, who have the regulation of the trade; a house for the interpreters, made use of only at the time of the sale; a kitchen and pleasure-garden; a place to wash linen and other things; some small private gardens, and a bath. The ottona, or chief officer of the street, has also a house and garden of his own.

"Such," says Kämpfer, "is the state of the island," and such it continues to the present time, "to the small compass of which the Dutch have been confined by the Japanese; and as things now stand, we must be so far satisfied with it, there being no hopes that we shall ever be better accommodated or allowed more liberty by so jealous and circumspect a nation.

down the country, in what manner or business they please. Very many of them betake themselves to trade and commerce.]

"All beggars, and all persons that live on charity, shall be denied entrance.

"Nobody shall presume with any ship or boat to come within the palisades of Desima. Nobody shall presume with any ship or boat to pass under the bridge of Desima.

"No Hollander shall be permitted to come out, but for weighty reasons."

"Our ships, which put into this harbor once a year, after they have been thoroughly visited by the Japanese, and proper lists taken of all the goods on board, have leave to put their men on shore on this island to refresh them, and to keep them there so long as they lie in the harbor, commonly two or three months. After they have left, the director of our trade remains in the island, with a small number of people, about seven, or more if he thinks proper.

"Thus we live all the year round little better than prisoners, confined within the compass of a small island, under the perpetual and narrow inspection of our keepers. 'T is true, indeed, we are now and then allowed a small escape, an indulgence which, without flattering ourselves, we can by no means suppose to be an effect of their love and friendship, for as much as it is never granted to us, unless it be to pay our respects to some great men, or for some other business, necessary on our side and advantageous for the natives. Nor doth the coming out, even upon these occasions, give us any greater liberty than we enjoy on our island, as will appear, first, by the great expenses of our journeys and visits, great or small, and by the number of guards and inspectors who constantly attend us, as if we were traitors and professed enemies of the empire.

"After the departure of our ships, the director of our trade, or resident of the Dutch East India Company, sets out with a numerous retinue on his journey to court, to pay his respects to the emperor, and to make the usual yearly presents. This journey must be made once a year, not only by the Dutch, but, also, by all the lords and princes of the empire, as being the emperor's vassals; and our own embassy is looked upon at court as an homage paid by the Dutch nation to the emperor of Japan, as their sovereign lord. Upon the journey we are not allowed any more liberty than even close prisoners could reasonably claim. We are not suffered to speak to anybody, not even (except by special leave) to the domestics and servants of the inns we lodge at. As soon as we come to an inn, we are without delay carried up stairs, if possible, or into the back apartments, which have no other view but into the yard, which, for a still greater security, and to prevent any thoughts of escape, is immediately shut and nailed up. Our retinue, which, by special command from the governors of Nagasaki,

guards, attends, and assists us in our journey, is composed of the interpreters and cooks of our island, and of a good number of soldiers, servants, bailiffs, porters, and people, to look after our horses and baggage, which must be conveyed on horseback. All these people, though never so needless, must be maintained at the Company's expense.*

"Before our departure from Jedo, and again upon our return, our director, with one of his Company, goes to make a visit to the governors of Nagasaki, at their palace, to return them thanks for their protection, and to entreat its continuance. Nor can even this visit be made without a numerous train of guards, soldiers, and bailiffs.

"Another visit, and with the like numerous attendants, is made to the governors, by the director of our factory, upon the first day of the eighth month, when it is usual to make them a present.

"The few Dutchmen who remain at Desima, after the departure of our ships, are permitted, once or twice a year, to take a walk into the adjacent country, and in particular to view the temples about Nagasaki. This liberty is oftener granted to physicians and surgeons, under pretence of going to search for medicinal plants. However, this pleasure-walk falls very expensive to us, for it must be made in company of the *Ottona*, of our ordinary interpreters, and other officers in our service, who are handsomely treated by us at dinner in one of the temples of the *Ikosiu* sect; and we must on this occasion, and that with seeming satisfaction, see our purses strongly squeezed for the most common civilities shown us by the priests of that temple.

"The festival of *Suwa*, the patron and protector of Nagasaki, falling just upon the time when our ships lie in the harbor, our people are permitted to view this solemnity from a scaffold, built at our own expense, our presence being not only thought honorable to their saint, but, what they value still more, advantageous to many of his worshippers. It may be easily imagined that our train and guards are not lessened upon such an occasion. On the contrary, we are examined and searched four times before we come to the place where the solemnity is performed, and again afterwards counted over several times with all possible accuracy, when we go

* For a full account of this journey, see chap. XXXI., &c.

up and when we come down from the scaffold, as if it were possible for some of us to slip out between their fingers. Our slaves, also, are admitted to this solemnity, as black Dutchmen.*

"Another day is set apart for viewing five large boats, which must be constantly kept, at the expense of the Dutch East India Company, for the lading and unlading of our ships. This is again done with the same numerous retinue, which we afterwards entertain at dinner at one of the neighboring temples.

"When one of our ships hath been discovered to steer towards the harbor, some of the Dutchmen left at Desima are sent to meet her, in order to get a preliminary information of her cargo and condition. The Company for this purpose constantly keeps two barges in readiness, large enough to take on board our usual numerous attendants, which, together with the commissioners for victualling, attending in their own barge, with a good provision of victuals and refreshments, must be treated in the neighboring small island, *Iwara-gosima*, the whole again at the Company's expense.

"These are the days allowed us for our recreation, if it may be called a recreation to be led about, like prisoners, under the narrow inspection of so many attentive eyes; for, as to the several officers concerned in the management of our island and trade, and permitted on that account to converse with us, no sincere friendship, good understanding, or familiarity, can be by any means expected of them; for, before they are admitted into our service, they must oblige themselves, by a solemn oath, to deny us all manner of communication, credit, or friendship, any ways tending to support or promote our interest.

"The person who takes this oath prays the vengeance of the supreme gods of the heavens and the chief magistrates of the country upon him, his family, his domestics, his friends and near relatives, in case he doth not sincerely fulfil and satisfy to all and every article, as they are read and specified to him after the form of the oath, which, together with these articles, must be signed by him, and sealed with his seal,† dipped in black ink, pouring, for a

* For an account of this festival, see chap. xxx.

† The custom of using an emblem, or device, instead of a signature, or to certify it, prevails with the Japanese, as with so many other nations.

still stronger confirmation, some drops of his own blood upon it, which he fetches by pricking one of his fingers behind the nail. This must be repeated twice a year, at least: first, about the beginning of the year, at the time when they perform the solemn act of theirs of trampling upon the image of our blessed Saviour, pendent from the cross, of the Virgin Mary, and of other holy persons, as a public and unquestionable proof that they forever renounce the Christian religion;* and again, after the arrival of our ships in the harbor, in order to remind them of the solemn obligation they lay under, and to renew their hatred towards us. The persons who are to attend us in our journey to court must, immediately after their departure, take a third oath, promising that they will have a strict hand and watchful eye over us and our conduct all along the road, and that they will not show us any particular acts of friendship, or enter into any kind of familiarity with us.

"This oath, however, though never so terrible and binding, would be but little regarded by this nation, were it not for the severe punishment put by the civil magistrate upon the least transgression thereof, — a crime that is not to be expiated but by shedding the very same blood the oath hath been confirmed by.

"Thus much I cannot forbear owning, in justice to the natives, that, even amidst all the troubles and hardships we are exposed to in this country, we have at least this comfort, that we are treated by our numerous guardians and overseers with apparent civility, with caresses, compliments, presents of victuals, and other marks of deference, so far as it is not inconsistent with their reasons of state. But this, their gentle and reasonable behavior on our behalf, is owing more to the custom of the country, and to the innate civility and good manners of the natives, than to any particular esteem they have for us, or any favor they are willing to show us.

"No Japanese, who seems to have any regard or friendship for the Dutch, is looked upon as an honest man and true lover of his country. This maxim is grounded upon the principle that it is absolutely contrary to the interests of the country, against the pleasure of their sovereign, — nay, by virtue of the oath they have taken, even against the supreme will of the gods, and the dictates

* See further in relation to this ceremony, chap. xxx.

of their conscience, — to show any favor to foreigners. Nay, they pursue this false reasoning still further, and pretend that a friend of foreigners must of necessity be an enemy to his country, and a rebel to his sovereign; for, they say, if the country should happen to be attacked or invaded by these foreigners, the laws and ties of friendship would oblige him to stand by them, and, consequently, to become a traitor to his country and sovereign.

"Hence, to overreach a Dutchman; to ask extravagant prices of him; to cheat and defraud him (so much as they think will not prove prejudicial to their reputation, which they have a very tender regard for); to lessen the liberties and advantages of the Dutch; to propose new projects for making their servitude and condition still worse, and the like, are looked upon as good, handsome, and lawful things in themselves, and unquestionable proofs of a good patriot.

"If anybody steals anything of the Dutch, and it be found upon him (which the *kuli*, or porters, we employ at the time of our sale are very dexterous at), there is seldom any other punishment inflicted upon him but restitution of the stolen goods, and a few lashes from soldiers upon duty at our gate. Sometimes he is banished from the island for a short time, or, if the crime be very notorious, from the town, though that is done but seldom. But the penalty inflicted upon smugglers is no less than an unavoidable death, either by beheading or the cross, according to the nature of the crime, and the degree of guilt.

"The lading and unlading of our ships, and other business of this kind, must not be done by our own people, but by the natives, who are well paid for their work, whilst our people stand idle, and have nothing to do but to look at them. But this is not the only grievance, for they always hire at least twice as many people as there is occasion for, and, if they work but one hour, we must, nevertheless, pay them a whole day's wages.

"All the people who have anything to do for or with us, though never so numerous, and mere meddlers, must be maintained by us, either directly by appointed salaries, or indirectly by the money which the governors of the town detain from the price of our commodities.

"No Dutchman can send a letter out of the country, unless the

contents be first entered into a register-book kept for this purpose, and a copy of it left with the governors. As to letters from abroad, all the public ones must be sent directly to the governors, before they are opened. As to the private ones, there are ways and means secretly to convey them to us, which the government connives at, though it be contrary to law.

"No Japanese is permitted to send any letters or presents to their relatives abroad (there being still some left from former marriages with the Dutch), or to receive any from them, unless they be first carried to the governors, to be by them opened, and left entirely at their disposal.

"Formerly, when a Dutchman died at Nagasaki, his body, deemed unworthy of their ground, was thrown into the sea, somewhere without the harbor. But, of late, an empty spot of waste ground was assigned us, and leave given us decently to bury our dead there.

"It is an easy matter for anybody, whether native or foreigner, to make his claims upon the Dutch; but we find it very difficult to obtain justice from others. In the first case, the government is always willing to give the complaining party damages, without so much as considering whether the claim be upon the whole Company, or some of its officers and servants, and whether it be just to make the former suffer for the misdemeanors of the latter. But, if we have any complaint to make, we generally meet with so many difficulties and tedious delays as would deter anybody from pressing even the most righteous cause. One instance out of many will be sufficient. The famous Chinese pirate, *Coxanga*, having made himself master of the island of *Formosa*, and of our fortress, *Tayooan*, or *Zelandia*, thereon, we took an opportunity, by way of reprisals, to attack a large junk of his, bound for that island, with about three hundred men on board, and to disable her with our fire, so that, although she drove for about thirteen days after the attack, yet not above nine of the whole company saved their lives. Upon this, heavy complaints were made by the Chinese to the government of Nagasaki, and with so good an effect that the same year twenty-seven thousand taels damages were assigned to them out of our treasury. Some time after, about the year 1672, one of our ships having unfortunately stranded upon the coast of *Formosa*, the

ship's company was barbarously murdered, and the whole cargo taken possession of by the Chinese subjects of *Coxanga;* whereupon we made our complaints, before the very same court, against this act of hostility, but with so little success, that, far from having any damages assigned us, we could not obtain the restitution of so much as one farthing.

"The chief and most extensive company or corporation of the officers of our island, is that of the Interpreters, or, in the literal sense, *through-mouths*. Those of the first order, called *true Interpreters*, are eight in number. By virtue of their office they are obliged to assist and attend us whenever there is occasion; and so far, indeed, they execute their duty with great preciseness, that we can scarce ever one moment get rid of their importunate presence; for as they are made answerable for our conduct, so they spare no pains nor trouble to have a watchful eye over us.

"Four of these are high interpreters, of whom one is *Ninban*, signifying a yearly guardian, or person appointed to report upon another. This officer is only annual, and to him all petitions and complaints, and whatever else relates to us and to our commerce, must be delivered, and by him, with the consent of his brethren, to the commanding governor or his deputy. He hath the greatest share in the management of our island, in the direction of our trade, and in all our affairs in general. The four other interpreters, though of the same order, are called inferior interpreters. They have not near the authority of the first four, whom they are to assist in the performance of their duties. They, too, have a *Ninban*, or president of their own, who is a sort of deputy to the chief Ninban. Both Ninbans attend us in our journey to the court, their year of office terminating with their return.

"They are paid by fees and presents (to buy their favor), and by profits on the hire of laborers for the Company, and horses for the journey to court. The whole income of a chief interpreter may amount to three thousand taels and upwards, and that of an inferior interpreter is seldom less than one thousand five hundred taels; and yet, with all this income, they live but sparingly, because they must maintain out of this money numerous families, and sometimes poor relations, whom, according to the innate pride of this nation, they won't suffer to appear necessitous. Some part, also, of their rev-

enue is spent in presents to the governors of Nagasaki and their deputies.

"Next to the chief interpreters, must be mentioned the *learning interpreters*, or *apprentices*. They are never less than eight, but sometimes more, all sons to the chief interpreters, by birth or adoption. They come over to us every day, in order to learn the Dutch and Portuguese languages, as well as the art and mystery of dealing with foreigners. They are employed as spies upon several occasions, as also to inspect the lading and unlading of our ships, to search the sailors, and such others as go on board or leave the vessels. They also examine the goods imported and exported, and are allowed for these services a salary of forty taels a year, besides a share in the boarding wages and other perquisites.

"After these come the *house interpreters*, employed by private Dutchmen within their own houses. They have nothing to do on our island, unless it be at the time of our yearly fair, or sale, when, after having taken a solemn oath to avoid all communication, intimacy, and familiarity with us, they are by the *Ottona* admitted into our service. From two to six are assigned to every Dutchman, during the whole time of our fair, nominally as interpreters, but in fact as spies to watch his actions; for there is scarce one in ten of them that understands a Dutch word, excepting some few who have been servants to the Dutch formerly.

"There are upwards of a hundred of these house interpreters, who all stand under the command of the chief interpreters, and particularly the *Ninban*, or president for the time being. Their salaries, an uncertain sum, taken out of the taxes laid upon the Dutch trade, are supposed, one year with another, to amount to about six thousand taels, which they divide among themselves, according to their rank and office, and as it is computed that the twelve chiefs among them get at furthest two hundred taels apiece, the rest must take up with half that money, and sometimes with less. This company of interpreters have four treasurers and two clerks to keep their cash and an account of what is paid in and out.

"Two fundamental maxims they go upon: to do what lies in their power, insensibly to increase the yearly expenses of the Dutch, to the advantage of their countrymen, as becomes true patriots; to conceal as much as possible all the tricks and cheats they per-

petually play us, lest the natives should come to know them. Both these ends they endeavor to obtain by confining us still more and more, looking upon this as the surest means to keep us ignorant of the language of the country, and to prevent all conversation and familiarity with the natives. If there be any of our people that hath made any considerable progress in the Japanese language, they are sure, under some pretext or other, to obtain an order from the governors to expel him from the country.

"The only thing wherein the captains, as they are here called, or directors of our trade (a province the Japanese will suffer them to have very little to do with), can be useful to the Company and show their zeal for their master's service, is to act contrary to these principles, and to find out ways and means civilly to refuse what new requests are from time to time made to them. For if any one of these demands be granted but once, or any new charge, though never so small, be suffered to be laid upon us, they make it a precedent forever after. And herein they particularly endeavor to deceive new directors, who never have been in the country before, and whom they suppose to be not fully apprised of their ways of proceeding. On this account they will often, on the first year of their presence, help them to a very profitable trade, knowing, in case their demands be not admitted, how to balance it the next with a more chargeable and less profitable one.

"The officer next in rank to the president of the interpreters, and having jurisdiction over everybody on the island except the interpreters, is the *Ottona*, or magistrate of the street. He has the inspection of our trade, and of the yearly sale of our goods, jointly with the company of interpreters. He keeps a particular list of those of our goods that belong to private persons, keeps those goods in his custody, and gives orders when and how they are to be disposed of. He takes care that our street, houses and other buildings, be kept in good repair, and likewise, as much as lies in his power, that they be not injured by thieves, fire, or other accidents. He protects our servants, cooks, daily laborers, and all persons who are within his jurisdiction, composes the differences arising between them, admits and swears them into their respective employments, and dismisses them as he pleases. He gives passports and tickets to come to *Desima*, nobody being permitted to enter this island

without them. He is obliged, by virtue of his office and by the oath he hath taken, narrowly to examine into the conduct, life and behavior, not only of our servants and officers, but also of ourselves, and to keep us to a strict obedience to the imperial orders, though he is very cautious of laying any commands upon us of his own sole authority, knowing that we would refuse to obey them.

"However, he hath so much power over us that in case any considerable crime be committed, or any disregard shown to the imperial orders, by any one of us, he can arrest him, and lay him in irons, of which there are many and almost daily instances.

"Our present Ottona, Iosikawa Gibugemon, as on one side he worked himself into no small esteem and favor with the government by his great severity in the execution of his office, but chiefly by having betrayed us and our interest in a late affair,* so much is he, on the other side, hated by us. I will not take upon me to examine what reasons he hath to allege for his conduct in that affair, though I have been credibly informed he had very good ones. Thus far I must do justice to his character, and own that he shows a great deal of prudence in his conduct, that he is no ways given to covetousness or falsehood, as, also, that he is an enemy to ignorance and brutality, and so well versed in the moral doctrine of *Koosi* (or *Confucius*), and in the history, laws, and religion of his country, that he hath been desired to write the history of the province of Fisen.

"The Ottona has under him a *Nitzi Josi*, or messenger, whose business it is daily to examine into the condition and safety of the locks at the water-gates, to look into the state of our warehouses and other buildings, and to give his master notice of what he finds out of repair; also several clerks, who are to make lists of all the movable goods belonging to private persons, which may be disposed of, to seal them up in the Ottona's name, and to take them into safe custody.

"The Ottona hath the same salary allowed him by the Dutch East India Company as the chief interpreter, and the same share in the money detained by the order of the government from the price of our goods, besides several other advantages, as, for instance, his salary as Ottona of another street in the town, many presents

* The smuggling affair mentioned on page 249.

and gratifications made him by the proprietors of our island, and a considerable part of the yearly rents we pay for the same, he having already purchased about a third of our houses. His greatest profits arise from the Dutch goods bought up for him at a cheap rate in other people's names, and afterwards sold by him for much more than their prime cost.

"Next to the Ottona are our twenty-four landlords, or proprietors of our island. They visit us but seldom, except at the time of our sale, when they make their appearance daily, to look after the condition of our houses, to be present and lend a helping hand in making a list of all our commodities, household goods, and other things, and, what is more, to have a watchful eye over us, their tenants, and to examine into our behavior and conduct, as being, by virtue of the laws and customs of the country, answerable for the same, and, in case of accidents and misdemeanors, sentenced to bear a share either in the loss or punishment.

"Next come the five secretaries of the island, a sort of deputies to the chief interpreters. Their business is to keep an account of the presents made by the Dutch, of their ordinary expenses, the expenses of their journey to court, and other things of this kind, which are thought beneath the dignity of the chief interpreters. Nay, they themselves, being not always willing to despatch their business in person, keep also their deputies. The Company allows a constant salary only to two, and these are to attend us in our journey to court. The others are rewarded by handsome gratuities at the time of our sale.

"The inspectors of our *kuli*,* or workmen, consist of fifteen persons. One of the fifteen is quarter-master, who must be present in person to encourage and look after them when there is any work to be done. The whole company is to take care that we be not robbed by these *kulis*, they being very dexterous at it, whenever a favorable opportunity occurs. For this reason our East India Company allows them a constant salary.

"The *kulis*, who are employed in lading and unlading of our ships, are people unknown to us, and taken out of the town. All

* This is, evidently, the word cooly, employed in India and China to designate laborers of the lowest class.

we know of them is, that we must pay them well for their trouble. In order to make it beneficial to the whole town, the Ottona of each street keeps a list of what people in his street are willing or able to serve as *kulis*, that in their turn they may be sent over to Desima.

"The *treasury officers* are a company of thirty-six persons, superior and inferior, who receive the money for the goods we have disposed of, change it into kobangs of gold, and deliver them to our interpreters, who count them before us. These treasurers retain one per cent. for their trouble, and fifteen per cent. or more for the benefit of the town, according to the yearly value of the kobang, which varies from fifty-five to fifty-nine mas in silver, besides which, the director of this Company receives a hundred taels a year salary from the Dutch, and the rest of the number fifty taels.

"Our commissioners for victualling are a company of about seventeen house-keepers of Nagasaki with their families. Their business is to provide our island with victuals, drink, household goods, and what else we want, or have leave to buy, of this kind. Nobody but the members of this corporation is permitted to sell us any victuals or goods, though they exact so much upon us that they make us pay at least twice or thrice as much as things are sold for at the market. They also furnish our people, on demand, with courtesans; and, truly, our young sailors, unacquainted as they commonly are with the virtue of temperance, are not ashamed to spend five rix dollars for one night's pleasure, and with such wenches, too, as a native of Nagasaki might have for two or three *mas*, they being none of the best and handsomest; nor do the masters of the women get more than a tael. The rest is laid up in the cash of this Company for their own private use, or, as they pretend, to hire proper servants to conduct the damsels over to our island.

"The officers of the kitchen consist of three cooks, who serve by turns, each a month, of two grooms of the kitchen, an apprentice or two, who are generally the cook's own sons, and likely to succeed their fathers in time, lastly of some laborers to carry water. This is the reason that our table is so very expensive, since the best part of the year, the time of our sale only excepted, there are actually more cooks than people to provide victuals for. And yet we have strict commands from the governors of the town, not in the least to

alter this number, nor to get our victuals dressed by our own people. We are obliged to allow one hundred and fifty taels a year to the first, one hundred and thirty to the second, and one hundred to the third. There are, besides, some other people who now and then do some little service in and for our kitchen, such as a man to look after our cattle, — though but very few in number, and of very little use to us, the males being generally secretly poisoned, or their legs broke in the night, to prevent their multiplying too much, which, 't is apprehended would turn to the disadvantage of the commissioners of victualling, — a gardener and some other menial servants. This being looked upon by the meaner sort of people at Nagasaki as a perquisite, which every one is glad to have a share of in his turn, these servants are relieved once a month, and others sent in their stead, to do their business, out of every street of Nagasaki. But the chief reason why they relieve them so often is because they apprehend a longer stay might make them too familiar with us, and perhaps too favorable for our interest.

"The Dutch, out of a particular favor, are permitted to have some young boys to wait upon them in the day-time. They are entered in the Ottona's book in quality of messengers. They are commonly sons of the inferior interpreters, and other officers of our island, who, by this opportunity of learning the Dutch language, qualify themselves in time to succeed their fathers. However, care is taken that they stay in our service only so long as they are looked upon as simple, and ignorant of the state and interest of their country, or else so long as the Ottona pleases to give them leave; but never without sufficient security, given upon oath, by a respectable inhabitant of Nagasaki, who obliges himself to be answerable for their misbehavior. Thus much must be owned in justice to these young boys, that more readiness to do what they are commanded, and a greater fidelity in the custody of the goods they are entrusted with by their masters, is hardly to be met with in any other nation.

"Some tradesmen and artificers of several companies in Nagasaki, are also permitted to come over to our island, when sent for, provided they have leave of the governors, which must be obtained every time they are wanted.

"The guards employed to watch us are two within the island,

and three without. Six of the poorer inhabitants of Nagasaki, furnished by turns from all the streets, and relieved once a month, have their appropriate stations within the island, whence they go over to one another all night, and indicate, according to the custom of the country, both their vigilance and the hours, by beating two wooden cylinders, one against the other. They are also to watch thieves, accidents of fire, and the like.

"During the sale, another guard, on purpose to watch accidents of fire, is kept by our Ottona, his clerks, our landlords, the officers of our exchequer, and the cooks. In their first round they knock at every door, to ask whether there be no Japanese hid within, and to recommend to the occupants to take care of the fire. The Ottona must be present at least once in the night, when, according to the custom of the country, his fire-staff, hung about with iron rings, as the badge of his authority, is carried rattling after him. The Dutch also keep, at the same time, a watch of their own people, to take care that their masters be not robbed by their Japanese guards.

"The *Ship and Harbor Guard*, appointed to have a general inspection over all foreigners, Chinese as well as Dutch, goes the round of the harbor all night, particularly about our island. The *Spy Guard* watches from the mountains back of the town the approach of foreign ships. The *Gate Guard* keeps the gate towards the town, that being the only passage in and out. It is mounted daily by five persons, their servants not computed. At the time of the sale of our goods there are never less than ten, but sometimes twelve or more, and to these, its regular members, are added at that time two persons from the ship and harbor guard, two from the spy guard, four furnished by the town of Nagasaki, four by the silk merchants, and two on the part of the two chief magistrates or burgomasters of the lower town of Nagasaki, one of whom keeps the journal of the guard, wherein (for the information of the governors of the town, who, at least once a month, call for this record and look it over) is entered what passes from hour to hour, and what persons and things go in or out. Yet, without express orders from the governors, or leave given by the Ottona, nothing is suffered to pass through but what is sent in by those appointed to provide us with necessaries and unprohibited goods. For a still greater security, three sworn searchers are added to this guard, one or two

of whom attend constantly hard by the gate, to search whoever goes in or out. Nor is anybody exempted from being searched but the governors, their deputies or commissioners, with their retinues, and our ordinary interpreters and their sons, who are entered as apprentices.

"Such a variety of people of different ranks and characters being to do duty upon one guard, it obliges on the one side everybody to discharge their duty to the utmost of their power, and on the other it puts the government out of all apprehensions of their plotting or conspiring together; for, in fact, they are not only to watch us, and the people who have business with us, and, on this account, go in and out of our island, but each other also. Among the things which stand by, or are hung upon the walls of the guard-house, are irons to put on criminals, ropes to bind them, heavy staffs to beat them, and a particular sort of an instrument, a kind of hook or rake, which they make use of to catch thieves and deserters, and which is commonly carried about at their public executions.

"All these people, although they maintain themselves and their families entirely by what they get by us and our service, yet from their conduct one would think them to be our sworn enemies, always intent to do us what mischief they can, and so much the more to be feared, as their hatred and enmity is hid under the specious color of friendship, deference and good-will.

"Considering that there are so very few Dutchmen left in the island, one would imagine that the Japanese had no reason to be uneasy, or anyways apprehensive of our conduct. Surely such a small number of people, and those, too, deprived of arms and ammunition (the very first thing which the Japanese take into their custody upon the arrival of our ships), would never take it into their heads to make any attempt against the peace and tranquillity of the empire. As to smuggling, they have too well prevented any attempts of that kind, by taking not only an exact inventory of all our goods and commodities, but by locking them up under their own locks and seals. Even the cloth and stuffs which are brought over for our own use must be delivered into the custody of the Ottona, till one of their own tailors, sworn for this purpose, cuts them, allowing each of us just so much as will make him a good suit. But what they have still less reason to be apprehensive of, is

the subversion of their pagan doctrine and religion, so little conspicuous are the principles of Christianity in our lives and actions. Nevertheless, so many guards, corporations, societies, with their numerous attendants, all upon oath, and themselves jealous and mistrustful one of another, are set to guard and narrowly to watch us, as if we were the greatest malefactors, traitors, spies — in a word, the worst and most dangerous set of people; or, to make use of a very significant expression of the Japanese, as if we were, what I think we really are, *Fitozitz*, that is, the emperor's hostages."

It is to be observed that in different parts of his book Kämpfer appears in two distinct characters. Sometimes he seems to be the mere surgeon of the Dutch factory, fully sharing and giving voice to all the feelings and prejudices of that establishment, bringing before us, in a very lively manner, the angry Dutch factors grumbling over the new restrictions lately put upon the Dutch trade, and especially the new precautions against smuggling. Elsewhere he shows himself perfectly able to enter into all the views and feelings of the Japanese; and however angry he may occasionally get at the obstacles encountered by himself, especially on the part of the old chief interpreter, in his efforts to obtain a full knowledge of Japanese affairs, he had evidently conceived a strong liking for the Japanese people, and never fails to do them justice, whether as individuals or as a nation. He composed, indeed, a formal dissertation, originally published in his *Amœnitates*, in which he enters into an elaborate defence of the policy of the Japanese in their jealous exclusion of foreigners; nor can any one who calls to mind the consequences of that intercourse to the natives of Eastern Asia and America, and especially the history of the late Anglo-Chinese opium war, deny the plausibility at least of the argument.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PARTICULAR STATEMENT AS TO THE DUTCH TRADE AS IT EXISTED IN KÄMPFER'S TIME. — ARRIVAL OF THE SHIPS. — UNLADING. — PASSES. — IMPORTS. — COMPANY AND PRIVATE GOODS. — KAMBANGS, OR PUBLIC SALES. — DUTIES. — PROFITS. — EXPORTS. — DEPARTURE OF THE SHIPS. — SMUGGLING. — EXECUTION OF SMUGGLERS.

"THE Dutch ships," says Kämpfer, "are expected some time in September, towards the latter end of the south-west monsoon, that being the only time proper for this navigation.* As soon as the spy guards with their glasses discover a ship steering towards the harbor, and send notice of her approach to the governors of Nagasaki, three persons of our factory are sent with the usual attendance to meet her about two miles without the harbor, and to deliver to the captain the necessary instructions, from the director of our trade, with regard to his behavior.

"The interpreter and the deputies of the governors demand forthwith the list of the cargo and crew, as also the letters on board, which are carried to Nagasaki, where the governors first examine and then deliver them to our director.

"The ship follows as soon as possible, and, having entered the harbor, salutes both imperial guards with all her guns, and casts anchor opposite to the town, about a musket-shot from our island. If the wind be contrary, rowing-boats (kept for this purpose by the common people of the town) are sent at our expense, but not at our desire, to tow her in by force. In still weather they send about ten of these boats; if it be stormy, and the wind contrary, they

* Along the east coast of Asia, and as far north as the southern coasts of Japan, the winds, during the six months from April to September inclusive, blow from south-west to north-east. This is called the south-west monsoon. During the other six months they blow from north-east to south-west. This is called the north-east monsoon.

increase the number to fifty, and sometimes to a hundred — so many as they think necessary — that is, at least twice the number there is occasion for.

"When the ship has entered the harbor, two guard-boats, with a good number of soldiers, are put one on each side of her, and continued, being mounted with fresh troops every day, till she leaves. As soon as the ship drops anchor, great numbers of officers come on board to demand our guns, cutlasses, swords and other arms, as also the gunpowder packed up in barrels, which are taken into their custody, and kept in a store-house, built for this purpose, till her departure. They attempted, also, in former times, to take out the rudder, but, having found it impracticable, they now leave it in.

"The next day after her arrival, the commissioners of the governor come on board, with their usual attendance of soldiers, interpreters, and subordinate officers, to make an exact review, in presence of our director, of all the people on board, according to the list which hath been given them, and wherein is set down every one's name, age, birth, place of residence, and office, examining them from top to toe. Many questions are asked, as to those who died on the voyage, when and of what distemper they died. Even now and then a dead monkey or parrot may occasion a strict inquiry to be made after the cause and manner of their death, and they are so scrupulous that they will not give their verdict, without sitting upon the body itself, and carefully examining it.

"After this, the orders of our director, and likewise of the governors of Nagasaki, relating to our behavior with regard to the natives, are read in Low Dutch, and afterwards, for every one's inspection, stuck up in several places on board the ship, and at Desima. The same rules are observed with all our ships, of which there are two, three, or four, sent from Batavia to Japan every year, according to the quantity of copper they have occasion for; one of which goes first to Siam, to make up part of her cargo with the commodities of that country. Formerly, when the Dutch as yet enjoyed a free trade, they sent seldom less than six or seven ships, and sometimes more.

"The review being over, they proceed to unlade the ships, during which, several of the governors' officers, a chief interpreter, a deputy interpreter, and an apprentice, besides several clerks and

inferior officers, remain on board, taking possession of every corner, to see that nothing be carried away privately. The water gates of our island, through which the cargo is to be brought in, are opened in presence of the *karoo*, that is, high commissioners of the governors, and their retinue. So long as the gates are kept open, the karoo, with their deputies and other assistants, stay in a room, built for this purpose, not far off. The whole body of interpreters, as also our landlords, clerks, and other officers of our island, give their attendance, and also their assistance, at that time. They fall to work with three hundred or more *kuli*, or workmen — always at least twice the number there is occasion for. The unlading of every ship ought to be performed in two days, but, notwithstanding the number of men they employ, they generally make a three days' work of it, in order to make it so much the more beneficial to the town.

"The goods are brought from the ship in boats, kept for this purpose only, at the Company's expense. Being brought within the water gates, they are laid before the commissioners, who set them down in writing, count them, compare them with the list that hath been given in (opening a bale or two of each sort, picked out from among the rest), and then order them to be locked up, under their seal, in the Company's warehouse, until the day of sale. The trunks, belonging to private persons, are set down at the entry of the island, and there opened and examined. If the owner doth not forthwith appear with the key, they proceed, without any further ceremony, to open them with axes. All vendible goods are taken out and locked up under their seals. Some other things, also, which they do not approve of, as, for instance, arms, stuff, and cloth wrought with gold and silver, as also all contraband goods, are taken into custody by the Ottona, who returns them to the owner upon his departure.

"No European, nor any other foreign money, and, in general, nothing that hath the figure of a cross, saint, or beads, upon it, is suffered to pass. If any such thing should be found upon any of our people, it would occasion such a confusion and fright among the Japanese, as if the whole empire had been betrayed. I have already taken notice that, upon our drawing near the harbor, every one is obliged to deliver his prayer-books, and other books of

divinity, as also all European money, to the captain, who packs them all up in an old cask, and hides them.

"Those who are newly arrived must suffer themselves, in going in or coming out of our island, to be searched, whether or no they have any contraband goods about them. Every one who wishes to go on board, whether it be for his own private business, or in the Company's service, is obliged to take out a pass-board from the commissioners at the water gates, and, in like manner, when he returns on shore, he must take out another from those on the ship.

"At night, when the commissioners sent on board the ship return with their retinue to Nagasaki, the cabin is sealed up in their presence, and all the Dutchmen accurately counted over, to see that there be none wanting, which would occasion a very great confusion. During my stay in Japan it happened that a common sailor unfortunately was drowned in the night, nobody perceiving his falling into the water. At the review made the next morning (for it is constantly made every morning and night) the fellow was missed. This unlucky accident suddenly stopped all proceedings, and the fear lest it should be a Roman Catholic priest, who had made his escape into the country, occasioned such a consternation among the Japanese, that all the officers ran about, scratching their heads, and behaving as if they had lost their senses, and some of the soldiers in the guard-ships were already preparing to rip themselves open, when at last the unlucky fellow's body being taken up from the bottom of the harbor put an end to their fears.

"At all other times, that for lading and unlading our ships excepted, the water gates are shut, by which means all communication is cut off between those that stay on board and those that remain on shore. The ship's cargo having been placed in the warehouses, the goods lie there till they are pleased, in two or three days of sale, which they call *Kambang*, to sell them. What remains unsold is carried back to the warehouses, and kept there against the next year's sale.

"The following goods are imported by us: raw silk, from China, Tonquin, Bengal, and Persia; all sorts of silks, woollen, and other stuffs (provided they be not wrought with gold and silver); Brazil wood; buffalo, and other hides; ray skins, wax, and buffalo horns, from Siam; tanned hides from Persia, Bengal, and other places,

but none from Spain and Manilla, under pain of incurring their utmost displeasure; pepper; sugar, in powder and candied; cloves; nutmegs; camphor, from Borneo and Sumatra; quicksilver; cinnabar; saffron; lead; saltpetre; borax; alum; musk; gum benzoin; gum lac; rosmal, or *storax liquida;* catechu, commonly called Terra Japonica; fustic; corals; amber; right antimony (which they use to color their china ware); looking-glasses, which they cut up to make spy-glasses, magnifying glasses, and spectacles, out of them. Other things of less note are snakewood; mangoes, and other unripe East India fruits, pickled with Turkish pepper, garlic, and vinegar; black lead and red pencils; sublimate of mercury (but no calomel); fine files; needles; spectacles; large drinking-glasses of the finest sort; counterfeit corals; strange birds, and other foreign curiosities, both natural and artificial. Some of these are often sold in private, by sailors and others, without being produced upon the *Kambang*, and in this case the Dutch make no scruple to get as much for them beyond their real value as possibly they can.

"Of all the imported goods, raw silk is the best liked, though it yields the least profit of any. All sorts of stuffs and cloths yield a considerable and sure profit, and should there be never so much imported, the consumption in so populous a country would be still greater. Brazil wood and hides are also to be disposed of to very good advantage. The most profitable commodities are sugar, catechu, storax liquida, camphor of Borneo (which they covet above all other sorts), looking-glasses, &c., but only when they have occasion for them, and when the Chinese have imported in small quantities. Corals and amber are two of the most valuable commodities in these eastern parts; but Japan hath been so thoroughly provided by smugglers, that at present there is scarce fifty per cent. to be got upon them, whereas formerly we could sell them, ten, nay, a hundred times dearer. The price of these things, and of all natural and artificial curiosities, varies very much, according to the number and disposition of the buyers, who may be sure to get cent per cent. clear profit by them, at what price soever they buy them."

"The yearly sum to the value of which the Dutch are permitted to sell goods imported by them is, by Japanese reckoning, three hundred chests of silver, each of a thousand taels, or in gold fifty thousand kobangs; the highest value of the kobang, as current in

Japan, being sixty mas, or six taels. But the Japanese having obliged the Dutch East India Company to accept payment in gold kobangs, each reckoned at sixty-eight mas, the sales of the Company, though made to the amount of three hundred thousand taels in silver, produced only forty-four thousand one hundred and eighteen kobangs."

A chance was thus afforded, as Kämpfer expresses it, "to make the officers concerned in carrying on the Dutch trade some amends for their trouble and hard usage, by allowing them to dispose of goods on their own private account," to the value of five thousand six hundred and eighty-two kobangs, equivalent, at the reckoning of fifty-eight mas, to forty thousand taels, thus making up the fifty thousand kobangs, to the amount of which the annual sale of Dutch goods was limited; and as this arrangement for private trade had been made by the Japanese, the East India Company did not venture to interfere with it.

At the head of these officers stands the Director, or, as he is called by the Japanese, Captain of the Dutch (*Capitan Hollanda*), who has the command, inspection, and care of the trade. The same person is the head of the embassy sent to court once every year; and, according to the custom of the country, he must be relieved after the year is expired. The ships from Batavia bring over his successor, with some few merchants and clerks, to assist during the sale, after which, the old director goes on board, to return to Batavia. The privilege of private trade was, in Kämpfer's time, divided as follows: The acting director could sell to the extent of ten thousand taels; the new director to the extent of seven thousand; his deputy, or the next person after him, to the extent of six thousand. The captains of the ships, the merchants, clerks, &c., shared the remainder, as they happened to be in favor with the chief managers, and the Japanese interpreters.

"The day of the *Kambang* (as they call our sale), which must be determined by the court, drawing near, a list of all the goods is hung up at the gates without our island, written in very large characters, that everybody may read it at a due distance. Meanwhile, the government signifies to the several Ottonas of the town, and these to the merchants, who are come thither from diverse parts of the empire, what duty per cent. will be laid for the benefit of

the inhabitants of Nagasaki, upon each description of our goods, in order to enable them to determine what price they can afford to offer. The day before the *Kambang*, papers are put up at all the gates of the streets, to invite the merchants to make their appearance the next morning at Desima, where, for their further information, they find before every house a list of the goods laid up in it. As the direction of our trade is entirely in the hands of the government of Nagasaki, so, particularly, the *Kambang* cannot be held but in presence of two stewards of the governors, authorized by them to assist at it. The chief officers of our island must likewise be present. The first interpreter presides, and directs everything, while our own triumvirs — I mean the two directors, the old and new — and the deputy director, have little or nothing to say.

"All persons who must be present at the sale having met together, our directors order samples of all our goods to be exposed to view, and then give a signal with a *gum-gum*, a sort of flat bell, not unlike a basin, for the merchants to come in. The house where the sale is kept is a very neat building, built at the Company's expense, and is then, by removing the shutters, laid open towards the street for people to look in. There is a small gallery round it, and it is divided within into several partitions, very commodiously contrived for this act.

"The sale itself is performed in the following manner. Only one sort of goods is put up at a time. Those who have a mind to buy them give in some tickets, each signed by feigned names, and signifying how much they intend to give for a piece, or a katti, of the article on sale. I took notice that every merchant gives in several tickets. This is done in order to see how matters are like to go, and to keep to a less price in case he repents of the greater, for which purpose they are signed only by feigned names; and, because of the great number and subdivision of the small coin, it seldom happens that two tickets exactly agree. After all the bidders have given in their tickets, our directors proceed to open and assort them. They are then delivered to the presiding chief interpreter, who reads them aloud, one after another, beginning with the highest. He asks after the bidder three times, and, if there is no answer made, he lays that ticket aside and takes the next to it. So he goes on, taking always a

less, till the bidder cries out, *Here I am*, and then draws near to sign the note, and to put his true name to it with black ink, which the Japanese always carry about them. The goods first put up being sold, they proceed to others, which they sell in the same manner; and so they go on till the sum determined by the emperor hath been raised, which is commonly done in two or three, seldom in four, days of sale. The day after each *Kambang* the goods are delivered to the buyer, and carried off. A company of merchants of the five imperial cities have obtained the monopoly for buying and selling raw silks, of which they would fain oblige us to make up at least one third of our cargoes.

"The duty or custom levied upon goods has been introduced at Nagasaki, merely with an intent to take off part of the vast profits which foreigners get upon their commodities, and to assign them for the use and maintenance of the poorer inhabitants of the town, among whom it is distributed in proportion to the trouble they must be at, on account of the public offices they must serve by turns. They commonly receive in this distribution from three to fifteen taels each. The duty laid upon the goods belonging to the Company is fifteen per cent., producing forty-five thousand taels. The goods belonging to private persons, which are commonly sold at the end of the *Kambang*, pay much more — no less than sixty-five per cent. upon goods sold by the piece, and sixty-seven per cent. on goods sold by weight. Rating each sort at half the whole amount, and the whole produce is twenty-seven thousand taels. The reason they give for the difference in the rate of duty is, because private goods are brought over in the Company's ships, at the Company's expense, and, consequently, deserve less profit. The Chinese, for the like reason, — that is, because they are not at the expense of such long and hazardous voyages as the Dutch, but are nearer at hand, — pay a duty of sixty per cent. for all their goods, which brings in a sum of three hundred and sixty thousand taels duty. If to this be added the yearly rent for our houses and factories, which is five thousand five hundred and eighty taels, and that of the Chinese factory, which is sixteen thousand taels, it makes up in all a sum of four hundred and fifty-three thousand five hundred and eighty taels [upwards of half a million of dollars], which the foreign commerce produces annually to the magistrates and inhabitants of Nagasaki.

"The profits our goods produce may be computed to amount, one year with another, to sixty per cent., though, if all the charges and expenses of our sale be taken into consideration, we cannot well get above forty or forty-five per cent. clear gain. Considering so small a profit, it would scarcely be worth the Company's while to continue this branch of our trade any longer, were it not that the goods we export from thence, and particularly the refined copper, yield much the same profit, so that the whole profit may be computed to amount to eighty or ninety per cent.

"The goods belonging to private persons being brought over and sold without any expense to the owner, the gain therefrom, notwithstanding the great duty laid upon them, is no ways inferior to that of the Company. The two chief directors have the greater share of it. They cannot hold their offices longer than three years, and that not successively, being obliged, after they have served one year, to return with the homeward-bound ships to Batavia, whence they are sent back again, either by the next ships, or two years after. If the directors stand upon good terms with the chief interpreter, and have found ways and means to secure his favor, by making him large presents at the Company's expense, he can contrive things so that some of their goods be put up and sold upon the first or second *Kambang*, among the Company's goods, and so, by reason of the small duty, produce sixty-five to seventy per cent. profit. This, too, may be done without any prejudice to the Company; for, in casting up the sums paid in for goods, these articles are slipped over. If they have any goods beyond the amount they are legally entitled to, chiefly red coral, amber, and the like, it is an easy matter to dispose of them in private, by the assistance of the officers of the island, who will generally themselves take them off their hands. The Ottona himself is very often concerned in such bargains, they being very advantageous. Formerly, we could sell them by a deputy to the persons who came over to our island at the time of our *Kambang*, and that way was far the most profitable for us. But one of our directors, in 1686, played his cards so awkwardly that ten Japanese were beheaded for smuggling, and he himself banished the country forever.

"The residing director, who goes also as ambassador to the emperor's court, hath, besides, another very considerable advantage,

in that such presents as the governors of Nagasaki desire to be made to the emperor, not to be found in the Company's warehouses, and therefore to be bought, can be furnished by him out of his own stock, if it so happens that he hath them, in which case he takes all the profit to himself, without doing any prejudice to the Company. Nay, they might possibly go still further in pursuit of their own private advantages, were it not that they endeavor to pass for men of conscience and honor, or, at least, aim to appear fearful lest they should be thought too notoriously to injure both the confidence and interest of their masters. I do not pretend hereby to charge them with any indirect practices as to the annual expenses, though perhaps even those are sometimes run up to an unnecessary height; nor is it in the least my intention to detract from the reputation and character of probity of so many worthy gentlemen, who have filled this station with honor, and discharged their duty with the utmost faithfulness to their masters. Thus much I can say without exaggeration, that the directorship of the Dutch trade in Japan is a place which the possessor would not easily part with for thirty thousand guilders (twelve thousand dollars). 'T is true, it would be a great disadvantage to the director, and considerably lessen his profits, if he hath not a good cash in hand to provide himself, before his departure from Batavia, with a sufficient stock of goods, but must take them upon credit, and upon his return share the profits with his creditors. Besides, he must not presume to leave Batavia, much less to return thither, without valuable considerations to his benefactors, unless he intends to be excused for the future the honor of any such employment. The goods he brings back to Batavia are silk gowns, which he receives as presents from the emperor and his ministers, and whereof he makes presents again to his friends and patrons, victuals, china ware, lackered or japanned things, and other manufactures of the country, which he can dispose of at Batavia at fifty per cent. profit; and besides some kobangs in gold; though if he have any left it is much more profitable to buy ambergris,* or

* Ambergris is a substance thrown up from the stomachs of whales suffering from dyspepsia or some other disease. It is much employed in the East in the preparation of perfumes and sweetmeats, and once had considerable reputation in Europe. Its true nature was for a long time in dispute. The Japanese understood it, as appears from their name of the article, *Kusera-no-fung*; that is, whale's excrements.

refined copper, and to send the latter, if possible, on board the Company's ships to Malacca. I say if possible, because there are strict orders from the Company against it.

"But it is time at last to send our ships on their return. To make up their cargoes we buy from twelve thousand to twenty thousand piculs of refined copper, cast in small cylinders, a span long and an inch thick, each picul packed in a fir box. We buy, likewise, a small quantity of coarse copper, delivered to us in broad flattish round cakes, and sometimes we take in some hundred piculs or chests of copper kasies or farthings, but not unless they be asked for at Tonquin and other places. All the copper is sold to us by a company of united merchants, who, by virtue of a privilege from the emperor, have the sole refining and selling of it to foreigners.

"The other part of our cargo is made up of Japanese camphor, from six thousand to twelve thousand, and sometimes more, pounds a year, packed up in wooden barrels; of some hundred bales of china ware packed in straw; of a box or two of gold thread, of an hundred rolls to the box; of all sorts of japanned cabinet-boxes, chests of drawers, and the like, all of the very best workmanship we can meet with; of umbrellas, screens and several other manufactures, made of canes, wood, buffalo and other horns, hard skins of fishes, which they work with uncommon neatness and dexterity, stone, copper, gold and *Sowas*, which is an artificial metal, composed of copper, silver and gold, and esteemed at least equal in value to silver. To these may be added paper made transparent with oil and varnish; paper printed and colored with false gold and silver for hanging of rooms; rice, the best to be had in Asia; saki, a strong liquor brewed from rice; soy, a sort of pickle, fit to be eat at table with roasted meat; pickled fruits packed in barrels; indented tobacco; tea, and marmalades; besides some thousand kobangs of gold in specie. The exportation of the following articles is strictly forbidden. All prints, pictures, goods or stuffs, bearing the emperor's coat-of-arms. Pictures and representations, printed and others, of soldiers and military people, of any person belonging to the court of the Dairi, or of Japanese ships; maps of the empire or any part of it; plans of towns, castles, temples and the like; all sorts of silk, cotton and hempen stuffs; all sorts of

arms, including those made in Japan after European patterns; carpenter's knives; silver.

"Our ships cannot be laden, nor set sail, till special leave has been given, and the day of their departure determined by the court. When they are laden, all our private goods and what else we have to bring on board, must be again narrowly searched. For this purpose, two of our landlords, two apprentices of the interpreters, and two clerks, with some kulis, or workmen, about two or three days before the departure of the ships, call upon every one in his room, as well those who stay at Desima as those who are to return, and who, during the time of sale, have been lodged in our empty houses. These people visit every corner, and examine all our things piece by piece, taking an exact memorandum of what they find; then they bind them together with straw ropes, and put their seals to them, along with a list of what the parcel contains, for the information of the gate-guard, who would else open them again. All contraband goods are seized at this search. Should any of these be found upon any Dutchman, the possessor would be at least banished the country for life, and the interpreters and servants appointed for his service and all other suspected persons would be put to the rack, till the seller and all his accomplices were discovered, by whose blood only is such a crime to be expiated. Of this we had a late instance in the imperial steward's own secretary, who, having endeavored to send over some cimeter blades to China, was executed for it, with his only son, not above eight years old. Upon my own departure, although my things, for good reasons, were visited but slightly, and over a bottle, yet they seized upon an old Japanese razor and a few other things, just because they happened to see them.

"The day determined for the departure of our ships drawing near, they proceed to lade their cargoes one after another. Last of all, the arms and powder are brought on board, followed by the ship's company, who must again pass in review according to the list which was given in upon the ship's arrival. The ship being ready, she must weigh her anchors that instant and retire two leagues off the town towards the entrance of the harbor, where she rides till the other ships are laden in the same manner. When all the homeward-bound ships are joined, they proceed on their voyage,

and, after they have gotten to the main sea, to a pretty considerable distance from the harbor, the Japanese ship-guard, which never quitted them from their first arrival till then, leave them and return home. If the wind proves contrary to the ships' going out, a good number of Japanese rowing boats, fastened to a rope, tow them out by force one after another. For the emperor's orders must be executed in spite of wind and weather, should even afterwards all the ships run the hazard of being wrecked.

"All these several strict orders and regulations of the Japanese have been made chiefly with an intent to prevent smuggling. The penalty put upon this crime is death without hope of reprieve; but it extends only to the person convicted and his accomplices, and not to their families, as the punishment of some other crimes does. And yet the Japanese are so addicted to it, that, according to computation, no less than three hundred persons have been executed in six or seven years' time for smuggling with the Chinese, whose departing junks they follow to the main sea, and buy of them at a low price what goods they could not dispose of at their sale at Nagasaki. But these unhappy wretches are almost as frequently caught by the Japanese boats particularly appointed for that purpose, and delivered up to justice at Nagasaki, which constantly proves severe and unmerciful enough."

Not long after Kämpfer's arrival in Japan, eleven smugglers were caught in one boat, and brought to Nagasaki, where they were executed a few days after. On the 28th of Dec., 1691, twenty-three persons suffered death for smuggling, ten of whom were beheaded, and the others crucified. Among the latter were five who, upon being taken, made away with themselves, to avoid the shame of an unavoidable public execution; but their bodies were nevertheless preserved in salt, on purpose to be afterwards fixed to the cross. During Kämpfer's stay in Japan, which was not above two years, upwards of fifty smugglers lost their lives.

"Though there are not many instances of people executed for smuggling with the Dutch, yet such a case occurred in 1791, when," says Kämpfer, "two Japanese were executed on our island for having smuggled from a Dutchman one pound of camphor of Borneo, which was found upon the buyer just as he endeavored to carry it off from our island. Early in the morning on the day

of execution the acting governor of Nagasaki sent notice by the Ottona to our director to keep himself with the rest of the Dutchmen in readiness to see the criminals executed. About an hour after came over the numerous flocks of our interpreters, landlords, cooks and all the train of Desima, with the sheriffs and other officers of justice, in all to the number of at least two hundred people. Before the company was carried a pike with a tablet, whereupon the crime for which the criminals were to suffer was specified in large characters. Then followed the two criminals, surrounded with bailiffs. The first was the buyer, a young man of twenty-three years of age, very meanly clad, upon whom the camphor was found. The second was a well-looking man, and well clad, about forty years of age, who suffered only for having lent the other, formerly a servant of his, the money to buy it with.

"One of the bailiffs carried an instrument upright, formed like a rake, but with iron hooks instead of teeth, proper to be made use of if any of the malefactors should attempt to make his escape, because it easily catches hold of one's clothes. Another carried another instrument proper to cut, to stab and to pin one fast to a wall. Then followed two officers of the governor's court, with their retinues, as commissioners to preside at this act, and at some distance came two clerks. In this order they marched across our island to the place designed for this execution.

"We Dutchmen, only seven in number (our ship being already gone), resolved not to come near. But our director advised us to go, as he had heard that on our refusal we would be compelled by force. I followed this advice, and went without delay to see the execution done. I found the two criminals in the middle of the place, one behind the other, kneeling, their shoulders uncovered, and their hands tied to their backs. Each had his executioner standing by him, the one a tanner (for tanners in this country do the office of executioners), the other his best friend and comrade, whom he earnestly desired, as the custom is in this country, by doing him this piece of service, to confirm the friendship he had always had for him. At about twenty paces from the criminals sat the two commissioners upon one bench, and the two clerks upon another. A third was left empty for our director, who, however, did not appear. The rest of the people stood promiscuously where

they pleased. I myself crowded with my Japanese servant as near one of the malefactors as possibly we could. While they were waiting for the rest of the Dutchmen I overheard a very extraordinary discourse between the two criminals; for as the elderly man was grumbling between his teeth his *Quanwonjo*, or short prayer to the hundred-hand idol Quanwon, the other, to whom I stood nearest, rebuked him for it. 'Fy!' said he. 'For shame, to appear thus frightened out of your wits!' 'Ah, ah!' says the other, 'I only pray a little.' 'You have had time enough to pray,' replied the first; 'it serves no purpose now, but to expose yourself and to show the Dutch what a coward you are!' and this discourse so wrought upon the other that he actually left off praying.

"The minute that the Dutch were all assembled at the place of execution, a signal was given, and that instant both executioners cut off each his criminal's head, with a short cimeter, in such a manner that their bodies fell forward to the ground. The bodies were wrapped up, each in a coarse rush mat, and both their heads together in a third, and so carried away from Desima to the ordinary place of execution, a field not far from Nagasaki, where, it was said, young people tried their strength and the sharpness of their cimeters upon the dead bodies, by hacking them into small pieces. Both heads were fixed upon a pole, according to custom, and exposed to view for seven days. The execution being over, the company marched off from Desima without any order. Our director went to meet the two commissioners and afterwards the two clerks upon the street, as they were returning home, thanked them for the trouble they had been at on this occasion, and invited them to his house to smoke a pipe; but he had nothing in return for this kind invitation but a sharp reprimand, with an admonition to take care of his people, that no more such accidents should happen for the future. This was the first time criminal blood was shed upon our island."

The proceedings at the Chinese sales, and the articles imported and exported by them, were, according to Kämpfer, much the same as in the case of the Dutch, except that they were not allowed to take away any money, but merchandise only.

CHAPTER XXIX.

NAGASAKI AND ITS VICINITY AS SEEN BY KÄMPFER. — IMPERIAL GOVERNORS. — THEIR OFFICERS AND PALACES. — MUNICIPAL SYSTEM. — STREET GOVERNMENT. — MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY. — ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. — TAXES. — GOVERNMENT OF OTHER TOWNS. — ADJACENT COUNTRY. — THE GOD SUWA AND HIS MATSURI. — A. D. 1690—1692.

KÄMPFER describes Nagasaki as situated upon an indifferent and barren soil, amid rocks and steep hills or mountains. The harbor, which has its head at the north of the city, where it is narrow and shallow with a sandy bottom, soon grows broader and deeper. When about half a mile broad and five or six fathoms deep, it turns to the south-west, and so runs on between high land and mountains for about a mile (narrowing again to a quarter of a mile in breadth), till it reaches an island or rather mountain surrounded by water, which the Dutch call *Papenburg*. This, properly speaking, is the entrance of the harbor, and here vessels lie at anchor to watch a favorable opportunity of getting out, which would be easily done in two hours were it not for the many banks, shoals and cliffs, which make the passage equally difficult and dangerous.

"There are seldom less than fifty Japanese ships in this harbor, besides some hundred fishing-vessels and small boats. Of foreign ships there are seldom, some few months of the winter excepted, less than thirty, most of which are Chinese junks. The Dutch ships never stay longer than three months in autumn; very seldom so long. The anchorage is about a musket-shot from the town, where ships ride at anchor upon the soft clay, with about six fathom at high tide, and four and a half at low water.

"The town — situated where the harbor is broadest, and where, from the change in its direction, it forms a nearly semi-circular shore — has the shape of a half-moon, somewhat inclining to a triangle.

Built along the shore in a narrow valley, formed by the opening of the neighboring mountains, it is about three quarters of a mile long and nearly as broad, the chief and broadest street running nearly that distance up the valley. The mountains which encompass it are not very high, but steep, green to their tops, and of a very agreeable aspect. Just behind the city, in going up the mountains, are many stately temples, beautifully adorned with fine gardens and terrace-walks. Higher up are innumerable burying-places. In the distance appear other high mountains, fruitful and well cultivated. In short, the whole situation affords to the eye a most delicious and romantic view." *

The town is open, as are most other towns in Japan, without either castle, walls or fortifications. Some bastions are built along the harbor, as it were for defence, but they have no cannon. About two miles from the town, seaward, just beyond the anchorage, are two guard-houses, opposite each other, and enclosed by palisades. They are held each by about seven hundred men, including those who do duty in the harbor guard-boats.

"Three fresh-water rivers come down from the neighboring mountains, and run through the town. For the greater part of the year they have scarce water enough to irrigate some rice-fields and to drive a few mills, though in rainy weather they are apt to increase so as to wash away whole houses. They are crossed by thirty-five bridges, great and small, twenty of stone and fifteen of wood, very simple in their structure, being made more for strength than show.

"The city is divided into two parts. *Utrimatz* (the inner town) consists of twenty-six *Tsju*, or streets, all very irregular, as if built in the infancy of the city; *Sotomutz* (or the outer town) contains sixty-one streets, so that there are eighty-seven in all.

"The streets of Nagasaki and other towns in Japan have borrowed their name, *Tsju*, from that of a Japanese measure of sixty fathoms (three hundred and sixty feet); but, though generally short, they are not all precisely of that length. These streets, or divisions of streets, seldom containing more than sixty or less than thirty

* This corresponds with Siebold's description, who goes quite into raptures at the first sight he had, in 1825, of the hills about Nagasaki.

houses, have gates at each end, which are always closed at night, and often in the day, when there is the least occasion for it. The streets of Nagasaki are neither straight nor broad, but crooked, dirty and narrow, leading some up and others down hill, on account of the irregularity of the ground upon which the town is built. Some of the steepest have stair-cases of stone. They are full stocked with inhabitants, as many as ever they will hold.

"The houses of the common people are mean, sorry buildings, small and low, seldom above one story high. If there be two stories, the uppermost is so low that it scarce deserves the name. The roof is covered with shavings of fir wood [shingles?] fastened by other pieces of wood laid across. Indeed, the whole structure is of wood, as are most buildings throughout the empire. The walls within are wainscoted and hung with painted and variously-colored paper.* The floor is covered with mats wove of a considerable thickness, which they take care to keep exceedingly clean and neat. The rooms are separated from each other by movable paper screens. Seats and chairs they have none, and only some few household goods, chiefly such as are absolutely necessary for daily use in the kitchen and at meals. Behind every house is a back yard, which, though never so small, yet contains always some curious and beautiful plants, kept with a great deal of care.

"The houses of eminent merchants, and of other rich people, are of a far better structure, commonly two stories high, and built after the Chinese manner, with a large court-yard before them and a garden behind.

"The palaces of the two resident governors take in a large spot of ground, standing something higher than the rest of the town. The buildings are very neat and handsome, and all uniform; strong gates and well guarded lead into the court about which they are arranged.

"Besides the governors' palaces there are some twenty other houses in Nagasaki belonging to the principal nobility of the island of Kiusiu, always occupied by some of their vassals, who take care of them, and in which the owners lodge when they come to town.

* It would seem that Europe had derived the idea of paper-hangings, as a substitute for tapestry, from Japan.

"The handsomest buildings belonging to townspeople are two streets all occupied by courtesans. The girls in these establishments, which abound throughout Japan, are purchased of their parents when very young. The price varies in proportion to their beauty and the number of years agreed for, which is, generally speaking, ten or twenty, more or less. They are very commodiously lodged in handsome apartments, and great care is taken to teach them to dance, sing, play upon musical instruments, to write letters, and in all other respects to make them as agreeable as possible. The older ones instruct the young ones, and these in their turn serve the older ones as their waiting-maids. Those who make considerable improvement, and for their beauty and agreeable behavior are oftener sent for, to the great advantage of their masters, are also better accommodated in clothes and lodging, all at the expense of their lovers, who must pay so much the dearer for their favors. The price paid to their landlord or master is from one *mas* to two *itzubo* (twelve and a half cents to four dollars), for a night, beyond which they are forbid to ask under severe penalties. One of the sorriest must watch the house over night in a small room near the door, free to all comers upon the payment of one *mas*. Others are sentenced to keep the watch by way of punishment for their misbehavior.

"After having served their time, if they are married, they pass among the common people for honest women, the guilt of their past lives being by no means laid to their charge, but to that of their parents and relations who sold them in their infancy for so scandalous a way of getting a livelihood, before they were able to choose a more honest one. Besides, as they are generally well bred, that makes it less difficult for them to get husbands. The keepers of these houses, on the contrary, though possessed of never so plentiful estates, are forever denied admittance into honest company."

Kämpfer enumerates of public buildings three large wooden ship-houses, in which are kept three imperial junks or men-of-war, equipped and ready for launching; a powder-magazine on a hill opposite the town, and a city prison. There are also sixty-two temples, within and without the town — five for the worship of the *Kami*, or ancient national gods of Japan, seven of the Jamabos,

or mountain priests, and fifty *Tiras*, temples of four different Buddhist sects or observances, including the three temples erected by the Chinese, as mentioned in a previous chapter.

"These temples are sacred not only to devotion and worship, but serve also for recreation and diversion, being for this purpose curiously adorned with pleasant gardens, elegant walks, and fine apartments, and by much the best buildings of the town. The Buddhist temples are not so much to be commended for their largeness or splendor as for their pleasant and agreeable situations, being moreover adorned within with fine raised altars, gilt images as big as life, lackered columns, gates and pillars, the whole very neat and pretty rather than magnificent.

"Those who attend the service of the Kami temples, though not collected into monasteries, like the Buddhist clergy, but secular and married persons, yet assume to themselves a far higher degree of holiness and respect than they think the common bulk of secular persons deserve. They live with their families in houses built for them in the descent of the mountains. Their way of life, as well as their common dress at home and abroad, is no ways different from that of the other inhabitants, except that they do not shave their heads, but let their hair grow, and tie it together behind. When they go to the temple they dress in an ecclesiastical habit, with various head-dresses, according to every one's office and quality. They maintain themselves by the alms and offerings given them by those who come to worship in their temples, or at their appearance in solemn processions.

"The ecclesiastics of the Buddhist religion have no processions nor other public solemnities, like the Sinto clergy. They always keep within the district of their convent, where they mind little else but their prayers in the temple at certain stated hours. Their maintenance arises from the fees given them for prayers to be said in their temples, or at funerals for the relief of departed souls, as also from voluntary and charitable contributions."

The gardens in and about the city and the neighboring villages abundantly furnish it with all sorts of fruits, vegetables and roots, with firewood, and also with some venison and poultry; but the domestic supply of rice is insufficient, and that capital article has to be imported from the neighboring provinces. The harbor and

neighboring coast yield plenty of fish and crabs. The rivers that run through the town provide it with clear and sweet water, "very fit," says Kämpfer, "for daily drink;" the *saki*, or rice beer, as it is brewed in Japan, being too strong, and that in particular made at Nagasaki of a disagreeable taste."*

Except articles made of gold, silver and *Sawaas*, — a mixture of gold, silver and copper, — for the foreign trade, manufactures at Nagasaki are not so good as in other parts of the empire; and yet everything is sold dearer, chiefly to foreigners.

The inhabitants are mostly merchants, shop-keepers, tradesmen, handicraftsmen, artificers, brewers, besides the numerous retinue of the governors, and the people employed in the Dutch and Chinese trade, by which, in fact, the town is mainly supported. There are many poor people and beggars, most of them religious mendicants.

"The town," says Kämpfer, "is never without a great deal of noise. In the day, victuals and other merchandise are cried up and down the streets. Day-laborers and the seamen in the harbor encourage one another to work with a certain sound. In the night the watchmen and soldiers upon duty, both in the streets and harbor, show their vigilance, and at the same time indicate the hours of the night, by beating two pieces of wood against each other. The Chinese contribute their share chiefly in the evening, when they burn some pieces of gilt paper, and throw them into the sea, as an offering to their idol, or when they carry their idol about its temple; both which they do with beating of drums and cymbals. But all this is little compared with the clamor and bawling of the priests and the relations of dying or dead persons, who, either in the house where the corpse lies, or else upon certain days sacred to the deceased's memory, sing a *Nimada*, that is, a prayer, to their god

* According to Haganaar this saki is flavored with honey or sugar. It is very heating and heavy. Saris describes it as almost as strong as aqua vitæ. It appears to be very various in quality and strength, quite as much so as European ale or beer. The yeast from this saki is largely used for preserving fruit and vegetables. The acid of it penetrates the fruit or vegetable, giving it a peculiar flavor, of which the Japanese are very fond.

The Japanese are very fond of social drinking parties; but, according to Caron, no drunken brawls occur, each person taking himself quietly off as soon as he finds that he has enough or too much.

Amida,* with a loud voice, for the relief of his soul. The like is done by certain fraternities or societies of devout neighbors, friends or relations, who meet by turns in their houses, every day, in the morning or evening, in order to sing the Nimada by way of precaution for the future relief of their own souls.

Nagasaki, down to the year 1688, had, like the other imperial cities, two governors, commanding by turns; the one not in the immediate exercise of authority being resident meanwhile at Jedo. In 1688, the policy was adopted of having three governors; two to be always resident at Nagasaki, to watch each other, and presiding alternately for two months, while the third was to come in each alternate year from Jedo to relieve the senior resident.† The resident governors leave their families at Jedo as hostages for their good behavior, and, during the time of their absence from court, are strictly prohibited, so it is stated, to admit any woman within their palaces. The establishments of these imperial governors, as described by Kämpfer, may probably be taken as a specimen of the ordinary way of life with the higher order of Japanese officials. Their salary did not exceed fifteen hundred or two thousand *kokf* of rice (in money, the price of the article being very variable, from seven thousand to ten thousand taels); but the perquisites were so considerable that in a few years they might get vast estates, did not the presents which must be made to the emperor and the grandees of the court consume the greater part of their profits. Out of their allowance they were obliged to maintain an extensive retinue, — two *Karoo*, or stewards of the household, ten *Joriki*, all noblemen of good families, who acted both as civil and military officers, and thirty *Doosiu*, likewise military and civil officers, but of inferior rank.

The business of the *Joriki* was to assist the governor with their advice, if required, and to execute his commands, either as military officers or as magistrates. They had, besides their food and a new

* This prayer, or invocation, unintelligible to the Japanese, is, as our modern Orientalists have discovered, good Sanscrit.

† Another change, simultaneous with the restrictions upon Dutch and Chinese trade, was the selection of the governors from the military and noble class, instead of from the mercantile class, as had previously been the case.

suit annually, an allowance of one hundred taels a year; but this hardly sufficed to enable them to keep the servants necessary to their dignity, such as a pike-bearer, a keeper of their great sword, and a shoe or slipper bearer, and much less to maintain a family. The *Doosiu* were a sort of assistants to the Joriki. They served as guards, and did duty on board ship, especially in the guard-boats, either as commanding officers or as privates. Sometimes they did the office of bailiffs or constables, and put people under arrest, for which purpose they always carried a halter about them. Their yearly allowance, beside their board, did not exceed fifty tael, out of which they must maintain each a servant.*

The governors had still other domestics, of inferior rank, to dress and undress them, to introduce visitors, and to bring messages, besides numerous menial servants.

At the entrance of their palaces, within the court-yard, a guard was kept of four or five Doosiu. No domestic could leave the house without taking from its place in the guard-room a square wooden tablet, which he hung up again on his return, so that it could be known at a glance how many and who were absent. Within the great door, or main entrance into the house, another guard was kept by some of the Joriki, one of whom had charge of a book, in which he entered, as the custom is at the houses of persons of rank, the names of all who go in or out, for the information of the master of the house, who sometimes at night examines the entries.

The governor's equipage and attendance when going abroad consisted of a led horse, a Norimon, in which he was carried, by the side of which walked four of the gentlemen of his bedchamber, and behind it two pike-bearers, followed by a train of Karoo, Joriki and Doosiu, with their own servants and attendants.

Kämpfer thus describes the persons who held the office of governors of Nagasaki at his arrival in Japan — "*Kawaguts Tsina-Kami* is a handsome, well-shaped man, about fifty years of age, cunning and malicious, and a great enemy of the Dutch (who ascribed to

* These Joriki and Doosiu seem to be the same officers spoken of in the subsequent Dutch narratives as *gobanjosi* [said to mean government overseeing officers], or by corruption, banjoses, upper and under. The Doosiu or Doosen seem to be the same with the imperial soldiers.

him the authorship of the new arrangement for their trade), an unjust and severe judge, but an agreeable, liberal and happy courtier, with an income from his private estates of four thousand seven hundred kokf. *Juma Oka Tsussimu-no-Kami* had formerly been a high constable, and had been rewarded with his present office for his services in clearing Jedo of thieves and pickpockets. He had a private revenue of two thousand kokf. He is about sixty, short, sincere, humble, and very charitable to the poor, but with so much of his old profession about him, that he often orders his domestics to be put to death without mercy for very trifling faults. *Mijuki Tononomo*, also about sixty, is a man of great generosity and many good qualities, with a private estate of four thousand kokf of yearly revenue."

To watch the governors, an imperial officer, called *Daiquan*, was appointed to reside at Nagasaki, and a like service was required of all the chief lords of the island of Ximo.

To secure the harbor and town these same lords were bound to march with their vassals at the first alarm. The princes of the provinces of Figen and Chichugen were obliged to furnish alternately, each for a year, the guard at the entrance of the harbor, which was independent of the governors. The inhabitants of the water-side streets of Nagasaki supplied the *Funaban* or ship-guard with its guard-boats to watch foreign ships in the harbor. There was another fleet of boats employed ordinarily in whale-fishing, but whose business it also was to see all foreign vessels well off the coast, to guard against and to arrest smugglers, and to prevent any foreign vessels from touching elsewhere than at Nagasaki. Finally, there was the spy-guard, stationed on the top of the neighboring mountains, to look out for the approach of foreign vessels; and on one of these hills was a beacon, which, being fired, served, in connection with other similar beacons, to telegraph alarms to Jedo.

Next in rank to the governors were four mayors or burgomasters, whose office, like most others, had become hereditary, and two deputy-mayors, principally for the affairs of the new town. They would seem to have once been the actual chief magistrates, but their authority had been greatly eclipsed by that of the imperial governors. There were also four other officers annually appointed to

solicit the interests of the town's people at the court of the governors, and to keep them informed of the daily proceedings of the mayors, for which purpose they had a small room at the governor's palace, where they were always in waiting.

There was no town-house nor other public place of assembly. When the magistrates met on business, it was at the presiding mayor's house. Besides the various bodies of interpreters and others, connected with the foreign trade, there was a particular corporation of constables and bailiffs, consisting of about thirty families, who lived in a street by themselves. Their office was reputed military and noble, and they had the privilege of wearing two swords, — a privilege which the mayors and mercantile people did not possess.

The tanners, obliged to act also as public executioners, were held in execration, yet they also wore two swords. They lived in a separate village near the place of execution, placed as everywhere in Japan at the west end of the town.

But the most remarkable thing in the municipal government of Nagasaki (and the same thing extended to all the other Japanese towns) was the system of street government, mentioned in the narratives of Don Rodrigo, Caron, and others, but which Kämpfer more particularly describes.

The house-owners of every street were arranged in companies, or corporations, of five, or sometimes a few more, each street having from ten to fifteen such companies. None but house-owners were admitted into these corporations; mere occupants were looked upon as dependents on their landlords, with no voice in the affairs of the street, nor right to claim any share in the public money, though they paid high rents. Each street company had one of its number for a head, who was responsible for the conduct of his four companions, and obliged, in certain cases at least, to share the punishment of their crimes. The members of these corporations chose from among themselves an *Ottona*, or chief magistrate of the street. The choice was by ballot, and the name of the person having the greatest number was presented to the governor, with a humble petition that he might be appointed to the office, of which the salary in Nagasaki was a ten-fold share of the annual distribution to the inhabitants, derived from the duties on the foreign trade.

The duty of the Ottona was, to give the necessary orders in case

of fire; to have the oversight of the watch; to keep a register of the deaths, births, marriages, arrivals, departures, &c.; to arrest criminals, and to punish those of smaller magnitude; to compose, if he could, all disputes among the people of his street; and generally to be personally answerable for their good behavior. He had for assistants three lieutenants, the heads of the corporations of house-owners, a secretary, a treasurer and a messenger. A guard was kept every night, of three or more house-owners, while the street was paced by two sentinels, walking from each gate till they met, and then back. The hours were regularly in the daytime struck on a bell hung for that purpose on the ascent of the mountains, and during the night the street-watch indicated them by beating two sticks together.*

The street officers were held responsible for the offences of the house-owners; the house-owners for the offences of their lodgers,

* The Japanese division of time is peculiar. The day, from the beginning of morning twilight to the end of evening twilight (so says Siebold, correcting former statements, which give instead sunrise and sunset), is divided into six hours, and the night, from the beginning to the end of darkness, into six other hours. Of course the length of these hours is constantly varying. Their names (according to Titsingh) are as follows: *Kokonots*, noon and midnight; *Yaats*, about our two o'clock; *Nanats*, from four to five; *Mouts-douki*, end of the evening and commencement of morning twilight; *Itsous*, eight to nine; *Yoots*, about ten; and then Kokonots again. Each of these hours is also subdivided into four parts, thus: *Kokonots*, noon or midnight; *Kokonots-fan*, quarter past; *Kokonots-fan-souki*, half past; *Kokonots-fan-souki-maye*, three quarters past; *Yaats*, commencement of second hour; *Yaats-fan*, &c., and so through all the hours.

The hours are struck on bells, *Kokonots* being indicated by nine strokes, preceded (as is the case also with all the hours) by three warning strokes, to call attention, and to indicate that the hour is to be struck, and followed, after a pause of about a minute and a half, by the strokes for the hour, between which there is an interval of about fifteen seconds — the last, however, following its predecessor still more rapidly, to indicate that the hour is struck. *Yaats* is indicated by eight strokes, *Nanats* by seven, *Mouts-douki* by six, *Itsous* by five, and *Yoots* by four. Much speculation has been resorted to by the Japanese to explain why they do not employ, to indicate hours, one, two, and three strokes. The obvious answer seems to be, that while three strokes have been appropriated as a forewarning, their method of indicating that the striking is finished would not be available, if one and two strokes designated the first and second hours.

domestics, and families; masters for servants; children for parents; each corporation for its individual members; neighbors for each other.* It was naturally a part of this system that no new inhabitant was admitted into any street, except by consent of all the house-owners in it, which thus became necessary to every purchase and sale of a house.

Every year, a list was made out by the street officers of all the inhabitants in each street, with their religion, shortly after which came the ceremony of *Jejumi*, or *figure-treading* — that is, trampling upon the crucifix, an image of the Virgin Mary, and other saints — a ceremony which appears to be observed, at least at Nagasaki, down even to the present day. The images used in Kämpfer's time were about a foot long, cast in brass, and kept in a particular box for that purpose. The ceremony took place in the presence of the street officers. Each house was entered by turns, two messengers carrying the box. The images were laid upon the bare floor, and, the list of the household being called over, they were required, one by one, to tread upon them. Young children, not yet able to walk, were held in their mothers' arms, so as to touch the images with their feet. It has been asserted that the Dutch were obliged to submit to this ceremony; but the fact was not so.

To prevent smuggling, whenever the foreign ships or junks set sail, the street gates of Nagasaki were shut, and kept closed till the ships were out of the harbor, strict searches being made, at uncertain times, on which occasions every inhabitant of the street was obliged to report himself. The same thing took place when criminals were searched for, or other investigations, sometimes very frivolous ones, were made. On these and other occasions of alarm, no one could go from one street into another, except with a written pass, and attended by an officer; nor could an inhabitant of Nagasaki at any time leave the city without a similar pass and an undertaking on the part of his neighbors for his return within a specified time.

* Caron implies that it was only as to state offences that this mutual responsibility exists. According to Guysbert, in his account of the persecution at Nagasaki, if a converted priest was discovered, not only the householder concealing him was held responsible, but the two nearest householders on either side, though not only ignorant of the fact, but pagans. This strict system was very effectual for the purposes of the persecution.

Accused persons were often made to confess by torture. Capital punishments were either by beheading or crucifixion. Other punishments — and this class was often inflicted for the misdemeanors of others — were imprisonment, for longer or shorter periods, banishment to certain desolate spots and islands, and forfeiture of property and office. Punishments were prompt and severe; yet great regard was had to the nature of the offence, the condition of the person who committed it, and the share of guilt to be reasonably laid to the charge of his superiors, relations, or neighbors. The practice of making young children suffer with their parents was possibly intended as much in mercy to them as to aggravate the punishment of the real offenders.* It is by this same motive of humanity, that the Japanese justify their practice of exposing such infants as they have not the means or inclination to support and educate.

Persons sentenced to death could not be executed without a warrant signed by the council of state at Jedo, which must likewise be consulted in all affairs of moment, provided they admit of the delay necessary to send a courier and receive an answer. This, however, did not prevent the governors of Nagasaki, and other high officers, from liberally exercising the right of life and death in the case of their own immediate servants and retainers. All servants, indeed, were so far at the disposal of their masters, that, if they were accidentally killed while undergoing punishment, the master was not answerable. Yet, in general, as in China, homicide, even in self-defence or undesigned, must be expiated by the blood of the offender, and even his neighbors were, in many cases, held to a certain extent responsible.

"Some will observe," says Kämpfer, "that the Japanese are wanting in a competent knowledge of the law. I could heartily wish, for my part, that we Europeans knew as little of it as they, since there is such an abuse made of a science highly useful in itself, that innocence, instead of being relieved, is often still more oppressed. There is a much shorter way to obtain justice in Japan,

* It would seem from Guysbert, that the participation by young children in the death decreed against the parents, was rather the act of those parents who had the power of life and death over their children, and who did not choose to part with them in this extremity.

and, indeed, all over the East; — no necessity for being at law for many years together, no occasion for so many writings, answers, briefs, and the like. The case is, without delay, laid before the proper court of judicature, the parties heard, the witnesses examined, the circumstances considered, and judgment given without loss of time. Nor is there any delay to be apprehended from appealing, since no superior court hath the power to mitigate the sentence pronounced in another, though inferior. And, although it cannot be denied but that this short way of proceeding is liable to some errors and mistakes in particular cases, yet I dare affirm that in the main it would be found abundantly less detrimental to the parties concerned than the tedious and expensive law-suits in Europe."

Certain yearly contributions, under the name of free gifts, were paid by all the house-owners and office-holders of Nagasaki, partly as perquisites to the governor and other officers, and partly for municipal purposes. So far as the house-owners were concerned, it amounted to a regular tax, levied according to the size of the lots; but this sort of levy was said to be unknown in other cities of the empire, and at Nagasaki was much more than made up for by the surplus share of the house-owners in the duty levied on the foreign trade, which, after paying all particular services and municipal expenses, was divided among them. The only other tax was an imperial ground-rent on the house-lots — four mas (fifty cents), in the old town, and six mas (seventy-five cents) in the upper town, for every *kin* (very nearly six English feet) of frontage, where the depth was not more than fifteen kin. On every lot exceeding that depth the tax was double. This is stated by Kämpfer to be the only town tax levied throughout the empire, whether in the towns of the imperial domain, or in those belonging to particular lords, and the city of Miako, by a particular privilege, was exempt even from this.

A municipal police, similar to that of Nagasaki, was established in all the other towns, boroughs, and villages, with this difference only, that the magistrates, though invested with the same power, were, perhaps, known by different names, and that their administration was, in general, much less strict than at Nagasaki.

The adjacent country was under the control of an imperial

steward (the same forming a part of the imperial domains), who collected the rent, forming, with the house-tax, the entire imperial revenue. This rent amounted to four parts in ten of the crop; whereas inferior landlords exacted six parts in ten. Grain was delivered in kind; garden grounds, orchards and woods, paid a compensation in money.

We may close this account of Nagasaki with a description of the *Matsuri*, or public spectacle exhibited on the birth-day of the god *Suwa*, the patron of the city, one of the occasions on which the Dutch were permitted to leave the island of *Desima*, for the purpose of witnessing the spectacle. This festival was, and still is, celebrated at the expense of ten or eleven streets, uniting each year for that purpose; so that every street is called upon thus to contribute once in seven or eight years, except that in which the courtesans reside, which must pay every year. The celebration consists in processions, plays, dances, &c., and as something new must always be got up, at least in the way of dress, it is attended with heavy expense.

The temple of *Suwa*, according to Kämpfer's description, stands not far from the town, upon the mountain *Tutla*. A fine stair-case, of two hundred stone steps, leads up to it. The temple court, somewhat lower than the Mia itself, extends down the declivity of the mountain. At the entry of this court, next the gate, is a long, open room, or gallery, where plays are acted, for the diversion both of *Suwa* and his worshippers. This room is curiously adorned with many pictures and carved images, placed there by devout worshippers in fulfilment of vows made in some moment of exigency. Further off stand some small chapels of wood, clean and neat, but without ornaments. In the same court stand the temples of *Murasaki* and *Simios*, each of whom has also his *Mikosi*, or small eight-angular shrine, curiously adorned, and hanging in beautiful polls, wherein their images or relics are carried about upon festivals. Kämpfer also observed, in the same enclosure, another small chapel, built in honor of the god and lord of thousand legs, hung about with numbers of his clients, that is, with legs of all sorts and sizes, given by his worshippers.

There are several festivals sacred to *Suwa*, of which the chief is

on the seventh, eighth, and ninth days of the ninth month.* On the eighth the god is diverted in his temple, at the expense of rich and devout people, with a musical concert, performed by boys beating upon drums and bells — the very same music made use of to appease the supreme kami *Tensio Dai Sin*, when, out of disdain and anger, she hid herself in a cavern, and thereby deprived the world of light and sunshine.†

* The Japanese year begins at the new moon nearest to the fifth of February (the middle point between the winter solstice and the spring equinox). For an account of the Japanese calendar, see p. 35.

† According to Klaproth's statement of Japanese legend, in his *Histoire Mythologique*, introductory to Titsingh's *Annals of the Dairi*, the first three of the celestial gods were solitary males. The next three had female companions, yet produced their successors by the force of mutual contemplation only. The seventh pair found out the ordinary method of generation, of which the first result was the successive production of eight islands, those of Japan (the number eight being selected simply because it is esteemed the most perfect), after which they gave birth also to mountains, rivers, plants, and trees. To provide a ruler and governor for these creations, they next produced *Tensio dai sin*, or, in Japanese (for *Tensio dai sin* is Chinese), *Ama terasu-no-kami* (Celestial Spirit of Sunlight); but, thinking her too beautiful for the earth, they placed her in the heavens, as they did, likewise, their second born, a daughter, also, *Tsouki-no-kami*, goddess of the moon. Their third child, *Ybis san-ro*, was made god of the sea; their fourth child, *Sosan-no-ono*, also a son, god of the winds and tempest. He was agreeable enough when in good humor, and at times had his eyes filled with tears, but was liable to such sudden outbreaks and caprices of temper as to render him quite unreliable. It was concluded to send him away to the regions of the north; but before going he got leave to pay a visit to his sisters, in heaven. At first he had a good understanding with them, but soon committed so many outrages, — in the spring spoiling the flower borders, and in the autumn riding through the ripe corn on a wild horse, — that in disgust *Tensio dai sin* hid herself in a cavern, at the mouth of which she placed a great stone. Darkness forthwith settled over the heavens. The eight hundred thousand gods, in great alarm, assembled in council, when, among other expedients, one of their number, who was a famous dancer, was set to dance to music at the mouth of the cavern. *Tensio dai sin*, out of curiosity, moved the stone a little, to get a look at what was going on, when immediately *Ta tsikara o-no kami* (god of the strong hand) caught hold of it, rolled it away, and dragged her out, while two others stretched ropes across the mouth so that she could not get in again. Finally the matter was compromised by clipping the claws and hair of *Sosan-no-ono*, after which he was sent off to the north, though not till he had killed a

The great festival of the ninth consists of processions through the principal streets, and spectacles exhibited in a temporary building of bamboo, with a thatched roof, open towards the square on which it is erected. "The whole building," says Kämpfer, "scarcely deserves to be compared to one of our barns, it is so mean and simple, for it must be purposely built according to the sorry architecture of their indigent ancestors. A tall fir is planted on each side of the front of this temple, and three sides of the square are built round with benches and scaffolds for the convenience of spectators.

"Everything being ready, the Sinto clergy of the city appear in a body, with a splendid retinue, bringing over in procession the *Mikosi* of their great *Suwa*, as, also, to keep him company, that of *Symios*. *Murasaki* is left at home, as there is no instance in the history of his life and actions from which it could be inferred that he delighted in walking and travelling.

"The Sinto clergy, upon this occasion, style themselves *Ootomi* — that is, the *high great retinue* — which pompous title, notwithstanding

dragon, married a wife, and become the hero of other notable adventures. This legend makes it clear what Angiro, the first Japanese convert meant, by speaking of the Japanese as worshippers of the sun and moon. See *ante*, p. 49. The annual festival of *Tensio dai sin* falls on the sixteenth day of the ninth month, immediately after that of *Suwa*, and is celebrated throughout the empire by matsuri much like that described in the text. The sixteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-sixth days of every month are likewise sacred to her, but not celebrated with any great solemnity.

Kämpfer mentions as the gods particularly worshipped by the mercantile class — 1. *Jebisu* (or, as Klaproth writes it, *Ybis-san-ro*), the Neptune of the country, and the protector of fishermen and seafaring people, said to be able to live two or three days under water. He is represented sitting on a rock, with an angling-rod in one hand and the delicious fish, *Tai*, or *Steinbrassin* (*Sparus Aurata*, the Japanese name, signifies *red lady*) in the other. 2. *Daikoku*, commonly represented sitting on a bale of rice, with his fortunate hammer in his right hand, and a bag laid by him to put in what he knocks out; for he is said to have the power of knocking out, from whatever he strikes with his hammer, whatever he wants, as rice, clothes, money, &c. Klaproth states him to be of Indian origin, and that his name signifies Great Black. 3. *Tositoku*, represented standing, clad in a large gown with long sleeves, with a long beard, a huge forehead, large ears, and a fan in his right hand. Worshipped at the beginning of the new year, in hopes of obtaining, by his assistance, success and prosperity. 4. *Fotei*, represented with a huge belly, and supposed to have in his gift health, riches, and children.

the alms-chest is one of the principal things they carry in the procession, and, indeed," says Kämpfer, "to very good purpose, for there is such a multitude of things thrown among them by the crowds of superstitious spectators, as if they had a mind out of mere charity to stone them.

"When they come to the place of exhibition, the ecclesiastics seat themselves, according to their quality, which appears in good measure by their dress, upon three benches, built for them before the front of the temple. The two superiors take the uppermost bench, clad in black, with a particular head ornament, and a short staff, as a badge of their authority. Four others, next in rank, sit upon the second bench, dressed in white ecclesiastical gowns, with a black lackered cap, something different from that worn by their superiors. The main body takes possession of the third and lowermost bench, sitting promiscuously, and all clad in white gowns, with a black lackered cap, somewhat like those of the Jesuits. The servants and porters appointed to carry the holy utensils of the temple, and other people who have anything to do at this solemnity, stand next to the ecclesiastics, bareheaded.

"On the other side of the square, opposite to the ecclesiastics, sit the deputies of the governors, under a tent, upon a fine mat, somewhat raised from the ground. For magnificence sake, and out of respect for this holy act, they have twenty pikes of state planted before them in the ground.

"The public spectacles on these occasions are a sort of plays, acted by eight, twelve, or more persons. The subject is taken out of the history of their gods and heroes. Their remarkable adventures, heroic actions, and sometimes their love intrigues, put in verse, are sung by dancing actors, whilst others play upon musical instruments. If the subject be thought too grave and moving, there is now and then a comic actor jumps out unawares upon the stage, to divert the audience with his gestures and merry discourse in prose. Some of their other plays are composed only of ballets, or dances, like the performance of the mimic actors on the Roman stage. For the dancers do not speak, but endeavor to express the contents of the story they are about to represent, as naturally as possible, both by their dress and by their gestures and actions, regulated according to the sound of musical instruments. The chief

subjects of the play, such as fountains, bridges, gates, houses, gardens, trees, mountains, animals, and the like, are also represented, some as big as the life, and all in general contrived so as to be removed at pleasure, like the scenes of our European plays.*

"The actors are commonly girls, taken out of the courtesans' houses, and boys from those streets at whose expense the solemnity is performed. They are all magnificently clad, in variously colored silken gowns, suitable to the characters they are to present; and it must be owned that, generally speaking, they act their part with an assurance and becoming dexterity, not to be exceeded, nay, scarce to be paralleled, by the best European actors.

"The streets which bear the expense make their appearance in the following order: First of all is carried a rich canopy, or else an umbrella, made of silk, being the palladium of the street. Over it, in the middle, is placed a shield, whereupon is writ, in large characters, the name of the street. Next to the canopy follow the musicians, masked, and in proper liveries. The music is both vocal and instrumental. The instruments are chiefly flutes of different sorts, and small drums; now and then a large drum, cymbals and bells, are brought in among the rest. The instrumental music is so poor and lamentable, that it seems much easier to satisfy their gods than to please a musical ear. Nor is the vocal part much preferable to the instrumental, for although they keep time tolerably, and sing according to some notes, yet they do it in so very slow a manner that the music seems to be rather calculated to regulate their action, and the motions of their body in their ballets and dances, wherein they are very ingenious and dexterous, and little inferior to our European dancers, excepting only that they seem to want a little more action and swiftness in their feet.

"The musicians are followed by the necessary machines and the whole apparatus for the ensuing representations, the largest being carried by laboring people, the lesser — as benches, staffs, flowers, and the like — by the children of the inhabitants, neatly clad. Next follow the actors themselves, and after them all the inhabitants of the street in a body, in their holiday clothes and garments

* On the whole, and from the play-bills presently given, the performance would seem to be a good deal like that of Pyramus and Thisbe, in the Midsummer Night's Dream.

of ceremony. To make the appearance so much the greater, the procession is closed by a considerable number of people, who carry stools, and other things, walking two and two.

"The dances and shows of each street commonly last about three quarters of an hour, and, being over, the company marches off in the same order they came in, to make way for the appearance and shows of another street, which is again followed by another, and so on. All the streets strive to outdo each other in a magnificent retinue and surprising scenes. The processions and shows begin early in the morning, and the whole ends about noon."

The following were among the presentations by the different streets at the *matsuri* at which Kämpfer was present.

1. "Eight young girls, clad in colored gowns, interwove with large white flowers, with broad hats, as if to defend them from the heat of the sun, with fans and flowers in their hands, dancing by turns. They were from time to time relieved by a couple of old women dancing in another dress.

2. "A garden, with fine flowers on each side of the place where the act was performed, a thatched house in the middle, out of which jumped eight young girls, dressed in white and red, dancing, with fans, canes, and flower-baskets. They were relieved by a very good actress, who danced by herself.

3. "Eight triumphal chariots, with oxen before them, of different colors, the whole very naturally represented, and drawn by young boys, well clad. Upon them stood a *Tsulaki* tree, in flower; a mountain, covered with trees; a thicket of bamboos, with a tiger lurking; a load of straw, with an entire tree, with its root and branches; a whale, under a rock, half covered with water. Last of all, another mountain appeared, with a real boy, magnificently clad, who stood at the top, under an apricot-tree in full blossom. This mountain was again drawn by boys.

4. "Some dancers, acting between six flower-beds, which, and a green tree, were drawn upon the place by boys. Nine other boys, in the same dress, and armed each with two swords and a musket; a peasant, dancing.

5. "A mountain, carried upon men's shoulders; a fountain, with a walk round it; a large cask, and a house, were severally set upon the place. Then two giants, masked, with prodigious great heads,

representing some Indian deities, began a dance. They were met soon after by a third, of a still more monstrous size, who came forth out of the mountain, armed with a great broad-sword. He was followed by seven Chinese, jumping out of the same mountain, though to all appearance quite small, and dancing about in company with the giants. After some time spent in dances, the great monstrous giant beat the cask to pieces, out of which came a young boy, very handsomely clad, who, after a fine long speech, which he delivered in a very graceful manner, danced with the giant alone. Meanwhile, three monkeys, with roe's heads, crept out of the fountain, and, jumping on the walk round it, performed a dance, mimicking that of the giant and boy. This done, every one returned to his place, and so the scene ended.

6. "The pompous retinue of a prince, travelling with his son, very naturally represented by boys.

7. "Several huge machines, accurately resembling, both in size and color, the things they were to represent, but made of a thin substance, so that one man could easily carry one upon his back. But, besides this load on the back, every one of these men had a very large drum hanging before him, which some others played upon with bells. After this manner they crossed the stage, dancing, though not very high, because of their load. The things which they carried were, a well, with all the implements for extinguishing fires; a large church-bell, with the timber work belonging to it, and a dragon wound round it for ornament's sake; a mountain, covered with snow, and shaped like a dragon, with an eagle on the top; a brass gun, weighing twenty-four pounds, with all the tackle belonging to it; a heavy load of traveller's trunks, packed up in twelve straw balls, according to the country fashion; a whale in a dish; several shell fish and fruits, as big as the life, carried each by one person."

CHAPTER XXX.

KÄMPFER'S TWO JOURNEYS TO COURT. — PREPARATIONS. — PRESENTS. — JAPANESE ATTENDANTS. — PACKING THE BAGGAGE AND RIDING ON HORSEBACK. — JAPANESE LOVE OF BOTANY. — ACCOUTREMENTS. — ROAD-BOOKS. — NORIMONS AND CANGOS. — A. D. 1690—1692.

MENTION has already been made of the custom established in Japan, that all the governors of imperial cities and of provinces, and, indeed, all the *Daimio* and *Siomio* — that is, nobles of the first and second rank — should, once a year, make a journey to court; those of the first rank to pay their respects and make presents to the emperor in person, and those of the second rank to salute his chief ministers, assembled in council.

In this respect the director of the Dutch trade is placed on the same footing with the superior nobility, and his journey to court, accompanied by a physician, a secretary or two, and a flock of Japanese attendants of various ranks, affords the Dutch the only opportunity they have of knowing anything by their own personal observation, beyond the vicinage of Nagasaki

Kämpfer made this journey twice — the first time in 1691, and again in 1692 — and, notwithstanding the strict surveillance under which the Dutch are kept, his observations were highly curious. Besides a journal of his daily route, he gives a general summary of all that he observed, containing a great deal of curious information, the most interesting part of which is copied in this and the following chapters, nearly in his own words:

"The first thing to be done, is to look out proper presents for his imperial majesty, for his privy councillors, and some other great officers at Jedo, Miako and Osaka, the whole amounting, as near as possible, to a certain sum, to assort them, and particularly to assign to whom they are to be delivered. Afterwards they must

be put up into leather bags, which are carefully wrapped up in mats, in order to preserve them from all accidents in so long a journey; and, for a further security, several seals are affixed to them.

"It is the business of the governors of Nagasaki to judge and determine what might prove acceptable to the court. They take out of the goods laid up in our warehouses what they think proper, and give instructions to the departing director about such things as should be sent over from Batavia the next year. Sometimes some of their own goods they have been presented with by the Chinese are put in among these presents, because by this means they can dispose of them to the best advantage, either by obliging us to buy them at an excessive and their own price, or by exchanging them for other goods. Now and then some uncommon curiosities, either of nature or art, are brought over from Europe, and other parts of the world, on purpose to be presented to the emperor; but it often happens that they are not approved of by these rigid censors. Thus, for instance, there were brought over, in my time, two brass fire-engines of the newest invention, but the governors did not think them proper to be presented to the emperor, and so returned them to us, after they had first seen them tried, and taken a pattern of them.* Another time the bird Casuar † was sent over from Batavia, but likewise disliked and denied the honor of appearing before the emperor, because they heard he was good for nothing but to devour a large quantity of victuals.

"These presents are placed on board a barge, three or four weeks before our departure, and sent by water to *Simonoseki*, a small town at the south-western extremity of the great island of NIPON, where they wait our arrival by land. Formerly our ambassador, with his whole retinue, embarked at the same time, whereby we saved a great deal of trouble and expense we must now be at in travelling by land; but a violent storm having once put the whole

* Certainly there is nothing of which the Japanese stood, and still stand, more in need, than some contrivance for extinguishing fires. Caron, in his memorial addressed to Colbert, had recommended a present of fire-extinguishers.

† See p. 204.

company into eminent danger, and the voyage having been often, by reason of the contrary winds, too long and tedious, the emperor has ordered that for the future we should go by land. The presents for the imperial court, and other heavy baggage, being sent before us, the rest of the time till our departure is spent in preparations for our journey, as if we designed some great expedition into a remote part of the world.

"The first and most essential part consists in nominating, and giving proper instructions to, the several officers, and the whole retinue that is to go with us to court. The governors appoint one of their Joriki to be *Bugio*, that is, head and commander in chief. He is to represent the authority of his masters, as a badge whereof he hath a pike carried after him. A Dosiu is ordered to assist him in quality of his deputy. Both the Joriki and Dosiu are taken from among the domestics of one of the governors, who stays that year at Nagasaki. To these are added two beadles, who, as well as the Dosiu, carry, by virtue of their office, a halter about them, to arrest and secure, at command or wink from the Joriki, any person guilty or suspected of any misdemeanor. All these persons are looked upon as military men, and as such have the privilege of wearing two swords; — all persons that are not either noblemen by birth, or in some military employment, being by a late imperial edict denied this privilege.

"I have already stated that our interpreters are divided into two companies, the upper consisting of the eight chief interpreters, and the inferior including all the rest. The *Ninban*, or president for the time being, of each of these companies is appointed to attend us in this journey. To these is now added a third, as an apprentice, whom they take along with them to qualify him for the succession. All the chief officers, and all other persons that are able to do it, take some servants along with them, partly to wait upon them, partly for state. The *Bugio* and the principal interpreter take as many as they please, the other officers each two or three, as they are able, or as their office requires. The Dutch captain, or ambassador, may take three, and every Dutchman of his retinue is allowed one. The interpreters commonly recommend their favorites to us, and the more ignorant they are of the Dutch language, the better it answers their intention.

"I omit to mention some other persons, who, by order or by special leave of the governors and interpreters, make the journey in company with us, and at our expense, too, though otherwise they have no manner of business upon our account.

"All these future companions of our voyage have leave to make us some friendly visits at Desima, in order to get beforehand a little acquainted with us. There are many among them who would willingly be more free and open, were it not for the solemn oath they must all take before their departure, but much more for the fear of being betrayed by others, since, by virtue of the same oath, they are obliged all and every one of them to have a strict and watchful eye, not only over the Dutch, but also over the conduct of each other, particularly with regard to the Dutch.

"Another branch of preparations for our journey is the hiring of horses and porters. This is the chief interpreter's business, as keeper of our purse, who is also appointed to take care that whatever is wanted during the whole journey be provided for. 'T is he, likewise, that gives orders to keep everything in readiness to march the minute the Bugio is pleased to set out.

"Two days before our departure every one must deliver his cloak, bag and portmantle, to proper people, to be bound up;—this not after our European manner, but after a particular one of their own, which deserves to be here described.

"A plain wooden saddle, not unlike the pack-saddles of the Swedish post-horses, is girded on the horse with a breast-leather and crupper. Two latchets are laid upon the saddle, which hang down on both sides of the horse, in order to their being conveniently tied about two portmantles, which are put on each side in a due balance; for when once tied together, they are barely laid on the horse's back, without any other thong or latchet to tie them faster. However, to fasten them in some measure, a small, long box, or trunk, called by the Japanese *Adofski*, is laid over both portmantles upon the horse's back, and tied fast to the saddle with thongs; and over the whole is spread the traveller's covering and bedding, which are tied fast to the *Adofski* and side trunks. The cavity between the two trunks, filled up with some soft stuff, is the traveller's seat, where he sits, as it were, upon a flat table, commodiously enough, either cross-legged or with his legs extended hanging down by the

horse's neck, as he finds it most convenient. Particular care must be taken to sit in the middle, and not to lean too much on either side, which would either make the horse fall, or else the side trunks and rider. In going up and down hills the footmen and stable grooms hold the two side trunks fast, for fear of such an accident. The traveller mounts the horse, and alights again, not on one side, as we Europeans do, but by the horse's breast, which is very troublesome for stiff legs. The horses are unsaddled and unladen in an instant; for having taken the bed-clothes away, which they do first of all, they need but untie a latchet or two, which they are very dexterous at, and the whole baggage falls down at once. The latchets, thongs and girths, made use of for these several purposes, are broad and strong, made of cotton, and withal very neatly worked, with small, oblong, cylindrical pieces of wood at both ends, which are of great use to strain the latchets, and to tie things hard.

"The saddle is made of wood, very plain, with a cushion underneath and a caparison behind, lying upon the horse's back, with the traveller's mark, or arms, stitched upon it. Another piece of coarse cloth hangs down on each side as a safeguard to the horse, to keep him from being daubed with dirt. These two pieces are tied together loosely under the horse's belly. His head is covered with a net-work of small but strong strings, to defend it, and particularly the eyes, from flies, which are very troublesome. The neck, breast and other parts, are hung with small bells.

"The side portmantles, which are filled only with light stuff, and sometimes only with straw, are a sort of square trunk, made of stiff horse leather, mostly four feet long, a foot and a half broad, and as many deep. The cover is made somewhat larger, and so deep as to cover the lower part down to the bottom. Though they hold out rain very well, yet, for a greater security, they are wrapt up in mats, with strong ropes tied about them; for which reason, and because it requires some time to pack them up, they are seldom unpacked till you are come to the journey's end, and the things which are the most wanted upon the road are kept in the *Adofski*. This is a small, thin trunk or case, about four feet and a half in length, nine inches broad, and as many deep. It contains one single drawer, much of the same length, breadth and depth. It

hath a little door or opening on one side, which can be locked up, and by which you can come conveniently at the drawer, without untying the *Adofski*. What things are daily wanted upon the road must be kept in this trunk. It serves likewise to fasten the two portmantles, or side trunks, which would otherwise require a stick. It is made of thick, strong, gray paper, and, further to secure it against all accidents of a long journey, strings are tied about it in form of a net, very neatly.

"To complete our traveller's equipage, some other things are requisite, which are commonly tied to the portmantles. Such are, 1. A string with *Seni*, a brass money with a hole in the middle, they being more proper to buy what necessaries are wanted on the road than silver money, which must be weighed. People that travel on horseback tie this string behind them to one of the sashes of their seats. Foot travellers carry it in a basket upon their back.* 2. A lantern, of varnished and folded paper, with the possessor's arms painted upon its middle. This is carried before travellers by their footmen, upon their shoulder, in travelling by night. It is tied behind one of the portmantles, put up in a net or bag, which again hath the possessor's arms, or marks, printed upon it, as have in general the clothes and all other movables travellers of all ranks and qualities carry along with them upon their journeys. 3. A brush made of horse's hairs, or black cock feathers, to dust your seat and clothes. It is put behind your seat, on one side, more for show than use. 4. A water-pail, which is put on the other side of the seat, opposite to the brush, or anywhere else. 5. Shoes, or slippers, for horses and footmen. These are twisted of straw, with ropes likewise of straw, hanging down from them, whereby they are tied about the horse's feet, instead of our European iron horse-shoes, which are not used in this country. They are soon worn out in stony, slippery roads, and must be often changed for new ones. For this purpose, the men that look after the horses always carry a competent stock along with them, tied to the portmanteaus, though

* These seni were of various values, a thousand of them being worth, according to Caron, from eight to twenty-six mas, that is, from a dollar to three dollars and a quarter; the seni varying, therefore, from a mill to three mills and a quarter. Of the existing copper coinage we shall speak hereafter. See p. 531.

they are to be met with in every village, and are offered for sale by poor children begging along the road.

"I must beg leave to observe that, besides the several things hitherto mentioned, which travellers usually carry along with them in their journeys, I had for my own private use a very large Javan box, which I had brought with me from Batavia. In this box I privately kept a large mariner's compass, in order to measure the directions of the roads, mountains and coasts; but open and exposed to everybody's view, was an ink-horn; and I usually filled it with plants, flowers, and branches of trees, which I figured and described (nay, under this pretext whatever occurred to me remarkable). Doing this, as I did it free and unhindered, to everybody's knowledge, I should be wrongly accused to have done anything which might have proved disadvantageous to the Company's trade in this country, or to have thereby thrown any ill suspicion upon our conduct from so jealous and circumspect a nation. Nay, far from it, I must own that, from the very first day of our setting out, till our return to Nagasaki, all the Japanese companions of our journey, and particularly the Bugio, or commander-in-chief, were extremely forward to communicate to me what uncommon plants they met with, together with their names, characters and uses, which they diligently inquired into among the natives. The Japanese, a very reasonable and sensible people, and themselves great lovers of plants, look upon botany as a study both useful and innocent, which, pursuant to the very dictates of reason and the law of nature, ought to be encouraged by everybody. Thus much I know, by my own experience, that of all the nations I saw and conversed with in my long and tedious travels, those the least favored botanical learning who ought to have encouraged it most. Upon my return to Nagasaki, *Tounemon*, secretary and chief counsellor to the governors, being at Desima, sent for me, and made me, by the chief interpreter, the following compliment: That he had heard with great pleasure from our late Bugio, how agreeably I had spent my time, and what diversion I had taken upon our journey in that excellent and most commendable study of botany, whereof he, *Tounemon*, himself was a great lover and encourager. But I must confess, likewise, that at the beginning of our journey I took what pains and tried what means I could to procure the friendship and

assistance of my fellow-travellers, obliging some with a submissive humble conduct and ready assistance, as to physic and physical advice, others with secret rewards for the very meanest services and favors.

"A traveller must not forget to provide himself with a cloak, against rainy weather, made of double-varnished oiled paper, and withal so very large and wide that it covers and shelters at once man, horse and baggage. It seems the Japanese have learned the use of it, together with the name *Kappa*, from the Portuguese.

"To keep off the heat of the sun travellers must be provided with a large hat, which is made of split bamboos or straw, very neatly and artfully twisted, in form of an extended sombrero, or umbrella. It is tied under the chin with broad silk bands, lined with cotton. It is transparent and exceedingly light, and yet, if once wet, will let no rain come through. Not only the men wear such hats upon their journeys, but also the women in cities and villages, at all times, and in all weathers, and it gives them no disagreeable look.

"The Japanese upon their journeys wear very wide breeches, tapering towards the end, to cover the legs, and slit on both sides to put in the ends of their large, long gowns, which would otherwise be troublesome in walking or riding. Some wear a short coat or cloak over the breeches. Some, instead of stockings, tie a broad ribbon around their legs. Ordinary servants, chiefly Norimon-men and pike-bearers, wear no breeches, and, for expedition's sake, tuck their gowns quite up to their belt, exposing their naked bodies, which they say they have no reason at all to be ashamed of.

"The Japanese of both sexes never go abroad without fans, as we Europeans seldom do without gloves.* Upon their journeys

* "Though it may sound extraordinary to talk of a soldier with a fan, yet the use of that article is so general in Japan that no respectable man is to be seen without one. These fans are a foot long, and sometimes serve for parasols; at others instead of memorandum books. They are adorned with paintings of landscapes, birds, flowers, or ingenious sentences. The etiquette to be observed in regard to the fan requires profound study and close attention." — *Titsingh.* "At feasts and ceremonies the fan is always stuck in the girdle, on the left hand, behind the sabre, with the handle downward." — *Thunberg.*

they make use of a fan which hath the roads printed upon it, and tells them how many miles they are to travel, what inns they are to go to, and what price victuals are at. Some, instead of such a fan, make use of a road-book, which are offered them for sale by numbers of poor children, begging along the road. The Dutch are not permitted, at least publicly, to buy any of these fans, or road-books.

"A Japanese on horseback, tucked up after this fashion, makes a very comical figure at a distance; for, besides that they are generally short and thick, their large hat, wide breeches and cloaks, together with their sitting cross-legged, make them appear broader than long. Upon the road they ride one by one. Merchants have their horses, with the heavy baggage packed up in two or three trunks or bales, led before them. They follow, sitting on horseback, after the manner above described. As to the bridle, the traveller hath nothing to do with that, the horse being led by one of his footmen, who walks at the horse's right side, next by the head, and together with his companions sings some merry song or other, to divert themselves, and to animate their horses.

"The Japanese look upon our European way of sitting on horseback, and holding the bridle one's self, as warlike and properly becoming a soldier. For this very reason they seldom or never use it in their journeys. It is more frequent among people of quality in cities, where they go a visiting one another. But even then the rider (who makes but a sorry appearance when sitting after our manner) holds the bridle merely for form, the horse being still led by one, and sometimes by two, footmen, who walk on each side of the head, holding it by the bit. Their saddles come nearer our German saddles than those of any Asiatic nation. The stirrup-leathers are very short. A broad round leather hangs down on both sides, after the fashion of the Tartars, to defend the legs. The stirrup is made of iron, or Sowaas, very thick and heavy,—not unlike the sole of a foot, and open on one side, for the rider to get his foot loose with ease, in case of a fall,—commonly of an exceeding neat workmanship, and inlaid with silver. The reins are not of leather, as ours, but of silk, and fastened to the bit.

"Besides going on horseback, there is another more stately and expensive way of travelling in this country, and that is to be car-

ried in *Norimons* and *Kangos*, or particular sorts of chairs or litters. The same is usual likewise in cities. People of quality are carried about after this manner for state, others for ease and convenience. There is a wide difference between the litters men of quality go in, and those of ordinary people. The former are sumptuous and magnificent, according to every one's rank and riches. The latter are plain and simple. The former are commonly called Norimons, the latter Kangos. The vulgar (in all nations master of the language) have called them by two different names, though, in fact, they are but one thing. Norimon signifies, properly speaking, a thing to sit in; Kango, a basket. Both sorts rise through such a variety of degrees, from the lowest to the highest, from the plainest to the most curious, that a fine Kango is scarce to be distinguished from a plain and simple Norimon, but by its pole. The pole of a Kango is plain, massy, all of one piece, and smaller than that of a Norimon, which is large, curiously adorned and hollow. The pole of a Norimon is made up of four thin boards, neatly joined together, in form of a wide arch, and much lighter than it appears to be. Princes and great lords show their rank and nobility, amongst other things, particularly by the length and largeness of the poles of their Norimons. People who fancy themselves to be of greater quality than they really are, are apt now and then to get the poles of their Norimons or Kangos much larger than they ought to have been. But then, also, they are liable to be obliged by the magistrates, if they come to know of it, to reduce them to their former size, with a severe reprimand, if not a considerable punishment, into the bargain. This regulation, however, doth not concern the women, for they may, if they please, make use of larger poles than their own and their husbands' quality would entitle them to. The Norimon itself is a small room, of an oblong square figure, big enough for one person conveniently to sit or lie in, curiously woven of fine, thin, split bamboos, sometimes japanned and finely painted, with a small folding-door on each side, sometimes a small window before and behind. Sometimes it is fitted up for the conveniency of sleeping in it. It has at top a roof, which in rainy weather has a covering of varnished paper. It is carried by two, four, eight or more men, according to the quality of the person in it, who (if he be a prince or lord of a province) carry the pole on the palms of

their hands; otherwise, they lay it upon their shoulders. All these Norimon-men are clad in the same livery, with the coat of arms or mark of their masters. They are every now and then relieved by others, who in the mean time walk by the Norimon's side.

"The Kangos are not near so fine nor so well attended. They are much of the same figure, but smaller, with a solid, square, or sometimes a round, pole, which is either fastened to the upper part of the roof, or put through it underneath. The Kangos commonly made use of for travelling, chiefly for carrying people over mountains, are very poor and plain, and so small, that one cannot sit in them without very great inconveniency, bowing the head and laying the legs across. They are not unlike a basket with a round bottom, and a flat roof, which one reaches with his head. In such Kangos we are carried over the rocks and mountains, which are not easily to be passed on horseback. Three men are appointed for every Kango, who, indeed, for the heaviness of their burden, have enough to do."

CHAPTER XXXI.

HIGHWAYS. — RIVERS. — FORDS. — FERRIES. — BRIDGES. — WATER PART OF THE JOURNEY. — COAST AND ISLANDS. — FRAIL STRUCTURE OF JAPANESE VESSELS. — DESCRIPTION OF THEM. — BUILDINGS ON THE ROUTE. — DWELLING-HOUSES. — CASTLES. — TOWNS. — VILLAGES. — COTTAGES. — PROCLAMATION PLACES. — PLACES OF EXECUTION. — TIRAS OR BUDDHIST TEMPLES. — MIAS OR SINTO TEMPLES. — IDOLS AND AMULETS.

"THE empire of Japan," says Kämpfer, "is divided into seven great tracts,* every one of which is bounded by a highway, and, as these tracts are subdivided into provinces, so there are particular ways leading to and from every one of these provinces, all ending in the great highways, as small rivers lose themselves in great ones. These highways are so broad that two companies, though never so great, can, without hindrance, pass by one another. That company, which, according to their way of speaking, goes up, that is, to Miako, takes the left side of the way, and that which comes from Miako the right. All the highways are divided into measured miles, which are all marked, and begin from the great bridge at Jedo as the common centre. This bridge is by way of preëminence, called *Niponbas*, that is, the bridge of Japan. By this means, a traveller, in whatever part of the empire he be, may know at any time how many Japanese miles it is from thence to Jedo. The miles are marked by two small hills thrown up, one on each side of the way, opposite each other, and planted at the top with one or more trees. At the end of every tract, province, or smaller district, a wooden or stone pillar is set up in the highway, with characters upon it, showing what provinces or lands they are which here bound upon each other, and to whom they belong. Like pillars are erected at the entry of the side-ways which turn off from the great

* This is exclusive of the central tract or imperial domain (consisting of five provinces), and also of the two island provinces of Iki and Tsu-sima.

highway, showing what province or dominion they lead to, and the distance in leagues to the next remarkable place. The natives, as they improve every inch of ground, plant firs and cypress trees in rows along the roads over the ridges of hills, mountains and other barren places. No firs or cypress can be cut down without leave of the magistrate of the place, and they must always plant young ones instead of those they cut down.

"In our journey to court we pass along two of these chief highways, and go by water from one to the other, so that our whole journey is divided into three parts. We set out from Nagasaki to go by land across the island KIUSIU, to the town of *Kokura*, where we arrive in five days. From Kokura we pass the straits in small boats to *Simonoseki*, a convenient and secure harbor, about two leagues off, where we find our barge, with the baggage, riding at anchor and waiting our arrival. The road from Nagasaki to Kokura is called by the Japanese *Saikaido*, that is, the west sea way.* At Simonoseki we go on board our barge for *Fiogo*, where we arrive in eight days, more or less, according to the wind. *Osaka*, a city very famous for the extent of its commerce and the wealth of its inhabitants, lies about thirteen Japanese water-leagues from Fiogo, which, on account of the shallowness of the water, we make in small boats, leaving our large barge at Fiogo till our return. From Osaka we go again by land, over the great island Nipon, as far as JEDO, the emperor's residence, where we arrive in about fourteen days or more. The road from Osaka to Jedo is by the Japanese called *Takaido*, that is, the east sea or coast way. We stay at Jedo about twenty days, or upwards; and having had an audience of his imperial majesty, and paid our respects to some of his chief ministers and favorites, we return to Nagasaki the same way, completing our whole journey in about three months' time.†

* For a part of the distance across Siusiu (or Ximo), different routes were taken in the first and second of Kämpfer's journeys. In the first he crossed the gulf of *Omura*; in the second, the gulf of *Simabara*, these two gulfs enclosing the peninsula of *Omura*, the one on the north, the other on the east.

† The distance is reckoned by the Japanese at three hundred and thirty-two to three hundred and thirty-three leagues; but these Japanese leagues are of unequal length, varying from eighteen thousand to about thirteen thousand feet, and the water-leagues generally shorter than those by land,

"In most parts of Saikaido, and everywhere upon Tokaido, between the towns and villages, there is a straight row of firs planted on each side of the road, which by their agreeable shade make the journey both pleasant and convenient. The ground is kept clean and neat, convenient ditches and outlets are contrived to carry off the rain-water, and strong dikes are cast up to keep off that which comes down from higher places. This makes the road at all times good and pleasant, unless it be then raining and the ground slimy. The neighboring villages must jointly keep them in repair, and sweep and clean them every day. People of great quality cause the road to be swept with brooms, just before they pass it; and there lie heaps of sand in readiness, at due distances (brought thither some days before), to spread over the road, in order to dry it, in case it should rain upon their arrival. The lords of the several provinces, and the princes of the imperial blood, in their journeys, find, at every two or three leagues' distance, huts of green-leaved branches erected for them, with a private apartment, where they may step in for their pleasures or necessities. The inspectors for repairing the highway are at no great trouble to get people to clean them, for whatever makes the roads nasty is of some use to the neighboring country people, so that they rather strive who shall first carry it away. The pine-nuts, branches and leaves, which fall down daily from the firs, are gathered for fuel to supply the want of wood, which is very scarce in some places. Nor doth horses' dung lie long upon the ground, but is soon taken up by poor country children, and serves to manure the fields. For the same reason care is taken that the filth of travellers be not lost, and there are in several places, near country people's houses, or in their fields, houses of office built for them. Old shoes of horses and men, which are thrown away as useless, are gathered in the same houses, burnt to ashes, and added to the mixture. Supplies of this composition are kept in large tubs or tuns, buried even with the ground in their villages and fields, and, being not covered, afford full as ungrateful and putrid a smell of radishes (which is the common food of country people) to tender noses, as the neatness and beauty of the road is agreeable to the eyes.

in the proportion of five to three. Kämpfer makes the whole distance two hundred German or about eight hundred English miles.

"In several parts of the country the roads go over hills and mountains, which are sometimes so steep and high, that travellers are necessitated to get themselves carried over them in kangos, such as I have described in the preceding chapter, because they cannot, without great difficulty and danger, pass them on horseback. But even this part of the road, which may be called bad in comparison to others, is green and pleasant, for the abundance of springs of clear water, and green bushes, and this all the year round, but particularly in the spring, when the flower-bearing trees and shrubs being then in their full blossom, prove an additional beauty, affording to the eye a curious view, and filling the nose with agreeable scent.

"Several of the rivers we are to cross over, chiefly upon Tokaido, run with so impetuous a rapidity towards the sea, that they will bear no bridge nor boat, and this by reason partly of the neighboring snow-mountains, where they arise, partly of the frequent great rains, which swell them to such a degree as to make them overflow their banks. These must be forded. Men, horses and baggage, are delivered up to the care of certain people, bred up to this business, who are well acquainted with the bed of the river, and the places which are the most proper for fording. These people, as they are made answerable for their passengers' lives, and all accidents that might befall them in the passage, exert all their strength, care and dexterity, to support them with their arms against the impetuosity of the river, and the stones rolling down from the mountains where the rivers arise. Norimons are carried over by the same people.

"The chief of these rivers is the formidable *Gingawa*, which separates the two provinces TUTOMI and SURUGA. The passage of this river is what all travellers are apprehensive of, not only for its uncommon rapidity and swiftness, but because sometimes, chiefly after rains, it swells so high, that they are necessitated to stay several days on either bank, till the fall of the water makes it passable, or till they will venture the passage, and desire to be set over at their own peril. The rivers *Fusi-Jedagawa* and *Abigawa*, in the last mentioned province, are of the like nature, but not so much dreaded.

"There are many other shallow and rapid rivers, but because

they are not near so broad nor impetuous as those above mentioned passengers are ferried over them in boats, which are built after a particular fashion proper for such a passage, with flat, thin bottoms, which will give way, so that if they run aground, or upon some great stone, they may easily, and without any danger slide over it and get off again. The chief of these are the river *Tensiu*, in the province TUTOMI; *Fusigawa*, in the province SERUGA; *Benriu*, in the province MUSASI, and *Askagawa*, which is particularly remarkable, for that its bed continually alters, for which reason inconstant people are compared to it in proverb.

"Strong, broad bridges are laid over all other rivers which do not run with so much rapidity, nor alter their beds. These bridges are built of cedar, and kept in constant repair, so that they look at all times as if they had been but lately finished. They are railed on both sides. As one may travel all over Japan without paying any taxes or customs, so likewise they know nothing of any money to be paid by way of a toll for the repair of highways and bridges. Only in some places the custom is, in winter-time, to give the bridge-keeper, who is to look after the bridge, a seni for his trouble.

"That part of our journey to court made by water is along the coasts of the great island Nipon, which we have on our left, steering our course so as to continue always in sight of land, and not above one or two leagues off it at farthest, that in case of a storm arising it may be in our power forthwith to put into some harbor. Coming out of the straits of Simonoseki, we continue for some time in sight of the south-eastern coasts of KIUSIU. Having left these coasts, we come in sight of those of the island SIKOKF. We then make the island AWADSI, and, steering between this island and the main land of the province IDSUMI, we put into the harbor of *Osaka*, and so end that part of our journey to court which must be made by sea. All these coasts are very much frequented, not only by the princes and lords of the empire, with their retinues, travelling to and from court, but likewise by the merchants of the country, going from one province to another to buy and sell, so that one may chance on some days to see upwards of a hundred ships under sail. The coasts hereabouts are rocky and mountainous; but many of the mountains are cultivated to their very tops; they are well inhab-

ited and stocked with villages, castles and small towns. There are very good harbors in several places, where ships put in at night to lie at anchor, commonly upon good clean ground, in four to eight fathoms.

"In this voyage we pass innumerable small islands, particularly in the straits between Sikokf and Nipon. They are all mountainous, and for the most part barren and uncultivated rocks. Some few have a tolerable good soil and sweet water. These are inhabited, and the mountains, though never so steep, cultivated up to their tops. These mountains (as also those of the main land of Nipon) have several rows of firs planted for ornament's sake along their ridges at top, which makes them look at a distance as if they were fringed, and affords a very curious prospect. There is hardly an island, of the inhabited ones, but what hath a convenient harbor, with good anchoring ground, where ships may lie safe. All Japanese pilots know this very well, and will sometimes come to an anchor upon very slight pretences. Nor, indeed, are they much to be blamed for an over-carefulness, or too great a circumspection, which some would be apt to call fear and cowardice. Their ships are not built strong enough to bear the shocks and tossings of huge raging waves. The deck is so loose that it will let the water run through, unless the mast hath been taken down and the ship covered, partly with mats, partly with sails. The stern is laid quite open, and, if the sea runs high, the waves will beat in on all sides. In short, the whole structure is so weak that, a storm approaching, unless anchor be forthwith cast, the sails taken in, and the mast let down, it is in danger every moment to be shattered to pieces.

"All the ships and boats we met with on our voyage by sea were built of fir or cedar, both which grow in great plenty in the country. They are of a different structure, according to the purposes and the waters for which they are built. The pleasure-boats, made use of only for going up and down rivers, or to cross small bays, are widely different in their structure, according to the possessor's fancy. Commonly they are built for rowing. The first and lowermost deck is flat and low; another, more lofty, with open windows, stands upon it, and this may be divided, like their houses, by folding screens, as they please, into several apartments. Several parts are curiously adorned with variety of flags and other ornaments.

"The merchant-ships which venture out at sea, though not very far from the coasts, and serve for the transport of men and goods from one island or province to another, deserve a more accurate description. They are commonly eighty-four feet long and twenty-four broad, built for sailing as well as rowing. They run tapering from the middle towards the stern, and both ends of the keel stand out of the water considerably. The body of the ship is not built bulging, as our European ones; but that part which stands below the surface of the water runs almost in a straight line towards the keel. The stern is broad and flat, with a wide opening in the middle for the easier management of the rudder, which reaches down almost to the bottom of the ship, and lays open all the inside to the eye. The deck, somewhat raised towards the stern, consists only of deal boards laid loose, without anything to fasten them together. It rises but little above the surface of the water, when the ship hath its full lading, and is almost covered with a sort of a cabin, full a man's height, only a small part of it towards the stern being left empty to lay up the anchor and other tackle. This cabin jets beyond the ship about two feet on each side; and there are sliding-windows round it, which may be opened or shut, as occasion requires. In the furthermost parts are the cabins, or rooms for passengers, separate from each other by folding screens and doors, with floors covered with fine neat mats. The furthermost cabin is always reckoned the best, and for this reason assigned to the chief passenger. The roof, or upper deck, is flattish, and made of neat boards curiously joined together. In rainy weather the mast is let down upon the upper deck, and the sail extended over it, affording to the sailors and the people employed in the ship's service shelter and a place to sleep at night. Sometimes, and the better to defend the upper deck, it is covered with common straw mats, which for this purpose lie there at hand. The ship hath but one sail, made of hemp, and very large. She hath also but one mast, standing up about a fathom beyond her middle towards the stern. This mast, which is of the same length with the ship, is hoisted up by pulleys, and again, when the ship comes to an anchor, let down upon deck. The anchors are of iron, and cables twisted of straw, and stronger than one would imagine. Ships of this burden have commonly thirty or forty hands apiece to row

them, if the wind fails. The watermen's benches are towards the stern. They row according to the air of a song, or other noise, which serves at the same time to direct and regulate their work and to encourage the rowers. They do not row after our European manner, extending their oars straight forwards, and cutting just the surface of the water, but let them fall down into the water almost perpendicularly, and then lift them up again. This way of rowing not only answers all the ends of the other, but is done with less trouble. The benches of the rowers are raised considerably above the surface of the water. Their oars are, besides, made in a particular manner, calculated for this way of rowing, being not straight like our European oars, but somewhat bent, with a movable joint in the middle, which, yielding to the violent pressure of the water, facilitates the taking them up. The ship's timbers and planks are fastened together with hooks and bands of copper. The stern is adorned with a knot of fringes made of thin, long, black strings. Men of quality in their voyages have their cabin hung all about with cloth, whereupon is stitched their coats of arms. Their pike of state, as the badge of their authority, is put up upon the stern on one side of the rudder. On the other side there is a weather-flag for the use of the pilot. In small ships, as soon as they come to an anchor, the rudder is hoisted up, and one end of it extended to the shore, so that one may pass through the opening of the stern, as through a back door, and walking over the rudder, as over a bridge, get ashore. Thus much of the ships. I proceed now to other structures and buildings travellers meet with in their journeys by land.

"It may be observed, in general, that the buildings of this country, ecclesiastical or civil, public or private, being commonly low and of wood, are by no means to be compared to ours in Europe, neither in largeness nor magnificence. The houses of private persons never exceed six kins, or thirty-six feet in height. Nay, 't is but seldom they build their houses so high, unless they design them also for warehouses. Even the palaces of the Dairi, the secular monarch, and of the princes and lords, are not above one story high. And although there be many common houses, chiefly in towns, of two stories, yet the upper story, if it deserves that name, is generally very low, unfit to be inhabited, and good for

little else but to lay up some of the least necessary household goods, it being often without a ceiling or any other cover but the bare roof. The reason of their building their houses so low, is the frequency of earthquakes, which prove much more fatal to lofty and massy buildings of stone, than to low and small houses of wood. But if the houses of the Japanese be not so large, lofty, or so substantially built as ours, they are on the other hand greatly to be admired for their uncommon neatness and cleanliness, and curious furniture. I could not help taking notice that the furniture and the several ornaments of their apartments make a far more graceful and handsome appearance in rooms of a small compass, than they would do in large, lofty halls. They have none, or but few, partition walls to divide their rooms from each other, but instead of them make use of folding screens, made of colored or gilt paper, and laid into wooden frames, which they can put up or remove whenever they please, and by this means enlarge their rooms or make them narrower, as it best suits their fancy or convenience. The floors are somewhat raised above the level of the street, and are all made of boards, neatly covered with fine mats,* the borders whereof are curiously fringed, embroidered, or otherwise neatly adorned. All mats are of the same size in all parts of the empire, to wit, a kin, or six feet long,† and half a kin broad. All the lower part of the house, the staircase leading up to the second story, if there be any, the doors, windows,‡ posts and passages, are curiously painted and varnished. The ceilings are neatly covered with gilt or silver colored paper, embellished with flowers, and the screens in several rooms curiously painted. In short, there is not one corner in the whole house but looks handsome and pretty, and this the rather since all their furniture may be bought at an easy rate.

"I must not forget to mention, that it is very healthful to live

* Three or four inches thick (according to Thunberg), and made of rushes and rice straw.

† Japanese feet, that is, for, according to Klaproth (*Annales des Emp. du Japon*), page 404, note, the *kin* is equal to seven feet four inches and a half, Rhineland (which does not differ much from our English) measure.

‡ These windows are of light frames, which may be taken out, and put in, and slid behind each other, at pleasure, divided into parallelograms like our panes of glass, and covered with paper. Glass windows are unknown.

in these houses, and that in this particular they are far beyond ours in Europe, because of their being built all of cedar wood, or fir; and because the windows are generally contrived so that upon opening them, and removing the screens which separate the rooms, a free passage is left for the air through the whole house.

"I took notice that the roof, which is covered with planks,* or shingles of wood, rests upon thick, strong, heavy beams, as large as they can get them, and that the second story is generally built stronger and more substantial than the first. This they do by reason of the frequent earthquakes which happen in this country, because, they observe, that in case of a violent shock, the pressure of the upper part of the house upon the lower, which is built much lighter, keeps the whole from being overthrown.

"The castles of the Japanese nobility are built, either on great rivers, or upon hills and rising grounds. They take in a vast deal of room, and consist commonly of three different fortresses, or enclosures, which cover and defend, or, if possible, encompass one another. Each enclosure is surrounded and defended by a clean, deep ditch, and a thick, strong wall, built of stone or earth, with strong gates. Guns they have none. The principal and innermost castle or enclosure is called the *Foumas*, that is, the true or chief castle. It is the residence of the prince or lord who is in possession of it, and as such it is distinguished from the others by a square, large, white tower, three or four stories high, with a small roof encompassing each story like a crown or garland. In the second enclosure, called *Ninmas*, that is, the second castle, are lodged the gentlemen of the prince's bed-chamber, his stewards, secretaries and other chief officers, who are to give a constant attendance about his person. The empty spaces are cultivated, and turned either into gardens or sown with rice. The third and outwardmost enclosure is called *Sotogamei*, that is, the outwardmost defence; as, also, *Ninnomas*, that is, the third castle. It is the abode of a numerous train of soldiers, courtiers, domestics and other people, everybody being permitted to come into it. The white walls, bastions, gates, each of which hath two or more stories built over it, and above all the beautiful tower of the innermost castle, are extremely pleasant

* Thunberg says, "tiles of a singular make, very thick and heavy."

to behold at a distance. There is commonly a place without the castle designed for a rendezvous and review of troops. Hence it appears, that, considering wars are carried on in this country without the use of great guns, these castles are well enough defended, and of sufficient strength to hold out a long siege. The proprietors are bound to take particular care that they be kept in constant repair. However, if there be any part thereof going to ruin, the same cannot be rebuilt without the knowledge and express leave of the emperor. Much less doth the emperor suffer new ones to be built in any part of his dominions. The castles where the princes or lords reside are commonly seated at the extremity of some large town, which encompasses them in the form of a half-moon.*

"Most of the towns are very populous, and well built. The streets are generally speaking regular, running straight forward, and crossing each other at right angles, as if they had been laid out at one time, and according to one general ground-plot. The towns are not surrounded with walls and ditches. The two chief gates, where people go in and out, are no better than the ordinary gates which stand at the end of every street, and are shut at night. Sometimes there is part of a wall built contiguous to them on each side, merely for ornament's sake. In larger towns, where some prince resides, these two gates are a little handsomer, and kept in better repair, and there is commonly a strong guard mounted, all out of respect for the residing prince. The rest of the town generally lies open to the fields, and is but seldom enclosed even with a common hedge, or ditch. In our journey to court, I counted thirty-three towns and residences of princes of the empire, some whereof we passed through, but saw others only at a distance. Common towns and large villages or boroughs, on our road, I computed at from seventy-seven to eighty or upwards.†

"I could not help admiring the great number of shops we met with in all the cities, towns and villages; whole streets being scarce anything else but continued rows of shops on both sides, and I own, for my part, that I could not well conceive how the whole country

* In a Japanese map brought home by Kämpfer the number of castles in the whole empire is set down at a hundred and forty-six.

† The whole number of towns in the empire, great and small, is set down in the above mentioned map at more than thirteen thousand.

is able to furnish customers enough, only to make the proprietors get a livelihood, much less to enrich them.

"The villages along the highways in the great island Nipon, have among their inhabitants but few farmers, the far greater part being made up by people who resort there to get their livelihood either by selling some odd things to travellers, or by servile daily labor. Most of these villages consist only of one long street, bordering on each side of the highway, which is sometimes extended to such a length as almost to reach the next village.

"The houses of country people and husbandmen consist of four low walls covered with a thatched or shingled roof. In the back part of the house the floor is somewhat raised above the level of the street, and there it is they place the hearth; the rest is covered with neat mats. Behind the street door hang rows of coarse ropes made of straw, not to hinder people from coming in or going out, but to serve instead of a lattice-window to prevent such as are without from looking in and observing what passes within doors. As to household goods they have but few. Many children and great poverty is generally what they are possessed of; and yet with some small provision of rice, plants and roots, they live content and happy.

"Passing through cities and villages and other inhabited places, we always found, upon one of the chief public streets, a small place encompassed with grates, for the supreme will, as the usual way of speaking is in this country, that is, for the imperial orders and proclamations. The lord or governor of every province publishes them in his own name for the instruction of passengers. They are written, article by article, in large, fair characters, upon a square table of a foot or two in length, standing upon a post at least twelve feet high. We saw several of these tables, as we travelled along, of different dates and upon different subjects. The chief, largest and oldest, contain the edict against the Roman Catholic religion, setting forth also proper orders relating to the image-trampling inquisition, and specifying what reward is to be given to any person or persons that discover a Christian or a priest. The lords or governors of provinces put up their own orders and edicts in the same place. This is the reason why there are sometimes so many standing behind or near one another, that it is scarce possible to see and to read them

all. Sometimes, also, they have pieces of money, in gold or silver, stuck or nailed to them, to be given as a reward to any one who discovers any fact, person or criminal therein mentioned. These grated proclamation-cases are commonly placed, in great cities, just at the entrance, and in villages and hamlets in the middle of the chief streets, where there is the most passing. Along the road there are some other orders and instructions for passengers, put up in the like manner, but upon lower posts. These come from the sheriffs, surveyors of the roads and other inferior officers, and although the things therein ordered or intimated be generally very trifling, yet they may involve a transgressor or negligent observer in great troubles and expense.

"Another remarkable thing we met with, as we travelled along, were the places of public execution, easily known by crosses, posts, and other remains of former executions. They commonly lie without the cities or villages, on the west side.

"In this heathen country fewer capital crimes are tried before the courts of justice, and less criminal blood shed by the hands of public executioners, than perhaps in any part of Christendom. So powerfully works the fear of an inevitable, shameful death upon the minds of a nation, otherwise so stubborn as the Japanese, and so regardless of their lives, that nothing else but such strictness would be able to keep them within due bounds. 'T is true, indeed, Nagasaki cannot boast of that scarcity of executions; for besides that this place hath been in a manner consecrated to cruelty and blood, by being made the common butchery of many thousand Japanese Christians, there have not been since wanting frequent executions, particularly of those people who, contrary to the severe imperial edict, cannot leave off carrying on a smuggling trade with foreigners, and who alone perhaps of the whole nation seem to be more pleased with this unlawful gain, than frightened by the shameful punishment which they must inevitably suffer if caught in the fact or betrayed to the governors.

"Of all the religious buildings to be seen in this country, the Tira, that is, the Buddhist temples, with the adjoining convents, are, doubtless, the most remarkable, as being far superior to all others, by their stately height, curious roofs, and numberless other beautiful ornaments. Such as are built within cities or villages,

stand commonly on rising grounds, and in the most conspicuous places. Others, which are without, are built on the ascent of hills and mountains. All are most sweetly seated, — a curious view of the adjacent country, a spring or rivulet of clear water, and the neighborhood of a wood, with pleasant walks, being necessary for the spots on which these holy structures are to be built.

"All these temples are built of the best cedars and firs, and adorned within with many carved images. In the middle of the temple stands a fine altar, with one or more gilt idols upon it, and a beautiful candlestick, with sweet-scented candles burning before it. The whole temple is so neatly and curiously adorned, that one would fancy himself transported into a Roman Catholic church, did not the monstrous shape of the idols, which are therein worshipped, evince the contrary. The whole empire is full of these temples, and their priests are without number. Only in and about Miako they count three thousand eight hundred and ninety-three temples, and thirty-seven thousand and ninety-three Siukku, or priests, to attend them.

"The sanctity of the Mia, or temples sacred to the gods of old worshipped in the country, requires also that they should be built in some lofty place, or, at least, at some distance from unclean, common grounds. I have elsewhere observed that they are attended only by secular persons.* A neat broad walk turns in from the highway towards these temples. At the beginning of the walk is a stately and magnificent gate, built either of stone or of wood, with a square table, about a foot and a half high, on which the name of the god to whom the temple is consecrated is written or engraved in golden characters.

"Of this magnificent entry one may justly say, *Parturiunt Montes;* for if you come to the end of the walk, which is sometimes several hundred paces long, instead of a pompous, magnificent building, you find nothing but a low, mean structure of wood, often all hid amidst trees and bushes, with one single grated window to look into it, and within either all empty, or adorned only with a looking-glass of metal, placed in the middle, and hung about with some

* Kämpfer's meaning seems to be only that the Sinto priests were not monks living together in convents, like the Buddhist clergy, but having houses and families of their own.

bundles of straw, or cut white paper, tied to a long string, in form of fringes, as a mark of the purity and sanctity of the place. The most magnificent gates stand before the temples of *Tensio dai sin*, of *Fatzman*, and of that *Kami*, or god, whom particular places choose to worship as their tutelar deity, who takes a more particular care to protect and defend them.*

" Other religious objects travellers meet with along the roads, are the Fotoge, or foreign idols, chiefly those of *Amida* and *Disisoo*, as also other monstrous images and idols, which we found upon the highways in several places, at the turning in of sideways, near bridges, convents, temples, and other buildings. They are set up partly as an ornament to the place, partly to remind travellers of the devotion and worship due to the gods. For this same purpose, drawings of these idols, printed upon entire or half sheets of paper, are pasted upon the gates of cities and villages, upon wooden posts, near bridges, upon the proclamation-cases above described, and in several other places upon the highway, which stand the most exposed to the traveller's view. Travellers, however, are not obliged to fall down before them, or to pay them any other mark of worship and respect than they are otherwise willing to do.

" On the doors and houses of ordinary people (for men of quality seldom suffer to have theirs thus disfigured) there is commonly pasted a sorry picture of one of their Lares, or house gods, printed upon a half sheet of paper. The most common is the black-horned *Giwon*, otherwise called *God-su Ten Oo* — that is, according to the literal signification of the Chinese characters for this name, *the ox-headed prince of heaven* — whom they believe to have the power of keeping the family from distempers, and other unlucky

* According to a memorandum annexed to the Japanese map already mentioned, there were in Japan twenty-seven thousand seven hundred Kami temples, one hundred and twenty-two thousand five hundred and eighty Buddhist temples, in all forty-nine thousand two hundred and eighty. By the census of 1850, there were in the United States thirty-eight thousand one hundred and eighty-three buildings used for religious worship.

It would appear that though the Sinto temples did not want worshippers who freely contributed alms to the support of the priests, yet that since the abolition of the Catholic worship, and as a sort of security against it, every Japanese was required to enroll himself as belonging to some Buddhist sect or observance.

accidents, particularly from the small-pox, which proves fatal to great numbers of their children. Others fancy they thrive extremely well, and live happy, under the protection of a countryman of Jeso, whose monstrous, frightful picture they paste upon their doors, being hairy all over his body, and carrying a large sword with both hands, which they believe he makes use of to keep off, and, as it were, to parry, all sorts of distempers and misfortunes endeavoring to get into the house.

"On the fronts of new and pretty houses I have sometimes seen dragons' or devils' heads, painted with a wide open mouth, large teeth and fiery eyes. The Chinese, and other Indian nations — nay, even the Mahomedans in Arabia and Persia — have the same placed over the doors of their houses, by the frightful aspect of this monstrous figure to keep off, as the latter say, the envious from disturbing the peace of families.

"Often, also, they put a branch of the *Fanna Skimmi* or anise-tree over their doors, which is, in like manner, believed to bring good luck into their houses; or else liverwort, which they fancy hath the particular virtue to keep off evil spirits; or some other plants or branches of trees. In villages they often place their indulgence boxes,* which they bring back from their pilgrimage to Isje, over their doors, thinking, also, by this means to bring happiness and prosperity upon their houses. Others paste long strips of paper to their doors, which the adherents of the several religious sects and convents are presented with by their clergy, for some small gratuity. There are odd, unknown characters, and divers forms of prayers, writ upon these papers, which the superstitious firmly believe to have the infallible virtue of conjuring and keeping off all manner of misfortunes. Many more amulets of the like nature are pasted to their doors, against the plague, distempers, and particular misfortunes. There is, also, one against poverty."

* These offari or indulgence-boxes are little boxes made of thin boards and filled with small sticks wrapped in bits of white paper. Great virtues are ascribed to them, but a new one is necessary every year. They are manufactured and sold by the Sinto priests.

CHAPTER XXXII.

POST-HOUSES. — IMPERIAL MESSENGERS. — INNS. — HOUSES. — THEIR FURNITURE AND INTERIOR ARRANGEMENTS. — BATHING AND SWEATING HOUSE. — GARDENS. — REFRESHMENT HOUSES. — WHAT THEY PROVIDE. — TEA.

"To accommodate travellers, there is, in all the chief villages and hamlets, a post-house, belonging to the lord of the place, where, at all times, they may find horses, porters, footmen, &c., in readiness, at certain settled prices. Travellers, of all ranks and qualities, with their retinues, resort to these post-houses, which lie at from six to sixteen English miles distance from each other, but are, generally speaking, not so good nor so well furnished upon Kiusiu as upon the great island Nipon, where we came to fifty-six in going from Osaka to Jedo. These post-houses are not built for inn-keeping, but only for stabling and exchange of horses, for which reason there is a spacious court belonging to each; also clerks and book-keepers enough, who keep accounts, in their master's name, of all the daily occurrences. The price of all such things as are to be hired at these post-houses is settled, not only according to distances, but with regard to the goodness or badness of the roads, to the price of victuals, forage, and the like. One post-house with another, a horse to ride on, with two portmantles and an adofski, may be had for eight seni a mile. A horse, which is only saddled, and hath neither men nor baggage to carry, will cost six seni; porters and kango-men, five seni, and so on.

"Messengers are waiting, day and night, at all these post-houses, to carry the letters, edicts, proclamations, &c., of the emperor and the princes of the empire, which they take up the moment they are delivered at the post-house, and carry to the next with all speed. They are kept in a small, black varnished box, bearing the coat-of-arms of the emperor or prince who sends them, which the messenger

carries upon his shoulder, tied to a small staff. Two of these messengers always run together, that in case any accident should befall either of them upon the road, the other may take his place, and deliver the box at the next post-house. All travellers, even the princes of the empire and their retinues, must retire out of the way and give a free passage to the messengers who carry letters or orders from the emperor, which they take care to signify at a due distance by ringing a small bell.

"There are inns enough, and tolerable good ones, all along the road. The best are in those villages where there are post-houses. At these even princes and princely retinues may be conveniently lodged, treated suitably to their rank, and provided with all necessaries. Like other well-built houses, they are but one story high, or, if there be two stories, the second is low, and good for little else but stowage. The inns are not broader in front than other houses, but considerably deep, sometimes forty kin, or two hundred and forty feet, with a *Tsubo* — that is, a small pleasure-garden — behind, enclosed with a neat white wall. The front hath only lattice windows, which, in the day time, are kept open. The folding screens and movable partitions which divide the several apartments, unless there be some man of quality with his retinue at that time lodged there, are also so disposed as to lay open to travellers, as they go along, a very agreeable perspective view across the whole house into the garden behind. The floor is raised about three feet above the level of the street, and by jetting out, both towards the street and garden, forms a sort of gallery, which is covered with a roof, and on which travellers pass their time, diverting themselves with sitting or walking. From it, also, they mount their horses, for fear of dirtying their feet by mounting in the street.

"In some great inns there is a passage, contrived for the conveniency of people of quality, that, coming out of their norimons, they may walk directly to their apartments, without being obliged to pass through the fore part of the house, which is commonly not over clean, and makes but an indifferent figure, being covered with poor, sorry mats, and the rooms divided only by ordinary screens. The kitchen is in this fore part of the house, and often fills it with smoke, as they have no chimneys, but only a hole in the roof to

let the smoke through. Here foot travellers and ordinary people live, among the servants. People of fashion are accommodated in the back part of the house, which is kept clean and neat to admiration. Not the least spot is to be seen upon the walls, floors, carpets, windows screens, in short, nowhere in the room, which looks as if it were quite new, and but newly furnished. There are no tables, chairs, benches, or other furniture in these rooms. They are only adorned with some *Miseratsie*, of which more presently, put into or hung up in the rooms, for travellers to amuse their leisure by examining, which, indeed, some of them very well deserve. The *Tsubo*, or garden behind the house, is also very curiously kept, for travellers to divert themselves with walking in it, and beholding the beautiful flowers it is commonly adorned with.

"The rooms in Japanese houses have seldom more than one blank wall, which is plastered with clay of Osaka, a good fine sort, and so left bare, without any other ornament. It is so thin that the least kick would break it to pieces. On all other sides the room has either windows or folding screens, which slide in grooves, as occasion requires. The lower groove is cut in a sill, which runs even with the mats, and the upper one in a beam, which comes down two or three feet from the ceiling. The beams in which the grooves run are plastered with clay of Osaka. The ceiling, to show the curious running of the veins and grain of the wood, is sometimes only covered with a thin, slight layer of a transparent varnish. Sometimes they paste it over with the same sort of variously colored and flowered paper of which their screens are made. The paper windows, which let light into the room, have wooden shutters on both sides, taken off in the day time, but put on at night.

"In the solid wall of the room there is always a *Toko*, as they call it, or sort of a cupboard, raised about a foot or more above the floor, and very near two feet deep. It commonly stands in that part of the wall which is just opposite to the door, that being reckoned the most honorable. Just before this toko two extraordinarily fine mats are laid, one upon the other, and both upon the ordinary mats which cover the floor. These are for people of the first quality to sit upon, for, upon the arrival of travellers of less note, they are removed out of the way. At the side of the toko is

a *Tokiwari*, as they call it, or side cupboard, with some few shelves which serve the landlord or travellers, if they please, to lay their most esteemed book upon, they holding it, as the Mahometans do their Alcoran, too sacred to be laid on the ground. Upon the arrival of the Dutch, this sacred book of the landlord is put out of the way. Above is a drawer, where they put up the inkhorn, paper, writings, books and other things of this kind. Here, also, travellers find sometimes the wooden box which the natives use at night, instead of a pillow. It is almost cubical, hollow, and made of six thin boards joined together, curiously varnished, smoothed, and very neat, about a span long, but not quite so broad, that travellers by turning it may lay their head in that posture which they find the most easy.* Besides this wooden pillow, travellers have no other bedding to expect from the landlord, and must carry their own along with them or lie on the mats, covering themselves with their clothes. In that side of the room next to the Toko is commonly a balcony, serving the person lodged in this, the chief room, to look out upon the neighboring garden, fields, or water, without stirring from the carpets placed below the toko.

"Beneath the floor, which is covered with fine, well-stuffed mats, is a square walled hole, which, in the winter season, after having first removed the mats, they fill with ashes and lay coals upon them to keep the room warm. The landladies in their room put a low table upon this fire-hole, and spread a large carpet or table-cloth over it, for people to sit underneath, and to defend themselves against the cold. In rooms where there are no fire-holes they use in the winter brass or earthen pots, very artfully made, and filled with ashes, with two iron sticks, which serve instead of fire-tongs, much after the same manner as they use two other small sticks at table, instead of forks.

"I come now to the above mentioned *Miseratsie*, as they call them, being curious and amusing ornaments of their rooms. In our journey to court, I took notice of the following: 1. A paper neatly bordered with a rich piece of embroidery, instead of a frame, either with the picture of a saint done apparently with a coarse pencil, and in a few, perhaps three or four, strokes, wherein, how-

* It is also used as a toilet-box, in which to keep combs, brushes, &c.

ever, the proportions and resemblance have been so far observed, that scarce anybody can miss finding out whom it was designed to represent, nor help admiring the ingenuity and skill of the master; or else a judicious moral sentence of some noted philosopher or poet, writ with his own hand, or the hand of some noted writing-master who had a mind to show his skill by a few hasty strokes or characters, indifferent enough at first sight, but nevertheless very ingeniously drawn, and such as will afford sufficient matter of amusement and speculation to a curious and attentive spectator; and, lest anybody should call their being genuine in question, they are commonly signed, not only by the writing-masters themselves, but have the hands and seals of some other witnesses put to them. They are hung up nowhere else but in the toko, as the most honorable place of the room, and this because the Japanese set a great value upon them.

2. "Pictures of Chinese, as also of birds, trees, landskips and other things, upon white screens, done by some eminent master, or rather scratched with a few hasty, affected strokes, after such a manner that, unless seen at a proper distance, they scarce appear natural.

3. "A flower-vase filled with all sorts of curious flowers, and green branches of trees, such as the season affords, curiously ranged according to the rules of art, it being as much an art in this country to arrange a flower-vase as it is in Europe to carve, or to lay a table. Sometimes there is, instead, a perfuming-pan, of excellent good workmanship, cast in brass or copper, resembling a crane, lion, dragon, or other strange animal. I took notice once that there was an earthen pot of Cologne, such as is used to keep Spauwater in, with all the cracks and fissures carefully mended, used in lieu of a flower-vase, it being esteemed a very great rarity, because of the distant place it came from, the clay it was made of, and its uncommon shape.

4. "Some strange, uncommon pieces of wood, wherein the colors and grain either naturally run after a curious and unusual manner, or have been brought by art to represent something.

5. "Some neat and beautiful network, adorning either the balcony and windows towards the garden, or the tops of the doors, screens and partitions of the chief apartments.

6. "A bunch of a tree, or a piece of a rotten root, or of an old stump, remarkable for their monstrous deformed shape.

"After this manner the chief and back apartments are furnished in great inns, and houses of substantial people. The other rooms gradually decrease in cleanliness, neatness and delicacy of furniture; the screens, windows, mats and other ornaments and household goods, after they have for some time adorned the chief apartments, and begin to be spotted and to grow old, being removed into the other rooms successively, there to be quite worn out. The chief of the other rooms is that where they keep their plate, china ware and other household goods, ranged upon the floor in curious order, according to their size, shape and use. Most of these are made of wood, thin, but strongly varnished, the greatest part upon a dark red ground. They are washed with warm water every time they have been used, and wiped clean with a cloth; by which means they will, though constantly used, keep clean and neat, and in their full lustre for several years.

"The small gallery or walk which jets out from the house towards the garden, leads to the house of office and to a bathing-stove, or hot-house. The house of office is built on one side of the back part of the house, and hath two doors to go in. Not far off stands a basin filled with water to wash your hands, commonly an oblong, rough stone, the upper part curiously cut out into the form of a basin. A new pail of bamboo hangs near it, and is covered with a neat fir or cypress board, to which they put a new handle every time it hath been used, to wit, a fresh stick of the bamboo cane, it being a very clean sort of a wood, and in a manner naturally varnished. The bathing-place, commonly built on the back side of the garden, contains either a hot-house to sweat in, or a warm bath, and sometimes both. It is made warm and got ready every evening, because the Japanese usually bathe or sweat after their day's journey is over, thinking by this means to refresh themselves, and to sweat off their weariness. As they can undress themselves in an instant, so they are ready at a minute's warning to go into it; for they need but untie their sash, and all their clothes fall down at once, leaving them quite naked, excepting a small band which they wear close to the body about their waist. Their hot-house, which they go into only to sweat, is an almost cubical trunk, or stove,

raised about three feet above the ground, and built close to the wall of the bathing-place, on the outside, — not quite six feet high, but about nine feet long, and of the same breadth. The floor is laid with small planed laths or planks, some few inches distant from each other, both for the easy passage of the rising vapors and the convenient outlet of the water. You go, or rather creep in, through a small door or shutter. There are two other shutters, one on each side, to let out the superfluous vapor. The empty space beneath, down to the ground, is enclosed with a wall to prevent the vapors from getting out on the sides. Towards the yard, just beneath the hot-house, is a furnace, part of which stands out towards the yard, where they put in the necessary water and plants. This part is shut with a clapboard when the fire is burning, to make all the vapors ascend through the inner and open part into the hot-house. There are always two tubs, one of warm the other of cold water, for such as have a mind to wash themselves.

"The garden is the only place in which we Dutchmen, being treated in all respects little better than prisoners, have liberty to walk. It is commonly square, with a back door, and walled in very neatly. There are few good houses or inns without one. If there be not room enough for a garden, they have at least an old ingrafted plum, cherry or apricot tree; and the older, the more crooked and monstrous, the greater value they put upon it. Sometimes they let the branches grow into the rooms. In order to make it bear larger flowers and in greater quantity, they trim it to a few, perhaps two or three branches. It cannot be denied but that the great number of beautiful, incarnadine double flowers, are a curious ornament to this back part of the house, but they have this disadvantage, that they bear no fruit. In some small houses and inns of less note, where there is not room enough neither for a garden nor trees, they have at least an opening or window, to let the light fall into the back rooms, before which, for the amusement and diversion of travellers, is put a small tub full of water, wherein they commonly keep alive some gold or silver fish; and for further ornament there is generally a flower-pot or two standing there. Sometimes they plant dwarf trees, which will grow easily upon pumice or other porous stones, without any earth at all, provided the root be put into the water, whence it will suck up sufficient nourish-

ment. Ordinary people often plant the same kind of trees before their street-doors.

"But to return to the Tsubo, or garden. A good one must include at least thirty feet square, and consist of the following essential parts: 1. The ground is covered partly with roundish stones of different colors, gathered in rivers or upon the sea-shore, well washed and cleaned, and those of the same kind, laid together in form of beds, partly with gravel which is swept every day, and kept clean and neat to admiration, the large stones being laid in the middle as a path to walk upon without injuring the gravel, the whole in a seeming but ingenious confusion. 2. Some few flower-bearing shrubs planted confusedly, though not without some certain rules. Amidst them stands sometimes a *Saguer*, as they call it, or scarce outlandish tree, sometimes a dwarf tree or two. 3. A small rock or hill in a corner of the garden, made in imitation of nature, curiously adorned with birds and insects cast in brass, and placed between the stones. Sometimes the model of a temple stands upon it, built, as for the sake of the prospect they generally are, on a remarkable eminence or the borders of a precipice. Often a small rivulet rushes down the stones with an agreeable noise, the whole in due proportions and as near as possible resembling nature. 4. A small thicket or wood on the side of the hill, for which the gardeners choose such trees as will grow close to one another, and plant and cut them according to their largeness, nature, and the color of their flowers and leaves, so as to make the whole very accurately imitate a natural wood or forest. 5. A cistern or pond, as mentioned above, with live fish kept in it, and surrounded with proper plants, that is, such as love a watery soil, and would lose their beauty and greenness if planted in a dry ground. It is a particular profession to lay out these gardens, and to keep them so curiously and nicely as they ought to be.

"There are innumerable smaller inns, cook-shops, saki, or ale-houses, pastry-cooks' and confectioners' shops, all along the road, even in the midst of woods and forests, and at the tops of mountains, where a weary foot-traveller, and the meaner sort of people, find at all times, for a few seni, something warm to eat, or hot tea, or saki, or somewhat else of the kind, wherewith to refresh themselves. 'T is true, these cook-shops are but poor, sorry houses, if

compared to larger inns, being inhabited only by poor people, who have enough to do to get a livelihood by this trade; and yet, even in these, there is always something or other to amuse passengers, and to draw them in; sometimes a garden and orchard behind the house, which is seen from the street, looking through the passage, and which, by its beautiful flowers, or the agreeable sight of a stream of clear water, falling down from a neighboring natural or artificial hill, or by some other curious ornament of this kind, tempts people to come in and repose themselves. At other times, a large flower-pot stands in the window, filled with flowering branches of trees, disposed in a very curious manner. Sometimes a handsome, well-looking housemaid, or a couple of young girls, well dressed, stand under the door, and with great civility invite people to come in, and to buy something. The eatables, such as cakes, or whatever it be, are kept before the fire, in an open room, sticking to skewers of bamboos, so that passengers, as they go along, may take them and pursue their journey without stopping. The landladies, cooks and maids, as soon as they see anybody coming at a distance, blow up the fire, to make it look as if the victuals had been just got ready. Some busy themselves with making the tea, others prepare soup, others fill cups with saki, or other liquors, to present them to passengers, all the while talking and chattering, and commending their merchandise with a voice loud enough to be heard by their next neighbors of the same profession.

"The eatables sold at these cook-shops, besides tea, and sometimes saki, are *mansie*, a sort of round cakes, which they learned to make from the Portuguese, as big as common hens' eggs, and filled within with black-bean flower and sugar; cakes of the jelly of a root found upon mountains, and cut into round slices, like carrots, and roasted; snails, oysters, shell-fish, and other small fish, roasted, boiled, or pickled; Chinese *laxa*, a thin sort of pap, or paste, made of fine wheat flour, cut into small, thin, long slices, and baked; all sorts of plants, roots, and sprigs, which the season affords, washed and boiled in water with salt; innumerable other dishes peculiar to this country, made of seeds, powdered roots, and vegetables, boiled or baked, dressed in many different ways.

"The common sauce for these and other dishes is a little *soy*, as they call it, mixed with *saki*, or the beer of the country. *Szuzsie*

leaves are laid upon the dish for ornament, and sometimes thin slices of fine ginger and lemon-peel. Sometimes they put powdered ginger, sansio, or the powder of some root growing in the country, into the soup. They are also provided with sweet-meats, of several different colors and sorts, which, generally speaking, are far more agreeable to the eye than pleasing to the taste, being but indifferently sweetened with sugar, and so tough that one must have good teeth to chew them. Foot travellers find it set down in their printed road-books, which they always carry about them, where, and at what price, the best victuals of the kind are to be got.

"Tea (since most travellers drink scarce anything else upon the road) is sold at all the inns and cook-shops, besides many tea-booths set up for this trade alone, in the midst of fields and woods, and at the tops of mountains. The tea sold at all these places is but a coarse sort, being only the largest leaves, which remain upon the shrub after the youngest and tenderest have been plucked off, at two different times, for the use of people of fashion, who constantly drink it, before or after their meals. These larger leaves are not rolled up and curled, as the better sort of tea is, but simply roasted in a pan, and continually stirred whilst they are roasting, lest they should get a burnt taste. When they are done enough, they put them by in straw baskets, under the roof of the house, near the place where the smoke comes out. They are not a bit nicer in preparing it for drinking, for they commonly take a good handful of the tea leaves, and boil them in a large iron kettle full of water. The leaves are sometimes put into a small bag; but, if not, they have a little basket swimming in the kettle, which they make use of to keep the leaves down, when they have a mind to take out some of the clear decoction. Half a cup of this decoction is mixed with cold water, when travellers ask for it. Tea thus prepared smells and tastes like lye — the leaves it is made of, besides that they are of a very bad sort, being seldom less than a year old; and yet the Japanese esteem it much more healthful for daily use than the young, tender leaves, prepared after the Chinese manner, which they say affect the head too strongly, though even these lose a great part of their narcotic quality when boiled."*

* The most recent visitors to Japan all agree in representing the common tea of the country as an inferior article, not suited for exportation.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

NUMBER OF PEOPLE ON THE ROAD. — PRINCELY RETINUES. — PILGRIMS TO ISJE. — SIUNSE PILGRIMS. — NAKED DEVOTEES. — RELIGIOUS BEGGARS. — BEGGING ORDER OF NUNS. — JAMABO, OR MOUNTAIN PRIESTS. — BUDDHIST BEGGARS. — SINGULAR BELL-CHIMING. — HUCKSTERS AND PEDLERS. — COURTESANS.

"It is scarce credible," says Kämpfer, "what numbers of people daily travel in this country; and I can assure the reader, from my own experience, having passed it four times, that Tokaido, which is, indeed, the most frequented of the seven great roads in Japan, is upon some days more crowded than the public streets in any of the most populous towns in Europe. This is owing partly to the country's being extremely populous, partly to the frequent journeys which the natives undertake, oftener than perhaps any other people.

"It is the duty of the princes and lords of the empire, as also of the governors of the imperial cities and crown lands, to go to court once a year to pay their homage and respect. They are attended, going up and returning, by their whole court, and travel with a pomp and magnificence, becoming as well their own quality and riches as the majesty of the powerful monarch whom they are going to see. The train of some of the most eminent fills up the road for some days. Though we travelled pretty fast, yet we often met the baggage and fore-runners, consisting of the servants and inferior officers, for two days together, dispersed in several troops, and the prince himself followed but the third day, attended with his numerous court, all marching in admirable order. The retinue of one of the chief *Daimios*, as they are called, is computed to amount to about twenty thousand men, more or less; that of a *Seiomio* to about ten thousand; that of a governor of the imperial cities and

crown lands to from one to several hundreds, according to his quality or revenues.*

"If two or more of these princes and lords should chance to travel the same road, at the same time, they would prove a great hindrance to one another, particularly if they should happen to meet at the same post-house, or village; to prevent which, it is usual for great princes and lords to bespeak the several post-houses by which they are to pass, with all the inns, those of the first quality a month, others a week or two, before their arrival. The time of their intended arrival is also notified in all the cities, villages, and hamlets, by putting up small boards on high poles of bamboo, signifying in a few characters what day of the month such or such a lord will be at that village, to dine or to sleep there.

"Numerous troops of fore-runners, harbingers, clerks, cooks, and other inferior officers, go before to provide lodgings, victuals, and other things necessary for the entertainment of their prince and master, and his court. They are followed by the prince's heavy baggage, packed up either in small trunks, as already described, and carried upon horses, each with a banner, bearing the coat-of-arms and the name of the possessor, or else in large chests, covered with red lackered leather, again with the possessor's coat-of-arms, and carried upon men's shoulders, with multitudes of inspectors to look after them. Next come great numbers of smaller retinues, belonging to the chief officers and noblemen attending the prince, with pikes, scymitars, bows and arrows, umbrellas, palanquins, led horses, and other marks of their grandeur, suitable to their birth, quality, and office. Some of these are carried in norimons, others in kangos, others go on horseback.

* These great retinues are thus accounted for by Thunberg: "As both the monarch himself and all the princes of the country are clothed and dress their hair in the same manner as the rest of the inhabitants, and being destitute of thrones, jewels, and other like paraphernalia, cannot be so distinguished from others, they have adopted the expedient of exhibiting themselves on journeys and festive occasions according to their condition in life, and the dignity of their respective offices, with a great number of people, officers, and attendants, hovering about them." The statement already quoted from Caron — see ante, p. 199 — as to the numbers composing these princely retinues, is much less than that given above, and probably nearer the truth.

"The prince's own numerous train, marching in an admirable and curious order, is divided into several troops, each headed by a proper commanding officer, as, 1. Five, more or less, fine horses, each led by two grooms, one on each side, two footmen walking behind. 2. Five or six, and sometimes more, porters, richly clad, walking one by one, and carrying lackered chests, and japanned neat trunks and baskets, upon their shoulders, wherein are kept the wearing apparel and other necessaries for the daily use of the prince, each porter attended by two footmen. 3. Ten or more fellows, walking one by one, and carrying rich scymitars, pikes of state, fire-arms, and other weapons, in lackered wooden cases, as, also, quivers with bows and arrows. Sometimes, for magnificence sake, there are more chest-bearers and led horses following this troop. 4. Two, three, or more men, who carry pikes of state, as the badges of the prince's power and authority, adorned at the upper end with bunches of cock feathers, or other ornaments peculiar to such or such a prince. They walk one by one, and are attended each by two footmen. 5. A gentleman, attended by two footmen, carrying the prince's hat, worn as a shelter from the heat of the sun, and which is covered with black velvet. 6. A gentleman carrying the prince's sombrero, or umbrella, which is covered in like manner with black velvet, this person also attended by two footmen. 7. Some more bearers of trunks, covered with varnished leather, with the prince's coat-of-arms upon them, each with two men to take care of it. 8. Sixteen, more or less, of the prince's pages, and gentlemen of his bed-chamber, taken out from among the first quality of his court, richly clad, and walking two and two before his norimon. 9. The prince himself, sitting in a stately norimon, carried by six or eight men, clad in rich liveries, with several others walking at the norimon's sides, to take it up by turns; also, two or three gentlemen of the prince's bed-chamber, to give him what he wants and asks for, and to assist and support him in getting in or out. 10. Two or three horses of state, the saddles covered with black. One of these horses carries a large elbow-chair, which is sometimes covered with black velvet. These horses are attended each by several grooms and footmen in liveries, and some are led by the prince's own pages. 11. Two pike-bearers. 12. Ten or more people, carrying each two baskets of a

monstrous size, fixed to the ends of a pole, which they lay on their shoulders in such a manner that one basket hangs down before and the other behind them. These baskets are more for state than for any use. Sometimes some chest-bearers walk among them, to increase the troop. In this order marches the prince's own train, which is followed by six to twelve led horses with their leaders, grooms and footmen, all in liveries. The procession is closed by a multitude of the prince's domestics and other officers of his court, with their own numerous trains and attendants, pike-bearers, chest-bearers and footmen, in liveries. Some of these are carried in kangos, and the whole troop is headed by the prince's high-steward, carried in a norimon. If one of the prince's sons accompanies his father in this journey to court, he follows with his own train immediately after his father's norimon.

"It is a sight exceedingly curious and worthy of admiration, to see all the persons who compose the numerous train of a great prince, clad, the pike-bearers, the norimon-men and livery-men only excepted, in black silk, marching in an elegant order, with a decent, becoming gravity, and keeping so profound a silence, that not the least noise is to be heard, save what must necessarily arise from the motion and rushing of their dresses, and the trampling of the horses and men. On the other hand, it appears ridiculous to an European to see all the pike-bearers and norimon-men, with their clothes tucked up above their waists, exposing their nakedness to the spectators' view, with only a piece of cloth about their loins. What appears still more odd and whimsical is to see the pages, pike-bearers, umbrella and hat bearers, chest-bearers, and all the footmen in liveries, affect, when they pass through some remarkable town, or by the train of another prince or lord, a strange mimic march or dance. Every step they make, they draw up one foot quite to their backs, stretching out the arm on the opposite side as far as they can, and putting themselves in such a posture, as if they had a mind to swim through the air. Meanwhile the pikes, hats, umbrellas, chests, boxes, baskets, and whatever else they carry, are danced and tossed about in a very singular manner, answering to the motion of their bodies. The norimon-men, who have their sleeves tied with a string as near the shoulders as possible, so as to leave their arms naked, carry the pole of the norimon either upon their

shoulders, or else upon the palms of their hands, holding it above their heads. Whilst they hold it up with one arm, they stretch out the other, putting the hand into a horizontal posture, whereby, and by their short, deliberate steps and stiff knees, they affect a ridiculous fear and circumspection. If the prince steps out of his norimon into one of the green huts which are purposely built for him at convenient distances on the road, or if he goes into a private house, either to drink a dish of tea or for any other purpose, he always leaves a kobang with the landlord as a reward for his trouble. At dinner or supper the expense is much greater.

"All the pilgrims who go to Isje, whatever province of the empire they come from, must travel over part of this great road. This pilgrimage is made at all times of the year, but particularly in the spring, at which season vast multitudes of these pilgrims are seen upon the roads. The Japanese of both sexes, young and old, rich and poor, undertake this meritorious journey, generally speaking, on foot, in order to obtain, at this holy place, indulgences and remission of their sins. Some of these pilgrims are so poor, that they must live wholly upon what they get by begging. On this account, and by reason of their great number, they are exceedingly troublesome to the princes and lords, who at that time of the year go to court, or come thence, though otherwise they address themselves in a very civil manner, bareheaded, and with a low, submissive voice, saying, 'Great Lord, be pleased to give the poor pilgrim a seni, towards the expense of his journey to Isje,' or words to that effect. Of all the Japanese, the inhabitants of Jedo and the province Osju are the most inclined to this pilgrimage. Children, if apprehensive of severe punishment for their misdemeanors, will run away from their parents and go to Isje, thence to fetch an *Ofarri*, or indulgence, which upon their return is deemed a sufficient expiation of their crimes, and a sure means to reconcile them to their friends. Multitudes of these pilgrims are obliged to pass whole nights, lying in the open fields, exposed to all the injuries of wind and weather, some for want of room in inns, others out of poverty; and of these last many are found dead upon the road, in which case their *Ofarri*, if they have any about them, is carefully taken up and hid in the next tree or bush.

"Others make this pilgrimage in a comical and merry way, drawn-

ing people's eyes upon them, as well as getting their money. They form themselves into companies, generally of four persons, clad in white linen, after the fashion of the Kuge, or persons of the holy ecclesiastical court of the Dairi. Two of them walking a grave, slow, deliberate pace, and standing often still, carry a large barrow, adorned and hung about with fir-branches and cut white paper, on which they place a resemblance of a large bell, made of light substance, or a kettle, or something else, alluding to some old romantic history of their gods and ancestors; whilst a third, with a commander's staff in his hand, adorned, out of respect to his office, with a bunch of white paper, walks, or rather dances, before the barrow, singing with a dull, heavy voice, a song relating to the subject they are about to represent. Meanwhile, the fourth goes begging before the houses, or addresses himself to charitable travellers, and receives and keeps the money which is given them. Their day's journeys are so short, that they can easily spend the whole summer upon such an expedition.

"The *Siunse*, another remarkable sight travellers meet with upon the roads, are people, who go to visit in pilgrimage the thirty-three chief Quanwon temples, which lie dispersed throughout the empire. They commonly travel two or three together, singing a miserable Quanwon-song from house to house, and sometimes playing upon a fiddle, or upon a guitar, as vagabond beggars do in Germany. However, they do not importune travellers for their charity. They have the names of such Quanwon temples as they have not yet visited writ upon a small board hanging about their necks. They are clad in white, after a very singular fashion, peculiar only to this sect. Some people like so well to ramble about the country after this manner that they will apply themselves to no other trade and profession, but choose to end their days in this perpetual pilgrimage.

"Sometimes one meets with very odd sights; as, for instance, people running naked along the roads in the hardest frosts, wearing only a little straw about their waists. These people generally undertake so extraordinary and troublesome a journey to visit certain temples, pursuant to religious vows, which they promised to fulfil in case they should obtain, from the bounty of their gods, deliverance from some fatal distemper, they themselves, their parents or

relations, labor under, or from some other great misfortunes they were threatened with. They live very poorly and miserably upon the road, receive no charity, and proceed on their journey by themselves, almost perpetually running.

"Multitudes of beggars crowd the roads in all parts of the empire, but particularly on the so much frequented Tokaido, among them many lusty young fellows, who shave their heads. To this shaved begging tribe belongs a certain remarkable religious order of young girls, called *Bikuni*, which is as much as to say, nuns. They live under the protection of the nunneries at Kamakura and Miako, to which they pay a certain sum a year, of what they get by begging, as an acknowledgment of their authority. They are, in my opinion, by much the handsomest girls we saw in Japan. The daughters of poor parents, if they be handsome and agreeable, apply for and easily obtain this privilege of begging in the habit of nuns, knowing that beauty is one of the most persuasive inducements to generosity. The *Jamabo*, or begging mountain priests (of whom more hereafter), frequently incorporate their own daughters into this religious order, and take their wives from among these Bikuni. Some of them have been bred up as courtesans, and having served their time, buy the privilege of entering into this religious order, therein to spend the remainder of their youth and beauty. They live two or three together, and make an excursion every day some few miles from their dwelling-house. They particularly watch people of fashion, who travel in norimons, or in kangos, or on horseback. As soon as they perceive somebody coming they draw near and address themselves, though not all together, but singly, every one accosting a gentleman by herself singing a rural song; and if he proves very liberal and charitable, she will keep him company and divert him for some hours. As, on the one hand, very little religious blood seems to circulate in their veins, so, on the other, it doth not appear that they labor under any considerable degree of poverty. It is true, indeed, they conform themselves to the rules of their order, by shaving their heads, but they take care to cover and to wrap them up in caps or hoods made of black silk. They go decently and neatly dressed, after the fashion of ordinary people. They wear also a large hat to cover their faces, which are often painted, and to shelter themselves from the heat of the sun.

They commonly have a shepherd's rod or hook in their hands. Their voice, gestures, and apparent behavior, are neither too bold and daring, nor too much dejected and affected, but free, comely and seemingly modest. However, not to extol their modesty beyond what it deserves, it must be observed, that they make nothing of laying their bosoms quite bare to the view of charitable travellers, all the while they keep them company, under pretence of its being customary in the country; and, for aught I know, they may be, though never so religiously shaved, full as impudent and lascivious as any public courtesan.

"Another religious begging order is that of the *Jamabo*, as they are commonly called; that is, the mountain priests, or rather *Jamabuo*, mountain soldiers, because at all times they go armed with swords and scymitars. They do not shave their heads, but follow the rules of the first founder of this order, who mortified his body by climbing up steep, high mountains; at least, they conform themselves thereunto in their dress, apparent behavior, and some outward ceremonies; for they are fallen short of his rigorous way of life. They have a head, or general, of their order, residing at Miako, to whom they are obliged to bring a certain sum of money every year, and who has the distribution of dignities and of titles, whereby they are known among themselves. They commonly live in the neighborhood of some famous Kami temple, and accost travellers in the name of that Kami which is worshipped there, making a short discourse of his holiness and miracles, with a loud, coarse voice. Meanwhile, to make the noise still louder, they rattle their long staffs, loaded at the upper end with iron rings, to take up the charity money which is given them; and, last of all, they blow a trumpet made of a large shell. They carry their children along with them upon the same begging errand, clad like their fathers, but with their heads shaved. These little bastards are exceedingly troublesome and importunate with travellers, and commonly take care to light on them, as they are going up some hill or mountain, where, because of the difficult ascent, they cannot well escape, nor indeed otherwise get rid of them without giving them something. In some places they and their fathers accost travellers in company with a troop of Bikuni, and, with their rattling, singing, trumpeting, chattering and crying, make such a frightful noise,

as would make one almost mad or deaf. These mountain priests are frequently applied to by superstitious people, for conjuring, fortune-telling, foretelling future events, recovering lost goods, and the like purposes. They profess themselves to be of the Kami religion, as established of old, and yet they are never suffered to attend, or to take care of, any of the Kami temples.

"There are many more beggars travellers meet with along the roads. Some of these are old, and, in all appearance, honest men, who, the better to prevail upon people to part with their charity, are shaved and clad after the fashion of the Budsdo priests. Sometimes there are two of them standing together, each with a small, oblong book before him. This book contains part of their Fokekio, or Bible, printed in the significant or learned language.* However, I would not have the reader think, as if they themselves had any understanding in that language, or know how to read the book placed before them. They only learn some part of it by heart, and speak it aloud, looking towards the book, as if they did actually read in it, and expecting something from their hearers, as a reward for their trouble.

"Others are found sitting near some river, or running water, making a *Siegaki*, —a certain ceremony for the relief of departed souls. This Siegaki is made after the following manner: They take a green branch of the *Fauna Skimmi* tree, and, murmuring certain words with a low voice, wash and scour it with some shavings of wood, whereon they had written the names of some deceased persons. This they believe to contribute greatly to relieve and refresh the departed souls confined in purgatory; and, for aught I know, it may answer that purpose full as well as any number of masses, as they are celebrated to the same end in Roman Catholic countries. Any person that hath a mind to purchase the benefit of this washing, for himself or his relations and friends, throws a seni upon the mat, which is spread out near the beggar, who does not so much as offer to return him any manner of thanks for it, thinking his art and devotion deserve still better; besides that, it is not customary amongst beggars of note to thank people for their charity. Any one who hath learned the

* This is the Sanscrit.

proper ceremonies necessary to make the Siegaki, is at liberty to do it.

"Others of this tribe, who make up far the greater part, sit upon the road all day long, upon a small, coarse mat. They have a flat bell, like a broad mortar, lying before them, and do nothing else but repeat, with a lamentable singing tune, the word *Namada*, which is contracted from *Namu Amida Budsu*, a short form of prayer wherewith they address Amida, as the patron and advocate of departed souls. Meanwhile they beat almost continually with a small wooden hammer upon the aforesaid bell, and this, they say, in order to be the sooner heard by Amida, and, I am apt to think, not without an intent too to be the better taken notice of by passengers.

"Another sort we met with as we went along were differently clad, some in an ecclesiastical, others in a secular habit. These stood in the fields, next to the road, and commonly had a sort of altar standing before them, upon which they placed the idol of their Briaréus, or Quanwon, as they call him, carved in wood, and gilt; or the pictures of some other idols, scurvily done, as, for instance, the picture of Amida, the supreme judge of departed souls; of *Semaus*, or the head-keeper of the prison, whereunto the condemned souls are confined; of *Dsisoo*, or the supreme commander in the purgatory of children, and some others, wherewith, and by some representations of the flames and torments prepared for the wicked in a future world, they endeavor to stir up in passengers compassion and charity.

"Other beggars, and these, to all appearance, honest enough, are met sitting along the road, clad much after the same manner with the Quanwon beggars, with a *Dsisoo* staff in their hand. These have made vow not to speak during a certain time, and express their want and desire only by a sad, dejected, woeful countenance.*

"Not to mention numberless other common beggars, some sick, some stout and lusty enough, who get people's charity by praying, singing, playing upon fiddles, guitars, and other musical instru-

* The letters of the Jesuit missionaries contain accounts of Buddhist devotees who went so far as to drown or otherwise destroy themselves. Kämpfer, and the writers since his time, make no mention of such extreme fanaticism, which, however, is a natural outgrowth from the doctrine of the Buddhists.

ments, or performing some juggler's tricks, I will close the account of this vermin with an odd, remarkable sort of a beggar's music, or rather chime of bells, we sometimes, but rarely, met with in our journey to court. A young boy, with a sort of a wooden machine pendent from his neck, and a rope, with eight strings about it, from which hang down eight bells, of different sounds, turns round in a circle, with a swiftness scarce credible, in such a manner that both the machine, which rests upon his shoulders, and the bells, turn round with him horizontally, the boy, in the mean while, with great dexterity and quickness, beating them with two hammers, makes a strange, odd sort of a melody. To increase the noise, two people sitting near him beat, one upon a large, the other upon a smaller drum. Those who are pleased with their performance throw them some seni as they pass.*

"The crowd and throng upon the roads is not a little increased by numberless small retail merchants, and children of country people, who run about from morning to night, following travellers, and offering them for sale their poor, for the most part eatable, merchandise — such as several cakes and sweetmeats, wherein the quantity of sugar is so inconsiderable that it is scarce perceptible, other cakes, of different sorts, made of flour, roots boiled in water and salt, road-books, straw-shoes for horses and men, ropes, strings, tooth-pickers, and a multitude of other trifles, made of wood, straw, reed, and bamboos.

* Great numbers of the Japanese musicians, as Kämpfer tells us in another place, are blind men, who constitute a sort of order or society, which boasts as its legendary founder a certain general, of the family of the Feiji, who, at the time of the civil war which ended in the destruction of that family, was taken prisoner by Joritomo. Notwithstanding repeated attempts at escape, he was very kindly treated, and was pressed to enter into the service of his captor. But, not being able to look upon the destroyer of the Feiji without an irresistible desire to kill him, not to be outdone in generosity, he plucked out his eyes and presented them to Joritomo on a plate!

There is another — more ancient, but less numerous — order of the blind, composed exclusively of ecclesiastical persons, and claiming as its founder a legendary prince, who cried himself blind at the death of his beautiful mistress.

The blind are numerous, and disorders of the eyes are very common in Japan.

"Nor must I forget to take notice of the numberless wenches the great and small inns and the tea-booths and cook-shops in villages and hamlets are furnished withal. About noon, when they have done dressing and painting themselves, they make their appearance, standing under the door of the house, or sitting upon the small gallery around it, whence, with a smiling countenance and good words, they invite the travelling troops that pass by to call in at their inn, preferably to others. In some places, where there are several inns standing near one another, they make, with their chattering and rattling, no inconsiderable noise, and prove not a little troublesome.

"I cannot forbear mentioning in this place a small mistake of Mr. Caron, in his account of Japan, where he shows so tender a regard for the honor of the Japanese sex (perhaps out of respect to his lady, who was a Japan woman) as to assert that, except in the privileged houses devoted to it, this trade is not elsewhere carried on. It is unquestionably true that there is hardly a public inn upon the great island Nipon, but what is provided with courtesans, and if too many customers resort to one place, the neighboring innkeepers will lend their wenches, on condition that what money they get shall be faithfully paid them. Nor is it a new custom come up but lately, or since Mr. Caron's time. On the contrary, it is of very old date, and took its rise, as the Japanese say, many hundred years ago, in the times of that brave general and first secular monarch, Joritomo, who, apprehensive lest his soldiers, weary of his long and tedious expeditions, and desirous to return home to their wives and children, should desert his army, thought it much more advisable to indulge them in this particular."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

DEPARTURE FROM NAGASAKI. — TRAIN OF THE DUTCH. — THE DAY'S JOURNEY. — TREATMENT OF THE DUTCH. — RESPECT SHOWN THEM IN THE ISLAND OF XIMO. — CARE WITH WHICH THEY ARE WATCHED. — INNS AT WHICH THEY LODGE. — THEIR RECEPTION AND TREATMENT THERE. — POLITENESS OF THE JAPANESE. — LUCKY AND UNLUCKY DAYS. — SEIMEI, THE ASTROLOGER.

"ALL the princes, lords, and vassals of the Japanese empire being obliged," says Kämpfer, "to make their appearance at court once a year, it hath been determined by the emperor what time and what day they are to set out on their journey. The same is observed with regard to the Dutch, and the fifteenth or sixteenth day of the first Japanese month, which commonly falls in with the middle of our February, hath been fixed for our constant departure. Towards that time we get everything ready to set out, having first sent by sea, as already mentioned, to the city of Simonoseki the presents we are to make, sorted and carefully packed, together with the other heavy baggage, and the victuals and kitchen furniture for our future travels. Three or four weeks after, and a few days before our departure, our president, attended with his usual train, goes to visit the two governors of Nagasaki, at their palaces, to take his leave of them, and to recommend the Dutch who remain in our factory to their favor and protection. The next day, all the goods and other things which must be carried along with us are marked — every bale or trunk — with a small board, whereupon is writ the possessor's name, and the contents. The day of our departure, all the officers of our island, and all persons who are any ways concerned with our affairs, particularly the future companions of our voyage, come over to Desima early in the morning. They are followed soon after by both governors, attended with their whole numerous court, or else by their deputies, who come to wish us a good journey. The governors — or their depu-

ties — having been entertained as usual upon this occasion, and taken their leave, are by us accompanied out of our island, which is done commonly about nine in the morning, at which time, also, we set out on our journey. The *Bugio*, or commander-in-chief, of our train, and the Dutch president, enter their norimons. The chief interpreter, if he be old, is carried in an ordinary kango; others mount on horseback, and the servants go afoot. All the Japanese officers of our island, and several friends and acquaintances of our Japanese companions, keep us company out of the town so far as the next inn.

"Our train is not the same in the three several parts of our journey. Over the island Kiusiu, it may amount, with all the servants and footmen, as, also, the gentlemen whom the lords of the several provinces we pass through send to compliment us, and to keep us company during our stay in their dominions, to about an hundred persons. In our voyage by sea it is not much less, all the sailors and watermen taken in. In the last part, over the great island Nipon, from Osaka to Jedo, it is considerably greater, and consists of no less than an hundred and fifty people, and this, by reason of the presents and other goods which came from Nagasaki, as far as Osaka by sea, but must now be taken out and carried by land to Jedo, by horses and men.

"All our heavy baggage is commonly sent away some hours before we set out ourselves, lest it should be a hindrance to us, as, also, to give timely notice to our landlords of our arrival. We set out early in the morning, and, save only one hour for dinner, travel till evening, and, sometimes, till late at night, making from ten to thirteen Japanese leagues a day. In our voyage by sea, we put into some harbor, and come to an anchor every night, advancing forty Japanese water-leagues a day at farthest.

"We are better treated, and more honorably received, in our journey over Kiusiu than upon the great island Nipon, though everywhere we have much more civility shown us by the inhabitants of the cities and districts through which we pass, than by our Nagasakian companions, and our own servants, who eat our bread and travel at our expense. In our journey across the island Kiusiu, we receive nearly the same honors and civility from the lords of the several provinces we pass through, as they show to travelling

princes and their retinues. The roads are swept and cleaned before us, and in cities and villages they are watered to lay the dust. The common people, laborers and idle spectators, who are so very troublesome to travellers upon the great island Nipon, are kept out of the way, and the inhabitants of the houses on either side of the roads and streets see us go by, either sitting in the back part of their houses, or kneeling in the fore part, behind a screen, with great respect and in a profound silence. All the princes and lords, whose dominions we are to pass through, send one of their noblemen to compliment us, as soon as we enter upon their territories; but, as he is not suffered to address us in person, he makes his compliment in his master's name to the Bugio, or commander-in-chief of our train, and to the chief interpreter, offering, at the same time, what horses and men we want for us and our baggage. He likewise orders four footmen to walk by every Dutchman's side, and two gentlemen of some note at his court, who are clad in black silk, with staffs in their hands, to precede the whole train. After this manner they lead us through their master's territories, and, when we come to the limits thereof, the Japanese companions of our voyage are treated with saki and *socano*, and so they take their leave. For our passage over the bays of *Omura* and *Simabara*, the lords of these two places lend us their own pleasure-barges, and their own watermen, besides that they furnish us with abundance of provisions, without expecting even so much as a small present in return for their civil and courteous behavior; and yet our thievish interpreters never miss to lay hold of this advantage, putting this article upon our accounts as if we had actually been at the expense; and they commonly put the money into their own pockets. In our whole journey from Nagasaki to Kokura, everybody we meet with shows us and our train that deference and respect which is due only to the princes and lords of the country. Private travellers, whether they travel on foot or on horseback, must retire out of the way — those who hesitate about it being compelled to it by the officers — and, bareheaded, humbly bowing, wait in the next field till our whole retinue is gone by. I took notice of some country people, who do not only retire out of the way, but turn us their back, as not worthy to behold us — the greatest mark of civility a Japanese can possibly show. None, or but few, of these public marks of

honor and respect are shown us in our journey over the great island Nipon.

"As to what concerns our accommodation on the road, the same is — with regard to the carriage of us and of our baggage, the number of horses and men provided for that purpose, the inns, lodgings, eating, and attendance — as good for our money as we could possibly desire. But, on the other hand, if we consider the narrow compass allowed us, we have too much reason to complain; for we are treated in a manner like prisoners, deprived of all liberty, excepting that of looking about the country from our horses, or out of our kangos, which, indeed, it is impossible for them to deny us. As soon as a Dutchman alights from his horse (which is taken very ill, unless urgent necessity obliges him), he that rides before our train, and the whole train after him, must stop suddenly, and the Dosiu and two other attendants must come down from their horses to take immediate care of him. Nay, they watch us to that degree that they will not leave us alone, not even for the most necessary occasions. The Bugio, or commander-in-chief of our train, studies day and night, not only the contents of his instructions, but the journals of two or three preceding journeys, in order exactly, and step by step, to follow the actions and behavior of his predecessors. 'T is looked upon as the most convincing proof of his faithfulness and good conduct still to exceed them. Nay, some of these blockheads are so capricious that no accident whatever can oblige them to go to any other inns but those we had been at the year before, even though we should, upon this account, be forced in the worst weather, with the greatest inconveniency, and at the very peril of our lives, to travel till late at night.

"We go to the same inns which the princes and lords of the country resort to, that is, to the very best of every place. The apartments are at that time hung with the colors and arms of the Dutch East India Company, and this in order to notify to the neighborhood who they be that lodge there, as is customary in the country. We always go to the same inns, with this difference only, that, upon our return from Jedo, we lie at the place we dined at in going up, by this means equally to divide the trouble, which is much greater at night than at dinner. We always take up our lodging in the back apartment of the house, which is by much the

pleasantest; also otherwise, as has been mentioned, reckoned the chief. The landlord observes the same customs upon our arrival, as upon the arrival of the princes and lords of the empire. He comes out of the town or village into the fields to meet us, clad in a kamisimo, or garment of ceremony, and wearing a short scymetar stuck in his girdle, making his compliments with a low bow, which before the norimons of the Bugio and our Resident is so low, that he touches the ground with his hands and almost with his forehead. This done, he hastens back to his house, and receives us at the entry a second time, in the same manner, and with the same compliments.

"As soon as we are come to the inn, our guardians and keepers carry us forthwith across the house to our apartments. Nor, indeed, are we so much displeased at this, since the number of spectators and the petulant scoffing of the children, but, above all, the exhaustion of a fatiguing journey, make us desirous to take our rest, the sooner the better. We are, as it were, confined to our apartments, having no other liberty but to walk out into the small garden behind the house. All other avenues, all the doors, windows and holes, which open any prospect towards the streets or country, are carefully shut and nailed up, in order, as they would fain persuade us, to defend us and our goods from thieves, but in fact to watch and guard us as thieves and deserters. It must be owned, however, that this superabundant care and watchfulness is considerably lessened upon our return, when we have found means to insinuate ourselves into their favor, and by presents and otherwise to procure their connivance.

"The Bugio takes possession of the best apartment after ours. The several rooms next to our own are taken up by the Dosis, interpreters and other chief officers of our retinue, in order to be always near at hand to watch our conduct, and to care that none of our landlord's domestics nor any other person presume to come into our apartment, unless it be by their leave and in their presence; and in their absence they commit this care to some of their own or our servants; though all the companions of our voyage in general are strictly charged to have a watchful eye over us. Those who exceed their fellow-servants in vigilance are, by way of encour-

agement, permitted to make the journey again the next year. Otherwise they stand excluded for two years.

"As soon as we have taken possession of our apartment, in comes the landlord with some of his chief male domestics, each with a dish of tea in his hand, which they present to every one of us with a low bow, according to his rank and dignity, and repeating, with a submissive, deep-fetched voice, the words, *ah! ah! ah!* They are all clad in their garments of ceremony, which they wear only upon great occasions, and have each a short scymetar stuck in his girdle, which they never quit, so long as the company stays in the house. This done, the necessary apparatus for smoking is brought in, consisting of a board of wood or brass, though not always of the same structure, upon which are placed a small fire-pan with coals, a pot to spit in, a small box filled with tobacco cut small, and some long pipes with small brass heads; as also another japanned board, or dish, with *Socano*,* that is, something to eat, as, for instance, several sorts of fruits, figs, nuts, several sorts of cakes, chiefly mansie and rice cakes hot, several sorts of roots boiled in water, sweetmeats, and other trumperies of this kind. All these things are brought first into the Bugio's room, then into ours. As to other necessaries travellers may have occasion for, they are generally, in the case of native travellers, served by the housemaids. These wenches also wait at table, taking that opportunity to engage their guests to farther favors. But it is quite otherwise with us; for even the landlords themselves and their male domestics, after they have presented us with a dish of tea, as above said, are not suffered upon any account whatever to enter our apartments; but whatever we want it is the sole business of our own servants to provide us with.

"There are no other spitting-pots brought into the room but that which comes along with the tobacco. If there be occasion for more they make use of small pieces of bamboo, a hand broad and high, sawed from between the joints and hollowed. The candles brought in at night are hollow in the middle; the wick, which is of paper, being wound about a wooden stick before the tallow is

* Froez, in one of his letters, defines this Japanese word, as signifying a kind of salted vegetable, like olives. It seems to include all kinds of refreshments occasionally offered to visitors.

laid on. For this reason, also, the candlesticks have a punch or bodkin at top, which the candles are fixed upon. They burn very quick, and make a great deal of smoke and smell, the oil or tallow being made of the berries of bay-trees, camphor-trees, and some others of the kind. It is somewhat odd and ridiculous to see the whirling motion of the ascending smoke, followed by the flame, when the candle is taken off the punch at the top of the candlestick. Instead of lamps, they make use of small, flat, earthen vessels, filled with train-oil made of the fat of whales, or of oil made of cotton-seed. The wick is made of rush, and the abovesaid earthen vessel stands in another filled with water, or in a square lantern, that, in case the oil should by chance take fire, no damage may thereupon come to the house.

"The Japanese, in their journeys, sit down to table thrice a day, besides what they eat between meals. They begin early in the morning and before break of day, at least before they set out, with a good, substantial breakfast; then follows dinner at noon, and the day is concluded with a plentiful supper at night. It being forbid to play at cards, they sit after meals, drinking and singing some songs, to make one another merry, or else they propose some riddles round, or play at some other game, and he that cannot explain the riddle, or loses the game, is obliged to drink a glass. It is again quite otherwise with us, for we sit at table and eat our victuals very quietly. Our cloth is laid, and the dishes dressed after the European manner, but by Japanese cooks. We are presented, besides, by the landlord, each with a Japanese dish. We drink European wines and the rice-beer of the country hot. All our diversion is confined, in the day-time, to the small garden which is behind the house; at night to the bath, in case we please to make use of it. No other pleasure is allowed us, no manner of conversation with the domestics, male or female, excepting what, through the connivance of our inspectors, some of us find means to procure at night in private and in their own rooms.

"When everything is ready for us to set out again, the landlord is called, and our president, in presence of the two interpreters, pays him the reckoning in gold, laid upon a small salver. He draws near, in a creeping posture, kneeling, holding his hands down to the floor, and when he takes the salver which the money is laid upon,

he bows down his forehead almost quite to the ground, in token of submission and gratitude, uttering with a deep voice the words *ah! ah! ah!* whereby in this country inferiors show their deference and respect to their superiors. He then prepares to make the same compliment to the other Dutchmen; but our interpreters generally excuse him this trouble, and make him return in the same crawling posture. Every landlord hath two kobangs paid him for dinner, and three for supper and lodgings at night. For this money he is to provide victuals enough for our whole train, the horses, the men that look after them, and the porters, only excepted. The same sum is paid to the landlords in the cities, where we stay some days, as at Osaka, Miako and Jedo, namely, five kobangs a day, without any further recompense. The reason of our being kept so cheap, as to victuals and lodging, is because this sum was agreed on with our landlords a long while ago, when our train was not yet so bulky as it now is.* It is a custom in this country, which we likewise observe, that guests, before they quit the inn, order their servants to sweep the room they lodged in, not to leave any dirt, or ungrateful dust, behind them.

"From this reasonable behavior of the landlords, the reader may judge of the civility of the whole nation in general, always excepting our own officers and servants. I must own that, in the visits we made or received in our journey, we found the same to be greater than could be expected from the most civilized nations. The behavior of the Japanese, from the meanest countryman up to the greatest prince or lord, is such that the whole empire might be called a school of civility and good manners. They have so much sense and innate curiosity, that, if they were not absolutely denied a free and open conversation and correspondence with foreigners, they would receive them with the utmost kindness and pleasure. In some towns and villages only we took notice that the young boys, who are childish all over the world, would run after us, calling us names, and cracking some malicious jests or other, levelled at the Chinese, whom they take us to be. One of the most common, and not much different from a like sort of a compliment which is com-

* The total expense of the entire journey, including the presents to the emperor and others, is estimated by Kämpfer at twenty thousand rix dollars, equivalent to about the same number of our dollars.

monly made to Jews in Germany, is *Toosin bay bay?* which, in broken Chinese, signifies, *Chinese, have ye nothing to truck?*

"It may not be amiss to observe, that it is not an indifferent matter to travellers in this country what day they set out on their journey; for they must choose for their departure a fortunate day, for which purpose they make use of a particular table, printed in all their road-books, which they say hath been observed to hold true by a continued experience of many ages, and wherein are set down all the unfortunate days of every month. However, the most sensible of the Japanese have but little regard for this superstitious table, which is more credited by the common people, the mountain priests and monks.

"To give the more authority to this table, they say that it was invented by the astrologer Seimei, a man of great quality and very eminent in his art. King *Abino Tassima* was his father, and a fox his mother, to whom Abino Tassima was married upon the following occasion. He once happened with a servant of his to be in the temple of Inari, who is the god and protector of the foxes. Meanwhile some courtiers were hunting the fox without doors, in order to make use of the lungs for the preparation of a certain medicine. It happened upon this that a young fox, pursued by the hunters, fled into the temple, which stood open, and took shelter in the very bosom of Tassima. The king, unwilling to deliver up the poor creature to the unmerciful hunters, was forced to defend himself and his fox, and to repel force by force, wherein he behaved himself with so much bravery and success that, having defeated the hunters, he set the fox at liberty. The hunters, ashamed and highly offended at the courageous behavior of the king, seized, in the height of their resentment, an opportunity which offered to kill his royal father. Tassima mustered up all his courage and prudence to revenge his father's death, and with so much success that he killed the traitors with his own hands. The fox, to return his gratitude, appeared to him, after the victory which he obtained over the murderers of his father, in the shape of a lady of incomparable beauty, and so fired his breast with love that he took her to his wife. It was by her he had this son, who was endowed with divine wisdom, and the precious gift of prognosticating and foretelling things to come. Nor did he know that his wife had been that very

fox whose life he saved with so much courage in the temple of Inari, till, soon after, her tail and other parts beginning to grow, she resumed by degrees her former shape.*

"Seimei not only calculated the above table by the knowledge he had acquired of the motion and influence of the stars, but, as he was at the same time a perfect master of the cabalistic sciences, he found out certain words which he brought together into an *Uta*, or verse, the repetition of which is believed to have the infallible virtue of keeping off all those misfortunes, which, upon the days determined in the table to be unfortunate, would otherwise befall travellers, — this verse being for the use and satisfaction of poor ordinary servants, who have not leisure to accommodate themselves to the table, but must go when and wherever they are sent by their masters."

* The fox is regarded by the Japanese as a sort of divinity, though, according to Siebold, they seem in doubt whether to reckon it a god or devil. If a Japanese is placed in circumstances of doubt or difficulty, he sets out a platter of rice and beans as a sacrifice to his fox; and if the next day any of it is gone, that is regarded as a favorable omen. Wonderful stories (equal to any of our spirit-rapping miracles) are told of the doings of these foxes. Titsingh gives the following by way of specimen: The grandfather of his friend, the imperial treasurer of Nagasaki, and who had in his time filled the same office, despatched one day a courier to Jedo with very important letters for the councillors of state. A few days after he discovered that one of the most important of the letters had been accidentally left out of the package — a forgetfulness which exposed him to great disgrace. In his despair he recurred to his fox and offered him a sacrifice. The next morning he saw, to his great satisfaction, that some of it had been eaten; after which, upon going into his cabinet, the letter which he had forgotten to send was nowhere to be found. This caused him great uneasiness, till he received a message from his agent at Jedo, who informed him that, upon opening the box which contained the despatches, the lock of it appeared to have been forced by a letter pressed in between the box and its cover from without — the very same letter, as it proved, left behind at Nagasaki. The more intelligent, says Titsingh, laugh at this superstition, but the great body of the people have firm faith in it. There are in Japan, according to Siebold, two species of foxes, very much like the ordinary ones of Europe and America, and, from the immunity which they enjoy, great nuisances. The white fox, of which the skin is much prized, is found only in the Kurule Islands.

CHAPTER XXXV.

FROM NAGASAKI TO KOKURA. — SIMONOSEKI. — WATER JOURNEY TO OSAKA. — DESCRIPTION OF THAT CITY. — ITS CASTLE. — INTERVIEW WITH THE GOVERNORS. — FROM OSAKA TO MIAKO. — JODO AND ITS CASTLE. — FUSHIMI. — ENTRANCE INTO MIAKO. — VISIT TO THE CHIEF JUSTICE AND THE GOVERNORS. — DESCRIPTION OF MIAKO. — PALACE OF THE DAIRI. — CASTLE. — MANUFACTURES AND TRADE. — AUTHORITY OF THE CHIEF JUSTICE. — POLICE. — CRIMES.

At coming out of *Nagasaki*, on his first journey to court (Tuesday, February 13, 1691), Kämpfer noticed the idol *Dsisos*, the god of the roads and protector of travellers, hewn out of the rock in nine different places. At the next village stood another of the same sort, about three feet in height, on a stone pillar twice as high, and adorned with flowers. Two other smaller stone pillars, hollow at top, stood before the idol, upon which were placed lamps, for travellers to light in its honor; and at some distance stood a basin of water, in which to wash the hands before lighting the lamps.

The first twelve miles' travelling, which was very steep and mountainous, brought the company to the shores of the *bay of Omura*, which they found too shallow for vessels of size; but by crossing it in boats, furnished by the prince of *Omura*, each rowed by fourteen watermen, they saved a distance of ten miles or more. The distance across was thirty miles. The town of *Omura* was seen on the right at the head of the bay, and beyond it a smoking mountain. The shells of this bay were reported to yield pearls.*

* Of these pearls Kämpfer says, in another place, that they are found almost everywhere about Kiusiu in oysters and several other sea shells. Everybody is at liberty to fish for them. Formerly the natives had little or no value for them till they were sought for by the Chinese. The Japanese pretend, as to one particular kind, that when put into a box full of a

The second day (Wednesday, February 14) they passed an old camphor-tree, estimated to be thirty-six feet in circumference, and hollow within.* At *Swota*, where they dined, a seaport on the gulf of *Simabara*, was a manufactory of large earthen pots, used by vessels as water-casks, and also of china ware, made of a whitish, fat clay, abundant in that neighborhood. The same day they visited a hot spring, much frequented for its medicinal effects, and provided with accommodations for bathing. There are several others in the neighborhood.†

Sanga, the capital of the province of FIGEN, through which they passed the next day (Thursday, February 15), without stopping, was found to be a considerable place, situated not far from the western border of the province, near the head of the bay of Simabara. "The city," says Kämpfer, "is very large, but extends more in length than in breadth. It is exceedingly populous. Both going in and coming out we found strong guards at the gates. It is enclosed with walls, but more for state than defence. The prince or petty king of this province resides here in a large castle, which commands the city. The streets are large, with streams of water flowing through them. The houses are but sorry and low, and in the chief streets fitted up for manufactures and shopkeepers. The inhabitants are very short, but well shaped, particularly the women, who are handsomer, I think, than in any other Asiatic country, but so much painted that one would be apt to take them for wax

peculiar sort of complexion-powder made of another shell, one or two young pearls will grow out at the sides, and when they come to maturity, as they do in two or three years, will drop off; but Kämpfer, having never seen this phenomenon, is not willing to vouch for its reality.

* The same tree Kämpfer found on his return (May 6) in full blossom, and a very beautiful sight. It was noticed as still standing in 1826, by Siebold, who found it by measurement to be fifty feet in circumference.

† Caron also speaks of these springs, some of which he describes as intermittent. Some are boiling hot, and their waters had been used, as we have seen, in the torture of the Catholics. They are all found in a volcanic mountain, having several craters which eject black sand and smoke. In the interior of the province of Figo, on the opposite shore of the gulf of Simabara, is another volcano. The province of Satsuma is entirely volcanic, and off its southern extremity is an island that burns incessantly. — *Klaproth*, from Japanese authorities, *Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxx.

figures rather than living creatures. Many were noticed who seemed little more than girls, yet evidently the mothers of several children. These women of Figen have the reputation of being the handsomest in Japan, next to those of Miako. This province, though less wealthy than that of Satsuma, is reputed to be about the most fertile in all Japan, being particularly famous for its rice, of which it produces ten different sorts or qualities, one of which is reserved for the special use of the emperor. The rice-fields were observed to be bordered with tea-shrubs about six feet high; but as they were stripped of their leaves they made but a naked and sorry appearance.

In the afternoon our travellers passed into the province of Tsicugo, and having traversed a small but very pleasant wood of firs, — a rare sight in the flat parts of the country, — they saw at a distance the castle of *Kurume*, the residence of the prince of the province.* Friday, February 16, mountains were encountered, which they passed in kangos, as the road was too steep for horseback riding. This country, forming a part of the province of Chichugen, struck Kämpfer as not unlike some mountainous and woody parts of Germany, but no cattle were seen grazing, except a few cows and horses for carriage and ploughing. The people were less handsome than those of Figen, but extremely civil.

The next day (February 17), after passing, in the afternoon, some coal-mines, whence the neighborhood was supplied with fuel, they reached *Kokura*, capital of the province of Buigen, once a large town, but now much decayed. It had a large castle of freestone, with a few cannon and a tower of six stories, the usual sign of princely residences. A river passed through the town, crossed by a bridge near two hundred yards long, but it was too shallow to admit vessels of any size. At least one hundred small boats were drawn up on the banks. On leaving their inn where they had stopped to dine, the Dutch found the square in front of it, as well as the bridge, crowded with upwards of a thousand spectators,

* On Kämpfer's second journey to Jedo (1692), the second night was passed at *Kurume*, which they reached by crossing the bay of *Simabara* in boats, thus leaving the principality of *Omura* and the city of *Sanga* on their left. The next day at noon they struck into the road followed on the first journey.

chiefly ordinary people, who had collected to see them, and who knelt in profound silence, without motion or noise. The distance of this place from Nagasaki was reckoned at fifty-five Japanese miles, and had consumed five days.

Embarking in boats, the Dutch travellers crossed the strait which separates Ximo from Nipon, narrower here than anywhere else, less than three miles wide, though the town of *Simonoseki*, which gives its name to the strait, being situated at the bottom of an inlet, is near twelve miles from Kokura. This town, in the province of NAUGATO, consisted of four or five hundred houses, built chiefly on both sides of one long street, with a few smaller ones terminating in it. It is full of shops for selling provisions and stores to the ships, which daily put in for shelter or supplies, and of which not less than two hundred were seen at anchor. It also had a temple to Amida, built to appease the ghost of a young prince of the family of Feiji, so celebrated in the legendary annals of the Japanese, whose nurse, with the boy in her arms, is said to have thrown herself headlong into the strait to avoid capture by his father's enemies, at the time of the ruin of that family.

The voyage from Simonoseki to Osaka was reckoned at one hundred and thirty-four Japanese water-miles, and was made in six days, the vessel coming to anchor every night in good harbors, with which the coast abounds. This voyage lay first through the strait between Ximo and Nipon, and then through the strait or sea between Nipon and Sikokf, which was full of islands, some cultivated, others mere rocks. On the main land on either side snow-covered mountains were visible. The barge could proceed no further than *Fiogo*, a city of the province SETZ, nearly as large as Nagasaki. Here the company embarked in small boats for Osaka. As they passed along they saw at a distance the imperial city of *Sakai*, three or four Japanese miles south from Osaka. The description of Osaka, and of the journey thence to Miako, is thus given by Kämpfer:

"OSAKA, one of the five imperial cities, is agreeably seated in the province of Setz, in a fruitful plain, and on the banks of a navigable river. At the east end is a strong castle; and at the western end, two strong, stately guard-houses, which separate it from its suburbs. Its length from these suburbs to the above-mentioned

castle is between three and four thousand yards. Its breadth is somewhat less. The riven *Jodogawa* runs on the north side, and below the city falls into the sea. This river rises a day and a half's journey to the north-east, out of a midland lake in the province of Umi, which, according to Japanese histories, arose in one night, that spot which it now fills being sunk in a violent earthquake. Coming out of this lake, it runs by the small towns *Udsi* and *Jodo*, from which latter it borrows its name, and so continues down to Osaka. About a mile before it comes to this city, it sends off one of its arms straight to the sea. This want, if any, is supplied by two other rivers, both which flow into it just above the city, on the north side of the castle, where there are stately bridges over them. The united stream having washed one third of the city, part of its waters are conveyed through a broad canal to supply the south part, which is also the larger, and that where the richest inhabitants live. For this purpose several smaller channels cut from the large one, pass through some of the chief streets, deep enough to be navigable for small boats, which bring goods to the merchant's doors — though some are muddy, and not too clean, for want of a sufficient quantity and run of water. Upwards of an hundred bridges, many extraordinarily beautiful, are built over them.

"A little below the coming out of the above-mentioned canal another arm arises on the north side of the great stream, which is shallow and not navigable, but runs down westward, with great rapidity, till it loses itself in the sea. The middle and great stream still continues its course through the city, at the lower end whereof it turns westward, and having supplied the suburbs and villages which lie without the city, by many lateral branches, at last loses itself in the sea through several mouths. This river is narrow, indeed, but deep and navigable. From its mouth up as far as Osaka, and higher, there are seldom less than a thousand boats going up and down, some with merchants, others with the princes and lords who live to the west, on their way to and from Jedo. The banks are raised on both sides into ten or more steps, coarsely hewn of freestone, so that they look like one continued stairs, and one may land wherever he pleases. Stately bridges are laid over the river at every three or four hundred paces' distance. They are built of cedar wood, and are railed on both sides, some of the rails

being adorned at top with brass buttons. I counted in all ten such bridges, three whereof were particularly remarkable, because of their length, being laid over the great arm of the river, where it is broadest.

"The streets, in the main, are narrow but regular, cutting each other at right angles. From this regularity, however, we must except that part of the city which lies towards the sea, because the streets there run along the several branches of the river. The streets are very neat, though not paved. However, for the conveniency of walking, there is a small pavement of square stones along the houses on each side of the street. At the end of every street are strong gates, which are shut at night, when nobody is suffered to pass from one street to another without special leave and a passport from the Ottona, or street officer. There is also in every street a place railed in, where they keep all the necessary instruments in case of fire. Not far from it is a covered well, for the same purpose. The houses are, according to the custom of the country, not above two stories high, each story of nine or twelve feet. They are built of wood, lime and clay. The front offers to the spectator's eye the door, and a shop where the merchants sell their goods, or else an open room where artificers, openly and in everybody's sight, exercise their trade. From the upper end of the shop or room hangs down a piece of black cloth, partly for ornament, partly to defend them in some measure from the wind and weather. At the same place hang some fine patterns of what is sold in the shop. The roof is flat, and in good houses covered with black tiles laid in lime. The roofs of ordinary houses are covered only with shavings of wood. Within doors all the houses are kept clean and neat to admiration. The stair-cases, rails and all the wainscotting, are varnished. The floors are covered with neat mats. The rooms are separated from each other by screens, upon removal of which several small rooms may be enlarged into one, or the contrary done if needful. The walls are hung with shining paper, curiously painted with gold and silver flowers. The upper part of the wall, for some inches down from the ceiling, is commonly left empty, and only clayed with an orange-colored clay, which is dug up about this city, and is, because of its beautiful color, exported into other provinces. The mats, doors and screens, are all of the same size,

six Japanese feet long and three broad. The houses themselves, and their several rooms, are built proportionably according to a certain number of mats, more or less. There is commonly a curious garden behind the house, such as I have described elsewhere. Behind the garden is the bathing-stove, and sometimes a vault, or rather a small room, with strong walls of clay and lime, to preserve, in case of fire, the richest household goods and furniture.

"Osaka is extremely populous, and, if we believe what the boasting Japanese tell us, can raise an army of eighty thousand men from among its inhabitants. It is the best trading town in Japan, being extraordinarily well situated for carrying on a commerce both by land and water. This is the reason why it is so well inhabited by rich merchants, artificers and manufacturers. Provisions are cheap, notwithstanding the city is so well peopled. Whatever tends to promote luxury, and to gratify all sensual pleasures, may be had at as easy a rate here as anywhere, and for this reason the Japanese call Osaka the universal theatre of pleasures and diversions. Plays are to be seen daily, both in public and in private houses. Mountebanks, jugglers, who can show some artful tricks, and all the raree-show people who have either some uncommon, or monstrous animal to exhibit, or animals taught to play tricks, resort thither from all parts of the empire, being sure to get a better penny here than anywhere else.* Hence it is no wonder that numbers of strangers and travellers daily resort thither, chiefly rich people, as to a place where they can spend their time and money with much greater satisfaction than perhaps anywhere else in the empire. The western princes and lords on this side Osaka all have houses in this city, and people to attend them in their passage through, and yet they are not permitted to stay longer than a night, besides that

* "Some years ago," says Kämpfer, "our East India Company sent over from Batavia a Casuar (a large East India bird, who would swallow stones and hot coals), as a present to the emperor. This bird having had the ill luck not to please our rigid censors, the governors of Nagasaki, and we having thereupon been ordered to send him back to Batavia, a rich Japanese assured us that if he could have obtained leave to buy him, he would have willingly given a thousand taels for him, as being sure within a year's time to get double that money only by showing him at *Osaka*." The mermaids exhibited in Europe and America, to the great profit of enterprising showmen, have been of Japanese manufacture.

upon their departure they are obliged to follow a road entirely out of sight of the castle.

"The water which is drank at Osaka tastes a little brackish; but in lieu thereof they have the best saki in the empire, which is brewed in great quantities in the neighboring village, *Tenusii*, and from thence exported into most other provinces, nay, by the Dutch and Chinese out of the country.

"On the east side of the city, in a large plain, lies the famous castle built by Taiko-Sama. Going up to Miako we pass by it. It is square, about an hour's walking in circumference, and strongly fortified with round bastions, according to the military architecture of the country. After the castle of Figo, it hath not its superior in extent, magnificence and strength, throughout the whole empire. On the north side it is defended by the river Jodogawa, which washes its walls. On the east side its walls are washed by a tributary river, on the opposite bank of which lies a great garden belonging to the castle. The south and west sides border upon the city. The moles, or buttresses, which support the outward wall, are of an uncommon bigness, I believe at least forty-two feet thick. They are built to support a high, strong brick wall, lined with free-stone, which at its upper end is planted with a row of firs or cedars.

"The day after our arrival (Sunday, Feb. 25) we were admitted to an audience of the governor of the city, to which we were carried in kangos, attended by our whole train of interpreters and other officers. It is half an hour's walking from our inn to the governor's palace, which lies at the end of the city in a square opposite the castle. Just before the house we stepped out of our kangos, and put on each a silk cloak, which is reckoned equal to the garment of ceremony which the Japanese wear on these occasions. Through a passage thirty paces long we came into the hall, or guard-house, where we were received by two of the governor's gentlemen, who very civilly desired us to sit down. Four soldiers stood upon duty on our left as we came in, and next to them we found eight other officers of the governor's court, all sitting upon their knees and ankles. The wall on our right was hung with arms, ranged in a proper order, fifteen halberds on one side, twenty lances in the middle, and nineteen pikes on the other; the latter were

adorned at the upper end with fringes. Hence we were conducted by two of the governor's secretaries through four rooms (which, however, upon removing the screens, might have been enlarged into one) into the hall of audience. I took notice, as we came by, that the walls were hung and adorned with bows, with sabres and scymetars, as also with some fire-arms, kept in rich black varnished cases.

"In the hall of audience, where there were seven of the governor's gentlemen sitting, the two secretaries sat down at three paces' distance from us, and treated us with tea, carrying on a very civil conversation with us till the governor appeared, as he soon did, with two of his sons, one seventeen, the other eighteen years of age, and sat down at ten paces' distance in another room, which was laid open towards the hall of audience by removing three lattices, through which he spoke to us.

"He seemed to be about forty years of age, middle-sized, strong, active, of a manly countenance and broad-faced; very civil in his conversation, and speaking with a great deal of softness and modesty. He was but meanly clad in black, and wore a gray garment of ceremony over his dress. He wore, also, but one ordinary scymetar. His conversation turned chiefly upon the following points: That the weather was now very cold; that we had made a very great journey; that it was a singular favor to be admitted into the emperor's presence; that, of all nations in the world, only the Dutch were allowed this honor.

"He promised us, that since the chief justice of Miako, whose business it is to give us the necessary passports for our journey to court, was not yet returned from Jedo, he would give us his own passports, which would be full as valid, and that we might send for them the next morning. He also assured us that he was very willing to assist us with horses and whatever else we might stand in need of for continuing our journey.

"On our sides, we returned him thanks for his kind offers, and desired that he would be pleased to accept of a small present, consisting of some pieces of silk stuffs, as an acknowledgment of our gratitude. We also made some presents to the two secretaries or stewards of his household; and, having taken our leave, were by them conducted back to the guard-house. Here we took our leave

also of them, and returned through the above-mentioned passage back to our kangos. Our interpreters permitted us to walk a little way, which gave us an opportunity to view the outside of the above-described famous castle. We then entered our kangos and were carried back through another long street to our inn.

"Wednesday, Feb. 28, we set out by break of day on our journey to Miako, because we intended to reach that place the same day, it being but thirteen Japanese miles, or a good day's journey, distant from Osaka, out of which we came by the *Kiobas*, or bridge to Miako, which crosses the river just below the castle. We then travelled about a mile through muddy rice-fields, riding along a low dike raised on the banks of the river Jodo-gawa, which we had on our left. Multitudes of *Tsadamia* trees, which grow as tall in this country as oaks do with us, were planted along it. It had then no leaves, because of the winter season, but its branches hung full of a yellow fruit, out of which the natives prepare an oil. The country hereabouts is extraordinary well inhabited, and the many villages along the road are so near each other that there wants little towards making it one continued street from Osaka to Miako.

"The small but famous city, *Jodo*, is entirely enclosed with water, and hath besides several canals cut through the town, all derived from the arms of the river which encompasses it. The suburbs consist of one long street, across which we rode to a stately wooden bridge, called *Jodobas*, four hundred paces long, and supported by forty arches, to which answer so many ballisters, adorned at the upper end with brass buttons. At the end of this bridge is a single well-guarded gate, through which we entered the city. The city itself is very pleasant and agreeably situated, and hath very good houses, though but few streets, which cut each other at right angles, running some south, some east. Abundance of artificers and handicraftsmen live at Jodo. On the west side lies the castle, built of brick, in the middle of the river, with stately towers several stories high at each corner, and in the middle of its walls. Coming out of Jodo, we again passed over a bridge two hundred paces long, supported by twenty arches, which brought us into a suburb, at the end of which was a strong guard-house.

"After about two hours' riding we came, at two in the afternoon, to *Fusimi*. This is a small, open town, or rather village, of a few

streets, of which the middle and chief reaches as far as Miako, and is contiguous to the streets of that capital, insomuch that Fusimi might be called the suburbs of Miako, the rather since this last city is not at all enclosed with walls. It was to-day *Tsitats* with the Japanese, that is, the first day of the month, which they keep as a Sunday or holiday, visiting the temples, walking into the fields, and following all manner of diversions. Accordingly we found this street, along which we rode for full four hours before we got to our inn, crowded with multitudes of the inhabitants of Miako, walking out of the city to take the air, and to visit the neighboring temples. Particularly the women were all on this occasion richly apparelled in variously-colored gowns, wearing a purple-colored silk about the forehead, and large straw hats to defend themselves from the heat of the sun. We likewise met some particular sorts of beggars, comically clad, and some masked in a very ridiculous manner. Not a few walked upon iron stilts; others carried large pots with green trees upon their heads; some were singing, some whistling, some fluting, others beating of bells. All along the street we saw multitudes of open shops, jugglers and players diverting the crowd.

"The temples which we had on our right as we went up, built in the ascent of the neighboring green hills, were illuminated with many lamps, and the priests, beating some bells with iron hammers, made such a noise as could be heard at a considerable distance. I took notice of a large, white dog, perhaps made of plaster, which stood upon an altar on our left, in a neatly-adorned chapel or small temple, which was consecrated to the Patron of the dogs. We reached our inn at Miako at six in the evening, and were forthwith carried up one pair of stairs into our apartments, which in some measure, I thought, might be compared to the Westphalian smoking rooms, wherein they smoke their beef and bacon.

"We had travelled to-day through a very fruitful country, mostly through rice-fields, wherein we saw great flocks of wild ducks, if they deserve to be so called, being so very tame that no travelling company approaching will fright them away. We took notice also of several large, white herons, some swans, and some few storks, looking for their food in the morassy fields. We likewise saw the peasants ploughing with black oxen, which seemed to be lean, poor beasts, but are said to work well.

"Feb. 29, early in the morning, we sent the presents for the chief justice and the governors to their palaces, laid, according to the country fashion, upon particular small tables made of fir, and kept for no other use but this. We followed soon after, about ten in the forenoon, in kangos. Their palaces were at the west end of the city, opposite the castle of the Dairi. We were conducted through a court-yard, twenty paces broad, into the hall or fore-room of the house, which is called *Ban*, or the chief guard, and is the rendezvous of numbers of clerks, inspectors, &c. Hence we were taken, through two other rooms, into a third, where they desired us to sit down. Soon after came in his lordship's steward, an old gentleman who seemed upwards of sixty years of age, clad in a gray or ash-colored honor-gown, who seated himself at about four paces from us, in order to receive, in his master's name, both our compliments and presents, which stood in the same room; laid out in a becoming order. They consisted of a flask of Tent wine, besides twenty pieces of silk, woollen and linen stuffs. The steward having very civilly returned us thanks for our presents, boxes with tobacco and pipes and proper utensils for smoking were set before us, and a dish of tea was presented to each of us by a servant, at three different times, the steward and the chief gentlemen pressing us to drink. Having staid about a quarter of an hour, we took our leave, and were conducted by the steward himself to the door of their room, and thence by other officers back to the gate.

"This first visit being over, we walked thence on foot to the palace of the commanding governor, who was but lately arrived from Jedo. Some sentinels stood upon duty at the gate, and in the *ban*, or hall, we found very near fifty people, besides some young boys, neatly clad, all sitting in very good order. Through this hall we were conducted into a side apartment, where we were civilly received by the two secretaries, both elderly men, and were treated with tea, sugar, &c.; receiving, also, repeated assurances that we should be soon admitted into the governor's presence.

"Having staid full half an hour in this room, we were conducted into another, where, after a little while, the lattices of two screens being suddenly opened just over against us, the governor appeared, sitting at fourteen paces distant. He wore, as usual, a garment of ceremony over his black dress. He seemed to be about thirty-six

years of age, of a strong, lusty constitution, and showed in his countenance and whole behavior a good deal of pride and vanity. After a short conversation, we desired that he would be pleased to accept of our small present, consisting of twelve pieces of stuffs, which lay upon a table, or salver, in the manner above described. He thereupon bowed a little, to return us thanks, and, putting himself in a rising posture, the two lattices were let down forthwith, in a very comical manner. But we were desired to stay a little while longer, that the ladies — who were in a neighboring room, behind a paper screen, pierced with holes — might have an opportunity of contemplating us and our foreign dress. Our president was desired to show them his hat, sword, watch, and several other things he had about him, as also to take off his cloak, that they might have a full view of his dress, both before and behind. Having staid about an hour in the house of this governor, we were conducted by the two secretaries back to the hall, or chief guard, and thence by two inferior officers into the yard.

"It being fair weather, we resolved to walk on foot to the house of the other governor, some hundred paces distant. We were received there much after the manner above described. After we had been treated in the *ban* with tea and tobacco, as usual, we were conducted, through several rooms, into the hall of audience, which was richly furnished, and, amongst other things, adorned with a cabinet filled with bows and arrows, small fire-arms, guns and pistols, kept in black varnished cases. These, and other arms, we took notice, were hung up in several other rooms through which we passed, much after the same manner as in the governor's house at Osaka. On one side the hall we took notice of two screens, pierced with holes, behind which sat some women, whom the curiosity of seeing people from so remote a part of the world had drawn thither. We had scarce sat down, when the governor appeared, and sat himself down at ten paces from us. He was clad in black, as usual, with a garment of ceremony. He was a gray man, almost sixty years of age, but of a good complexion, and very handsome. He bade us welcome, showed in his whole behavior a great deal of civility, and received our presents kindly, and with seeming great satisfaction. Our chief interpreter took this opportunity to make the governor, as his old acquaintance, some private

presents in his own name, consisting of some European glasses, and, in the mean time, to beg a favor for his deputy interpreter's son. Having taken our leave, we returned to our kangos, and were carried home to our inn, where we arrived at one in the afternoon.

"KIO, or MIAKO, signifies in Japanese, a city. [Klaproth says, great temple or palace.] It lies in the province JAMATTO, in a large plain, and is, from north to south, three English miles long, and two broad from east to west, surrounded with pleasant green hills and mountains, from which arise numbers of small rivers and agreeable springs. The city comes nearest the mountains on the east side, where there are numerous temples, monasteries, chapels, and other religious buildings, standing in the ascent. Three shallow rivers enter, or run by, it on that side. The chief and largest comes out of the Lake Oitz; the other two from the neighboring mountains. They come together about the middle of the city, where the united stream is crossed by a large bridge, two hundred paces long. The Dairi, with his family and court, resides on the north side of the city, in a particular part or ward, consisting of twelve or thirteen streets, separated from the rest by walls and ditches. In the western part of the town is a strong castle of free-stone, built by one of the hereditary emperors, for the security of his person during the civil wars. At present it serves to lodge the Kubo, or actual monarch, when he comes to visit the Dairi. It is upwards of a thousand feet long where longest; a deep ditch, filled with water, and walled in, surrounds it, and is enclosed itself by a broad empty space, or dry ditch. In the middle of this castle there is, as usual, a square tower, several stories high. In the ditch are kept a particular sort of delicious carps, some of which were presented this evening to our interpreter. A small garrison guards the castle, under the command of a captain.

"The streets of Miako are narrow, but all regular, running some south, some east. Being at one end of a great street, it is impossible to reach the other with the eye, because of their extraordinary length, the dust, and the multitude of people. The houses are, generally speaking, narrow, only two stories high, built of wood, lime, and clay, according to the country fashion.

"Miako is the great magazine of all Japanese manufactures and

commodities, and the chief mercantile town in the empire. There is scarce a house in this large capital where there is not something made or sold. Here they refine copper, coin money, print books, weave the richest stuffs, with gold and silver flowers. The best and scarcest dyes, the most artful carvings, all sorts of musical instruments, pictures, japanned cabinets, all sorts of things wrought in gold and other metals, particularly in steel, as the best tempered blades, and other arms, are made here in the utmost perfection, as are, also, the richest dresses, and after the best fashion, all sorts of toys, puppets, moving their heads of themselves, and, in short, there is nothing can be thought of but what may be found at Miako, and nothing, though never so neatly wrought, can be imported from abroad, but what some artist or other in this capital will undertake to imitate it. Considering this, it is no wonder that the manufactures of Miako are become so famous throughout the empire as to be easily preferred to all others (though, perhaps, inferior in some particulars), only because they have the name of being made there. There are but few houses in all the chief streets where there is not something to be sold, and, for my part, I could not help admiring whence they can have customers enough for such an immense quantity of goods. 'T is true, indeed, there is scarce anybody passes through but what buys something or other of the manufactures of this city, either for his own use, or for presents to be made to his friends and relations.

The lord chief justice resides at Miako, a man of great power and authority, as having the supreme command, under the emperor, of all the bugios, governors, stewards, and other officers, who are any ways concerned in the government of the imperial cities, crown lands and tenements, in all the western provinces of the empire. Even the western princes themselves must, in some measure, depend on him, and have a great regard to his person as a mediator and compounder of quarrels and difficulties that may arise between them. Nobody is suffered to pass through *Array* and *Fakone*, two of the most important passes, and, in a manner, the keys of the imperial capital and court, without a passport, signed by his hand.

"The political government and regulation of the streets is the same at Miako as it is at Osaka and Nagasaki. The number of inhabitants of Miako, in the year of our visit, will appear by the

following *Aratame*,* (exclusive, however, of those who live in the castle and at the Dairi's court)."

Negi (persons attending the Sintos temples), ...	9,003
Jamabo (mountain priests), ...	6,073
Siuku (ecclesiastics of the Buddhist religion), . . .	37,093
Buddhist laymen, of four principal and eight inferior sects or observances,†	477,557
Tira (Buddhist temples), ...	3,893
Mias (Sinto temples), ...	2,127
Sokokf Dai Mio Jasiki (palaces and houses of the princes and lords of the empire), ...	137
Matz (streets), ...	1,858
Ken (houses), ...	138,979
Bas (bridges), ...	87

* The *Aratame* is a sort of an inquisition into the life and family of every inhabitant, the number of his children and domestics, the sect he professes or the temples he belongs to, made very punctually, once every year, in every city and district, by commissioners appointed for this purpose.

† The worshippers of Amida were the most numerous, amounting to 159,113. The other principal sects had, respectively, 99,728, 99,016, 54,586. Caron had noticed and mentioned this division into twelve sects, or observances. He states, and other subsequent authors have repeated, that, notwithstanding this division, they have no controversies or religious quarrels; but this does not agree with the accounts of the Catholic missionaries. Every resident of Miako, except the Sinto priests, and, perhaps, the household of the Dairi, would seem to belong to some Buddhist sect.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

LAKE OITZ. — MOUNT JESAN. — JAPANESE LEGENDS. — A JAPANESE PATENT MEDICINE. — QUANO. — MIA. — ARRAY. — POLICY OF THE EMPERORS. — KAKEGAWA. — A TOWN ON FIRE. — SERUGA. — KUNO. — PASSAGE OF A RAPID RIVER. — FUSI-NO-JAMA, OR MOUNT FUSI. — CROSSING THE PENINSULA OF IDSU. — SECOND SEARCHING PLACE. — PURGATORY LAKE. — ODAWARA. — COAST OF THE BAY OF JEDO. — A LIVE SAINT. — CANAGAWA. — SINAGAWA. — JEDO. — IMPERIAL CASTLES AND PALACE.

KÄMPFER and his company left Miako Friday, March 2d, and, after a journey of eight or nine miles, during which they saw a high mountain towards the south, covered with snow, they reached *Oitz*, a town of a thousand houses, where they lodged. This town lies at the south-western extremity of the large fresh-water lake of the same name, already mentioned.*

On the south-eastern shore of this lake, which abounds with fish and fowl, lies the famous mountain *Jesan* (by interpretation Fair-hill), covered with Buddhist monasteries, and near it were seen other mountains, covered with snow, and extending along the lake shore. Shortly after leaving Oitz, the Jodogawa, one of the outlets of the lake, was crossed upon a bridge, supported at the extremities by stone columns, of which the following legend is told. These columns were in old times possessed by an evil spirit, which very much molested travellers, as well as the inhabitants of the village. It happened one day that the famous saint and apostle, *Kusi*, travelling that way, all the people of the neighborhood earnestly entreated him to deliver them by his miraculous power from this insufferable evil, and to cast this devil out of the columns. The

* According to Klaproth, following Japanese authorities, it is seventy-two and one half English miles long, and twenty-two and one quarter at its greatest breadth.

Japanese, a people superstitious to excess, expected that he would use a good many prayers and ceremonies, but found, to their utmost surprise, that he only took off the dirty cloth which he wore about his waist, and tied it about the column. Perceiving how much they were amazed, Kusi addressed them in these words: "Friends," said he, "it is in vain you expect that I should make use of many ceremonies. Ceremonies will never cast out devils; faith must do it, and it is only by faith that I perform miracles." "A remarkable saying," exclaims Kämpfer, "in the mouth of a heathen teacher!"

Minoki, a village through which they next passed, was famous for the sole manufacture of a medicine of great repute, found out by a poor but pious man, to whom the god *Jacusi*, the protector of physic and physicians, revealed in a dream the ingredients, which are certain bitter herbs growing upon the neighboring mountains. This story helped the sale of the medicine, by which the inventor soon grew very rich, so that he was not only able to build a fine house for himself, but also a small temple, opposite his shop, and highly adorned, in honor of the god who had given him the receipt, whose statue, richly gilt, was to be seen there, standing on a *Tarate* flower, and with half a large cockle-shell over his head.

The next day (Sunday, March 4) the Dutch travellers crossed the *Dsutsi Jama*, a mountain ridge, so steep that its descent was like that of a winding staircase cut out in the face of the precipice. On this mountain were many temples, and in this neighborhood vast crowds of pilgrims were encountered, bound to Isje, situate some forty miles to the south. The travellers struck the sea-coast at *Jokitz*, a town of a thousand houses, whose inhabitants were partly supported by fishing, and the next day (Monday the 5th), after about nine miles' travel, they entered the city of *Quano*, in the province of VOARI, situated at the head of a deep bay. It consisted of three parts, like so many different towns. The first and third parts were enclosed by high walls and ditches. The other part was entirely surrounded by water, the country being flat and full of rivers. The castle, washed on three sides by the sea, was separated from the town by a deep ditch with draw-bridges.

From Quano they proceeded by water to *Mia*, some fifteen miles

distant. The head of the bay was very shallow, and the boats were pushed through mud-banks. Mia, though not so large as Quano, consisted of two thousand houses, with two spacious castles, one of them for size and strength reckoned the third in Japan. There were two temples, in one of which are preserved three, in the other eight, miraculous swords, used by the race of demigods who were the first inhabitants of Japan.

Tuesday, March 6th, the travellers dined at *Okasaki*, a town of fifteen hundred houses, with a strong castle situate on the shores of the same bay. The country travelled through was a fertile plain, along the foot of a range of mountains, the shores of which, beyond Okasaki, extended to the sea.

The next day (Wednesday, March 7) they passed through several considerable places, of which *Josida*, with a castle and about a thousand small houses, was the most considerable. *Array*, twelve or fifteen miles distant, was a town of about four hundred houses, situate not far from the sea, at the inland extremity of a harbor called *Suota*, narrow at its entrance, but spreading out within. Array was the seat of certain imperial commissioners appointed to search the goods and baggage of all travellers, but particularly of the princes of the empire, that no women nor arms might pass. "This," says Kämpfer, "is one of the political maxims which the now reigning emperors have found it necessary to practise in order to secure to themselves the peaceable possession of the throne; for the wives and female children of all the princes of the empire are kept at Jedo, as hostages of the fidelity of their husbands and parents. And as to the exportation of arms, an effectual stop has been put to that, lest, if exported in any considerable quantities, some of those princes might take it into their heads to raise rebellions against the government as now established."

The harbor of Suota was crossed in boats, on the other side of which the road led through a flat country, rather thinly inhabited. They slept that night at *Famamatz*, a town of several hundred inferior houses, with a large castle. The next day (Thursday, March 8), travelling on through a beautiful plain, in the afternoon they reached the town of *Kakegawa;* as they were passing through which, a fire broke out, occasioned by the boiling over of an oil kettle. Perceiving only a thick cloud behind them, they thought a

storm was coming on, but were soon involved in such a cloud of smoke and heat as to be obliged to ride on at a gallop. Having reached a little eminence, on looking back, the whole town seemed on fire. Nothing appeared through the smoke and flames but the upper part of the castle tower. They found, however, on their return, some weeks after, that the damage was less than they had expected, more than half the town having escaped.

It was necessary, shortly after, for the travellers to take kangos to cross a steep mountain, descending from which they were obliged to ford the river *Ojingawa*, proverbial throughout Japan for its force and rapidity and the rolling stones in its bed, but just then at a very low stage. The road thence to *Simada*,* a small town where they lodged, was close to the sea, but through a barren country, the mountains approaching close to the shore.

The next day (Friday, March 9) brought them, most of the way through a flat, well-cultivated country, to the city of *Seruga*, capital of the province of that name. The streets, broad and regular, crossed each other at right angles, and were full of well-furnished shops. Paper stuffs, curiously flowered, for hats, baskets, boxes, &c., also various manufactures of split and twisted reeds, and all sorts of lackered ware, were made here. There was also a mint here, as well as at Miako and Jedo, where kobangs and itzebos were coined. It had a castle of free-stone, well defended with ditches and high walls.

A few miles from *Seruga* were kept certain war-junks for the defence of the bay of Totomina; and just beyond, upon a high mountain, stood the fortress of *Kuno*, or *Kono*, esteemed by the Japanese impregnable. It was built to contain the imperial treasures, but they had since been removed to Jedo.

In the course of the next day (Saturday, March 10) the road turned inland, in order to cross the great river *Fusigawa*, which enters into the head of the bay, taking its rise in the high, snowy mountain *Fusi-no-Jama*. It was crossed in flat broad-bottomed boats, constructed of thin planks, so as on striking the rocks to yield and slip over. The mountain Fusi, whence this river takes

* Though situated near the sea, and similar in name, this is not the Simoda, one of the ports opened to the United States. That is further east and south, on the west coast of the peninsula of Idsu.

its rise and name, towers in a conical form above all the surrounding hills, and is seen at a great distance. It is quite barren, no plants growing on it.* It is ascended for the worship of the Japanese god of the winds, to whom the Jamabo, or mountain priests, are consecrated, and who frequently repeat the words *Fusi Jama*, in discoursing or begging. It takes three days to ascend this mountain; but the descent can be made, so Kämpfer was told, in three hours, by the help of sledges of reeds or straw, tied about the waist, by means of which one may glide down over the snow in winter and the sand in summer, it being surprisingly smooth and even. Japanese poets cannot find words, Kämpfer tells us, nor Japanese painters colors, in which to represent this mountain as they think it deserves.

Our travellers kept on this day and the next (Sunday, March 11) through the mountainous country of *Facone*, which runs out southward from the broad peninsula of Idsu. At a village, hemmed in between a lake and a mountain, the lake itself surrounded in every other direction by mountains not to be climbed, was a narrow pass — another imperial searching-place, where all persons travelling to, and especially from, Jedo, must submit to a rigorous examination. Upon the shore of this lake were five small wooden chapels, and in each a priest seated, beating a gong and howling a nimada. "All the Japanese foot-travellers of our retinue," says Kämpfer, "threw them some kasses into the chapel, and in return received each a paper, which they carried, bareheaded, with great respect, to the shore, in order to throw it into the lake, having first tied a stone to it, that it might be sure to go to the bottom; which they believe is the purgatory for children who die before seven years of age. They are told so by their priests, who, for their comfort, assure them that as soon as the water washes off the names and characters of the gods and saints, written upon the papers above

* Fusi-no-jama, in the province of Seruga, on the borders of Kiu, is an enormous pyramid, generally covered with snow, detached from and southerly of the great central chain of Nipon. It is the largest and most noted of the volcanoes of Japan. In the year 1707 there was an irruption from it which covered all the neighborhood with masses of rock, red-hot sand and ashes, which latter fell, even in Jedo, some inches deep. — *Klaproth* (from Japanese authorities) in *Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxxii.

mentioned, the children at the bottom feel great relief, if they do not obtain a full and effectual redemption." This lake has but one outlet, falling over the mountains in a cataract, and running down through a craggy and precipitous valley, along which the road is carried on a very steep descent to the mouth of the river in the bay of Jedo. Here, on a plain four miles in width, was found the town of *Odowara*, containing about a thousand small houses, very neatly built, and evidently inhabited by a better class of people; but the empty shops evinced no great activity of trade or manufactures. The castle and residence of the prince, as well as the temples, were on the north side, in the ascent of the mountains.

The next day (Monday, March 12), the road following the northwest shore of the outer bay of Jedo crossed several very rapid streams, till at length the mountains on their left disappeared, and a broad plain spread out extending to Jedo. Off the shore was seen the island of *Kamokura*, with high and rugged shores, but of which the surface was flat and wooded. It was not above four miles in circumference, and was used, like several other islands, as a place of confinement for disgraced noblemen. There being no landing-place, the boats that bring prisoners or provisions must be hauled up and let down by a crane. After a time the road left the shore, crossing a promontory which separates the outer from the inner bay of Jedo; but by sunset the shore of the inner bay was struck.

The country now became exceedingly fruitful and populous, and almost a continued row of towns and villages. In one of these villages there lived in a monastery an old gray monk, four-score years of age, and a native of Nagasaki. "He had spent," says Kämpfer, "the greatest part of his life in holy pilgrimages, running up and down the country, and visiting almost all the temples of the Japanese empire. The superstitious vulgar had got such a high notion of his holiness, that even in his lifetime they canonized and reverenced him as a great saint, to the extent of worshipping his statue, which he caused to be carved of stone, exceeding in this even Alexander the Great, who had no divine honors paid him during his life. Those of his countrymen who were of our retinue did not fail to run thither to see and pay their respects to that holy man."

The Dutch company lodged at *Kanagawa*, a town of six hundred houses, twenty-four miles from the capital. The coast of the bay appeared at low water to be of a soft clay, furnishing abundance of shell-fish and of certain sea-weeds, which were gathered and prepared for food. The road the next day (Tuesday, March 13), still hugging the shore, led on through a fruitful and populous district, in which were several fishing villages, the bay abounding with fish. As they approached *Sinagawa*, they passed a place of public execution, offering a show of human heads and bodies, some half putrified and others half devoured — dogs, ravens, crows and other ravenous beasts and birds, uniting to satisfy their appetites on these miserable remains.*

Sinagawa, immediately adjoining Jedo, of which it forms a sort of outer suburb, consisted of one long, irregular street, with the bay on the right, and a hill on the left, on which stood some temples. Some few narrow streets and lanes turned off from the great one towards these temples, some of which were very spacious buildings, and all pleasantly seated, adorned within with gilt idols, and without with large carved images, curious gates, and staircases of stone leading up to them. One of them was remarkable for a magnificent tower, four stories high. "Though the Japanese," says Kämpfer, "spare no trouble nor expense to adorn and beautify their temples, yet the best fall far short of that loftiness, symmetry and stateliness, which is observable in some of our European churches."

Having ridden upwards of two miles through Sinagawa, they stopped at a small inn, pleasantly seated on the sea-side, from which they had a full view of the city and harbor of Jedo, crowded with many hundred ships and boats of all sizes and shapes. The smallest lay nearest the town, and the largest one or two leagues off, not being able to go higher by reason of the shallowing of the water. "Our Bugio," says Kämpfer, "quitted his norimon here and went on horseback, people of his extraction not being suffered to enter the capital in a norimon. We travelled near a mile to the end of the suburb of Sinagawa, and then entered the suburbs of Jedo, which are only a continuation of the former, there being

* At the date of these travels, and indeed at a much later period, similar exhibitions might have been seen in Europe.

nothing to separate them but a small guard-house. The bay comes here so close to the foot of the hill that there is but one row of small houses between it and the road, which, for some time, runs along the shore, but soon widens into several irregular streets of a considerable length, which, after about half an hour's riding, became broader, more uniform, handsome and regular; whence, and from the great throngs of people, we concluded that we were now got into the city. We kept to the great middle street, which runs northward across the whole city, though somewhat irregularly, passing over several stately bridges laid across small rivers and muddy canals, which run on our left towards the castle, and on our right towards the sea, as did also several streets turning off from the great one.

"The throng of people along this chief and middle street, which is about one hundred and twenty-five feet broad, is incredible. We met as we rode along many numerous trains of princes of the empire and great men at court, and ladies richly apparelled, carried in norimons; and, among other people, a company of firemen on foot, about one hundred in number, walking in much the same military order as ours do in Europe. They were clad in brown leather coats to defend them against the fire; and some carried long pikes, others fire-hooks, upon their shoulders. Their captain rode in the middle. On both sides of the street were multitudes of well-furnished shops of merchants and tradesmen, drapers, silk-merchants, druggists, idol-sellers, booksellers, glass-blowers, apothecaries and others. A black cloth hanging down covers one half of the shop, of which the front projects a little way into the street, so as to expose to view curious patterns of the goods offered for sale. We took notice that scarce anybody here had curiosity enough to come out of his house to see us go by, as they had done in other places, probably because such a small retinue as ours had nothing remarkable or uncommon to amuse the inhabitants of so populous a city.

"Having rode above two miles along this great street, and passed by fifty other streets, which turned off on both sides, we at last turned in ourselves; and, coming to our inn, found our lodgings ready in the upper story of a back house, which had no other access but through a by-lane. We arrived at one in the after-

noon, having completed our journey from Nagasaki in twenty-nine days.

"Jedo, the residence of the emperor, the capital, and by much the largest city of the empire, is seated in the province MUSASI, in 35° 32′ of northern latitude [according to Kämpfer's observations], on a large plain, at the head of a gulf, plentifully stored with fish, crabs, and other shell-fish, but so shallow, with a muddy clay at the bottom, that no ships of bulk can come up to the city, but must be unladen a league or two below it.

"Towards the sea the city hath the figure of a half-moon, and the Japanese will have it to be seven of their miles (about sixteen English miles) long, five (twelve English) broad, and twenty (fifty English) in circumference. It is not enclosed with a wall, no more than other towns in Japan, but cut through by many broad canals, with ramparts raised on both sides, and planted at the top with rows of trees, not so much for defence as to prevent the fires — which happen here too frequently — from making too great a havoc.

"A large river, rising westward of the city, runs through it, and loses itself in the harbor. It sends off a considerable arm, which encompasses the castle, and thence falls into the harbor, in five different streams, every one of which hath its particular name, and a stately bridge over it. The chief, and most famous, of these bridges, two hundred and fifty-two feet in length, is called *Niponbas*, or the bridge of Japan, mention of which has already been made, as the point from which distances are reckoned all over the empire.

"Jedo is not built with that regularity which is observable in most other cities in Japan (particularly Miako), and this because it swelled by degrees to its present bulk. However, in some parts the streets run regularly enough, cutting each other at right angles — a regularity entirely owing to accidents of fire, whereby some hundred houses being laid in ashes at once, as, indeed, very frequently happens, the new streets may be laid out upon what plan the builders please." Many places, which have been thus destroyed by fire, were noticed by Kämpfer still lying waste. "The houses are small and low, built of fir wood, with thin clayed walls, divided into rooms by paper screens and lattices, the floors covered with

mats, and the roofs with shavings of wood. The whole machine being thus but a composition of combustible matter, we need not wonder at the great havoc fires make in this country. Here, as elsewhere, almost every house hath a place under the roof, or upon it, where they constantly keep a tub full of water, with a couple of mats, which may be easily come at, even from without the house; by which precaution they often quench a fire in particular houses; but it is far from being sufficient to stop the fury of a raging flame which has got ground already, against which they know no better remedy but to pull down some of the neighboring houses which have not yet been reached, for which purpose whole companies of firemen patrol about the streets day and night.

"The city is well stocked with monks, temples, monasteries, and other religious buildings, which are seated in the best and pleasantest places, as they are, also, in Europe, and, I believe, in all other countries. The dwelling-houses of private monks are no ways different from those of the laity, excepting only that they are seated in some eminent conspicuous place, with some steps leading up to them, and a small temple or chapel hard by, or, if there be none, at least a hall, or large room, adorned with some few altars, on which stand several of their idols. There are, besides, many stately temples built to Amida, Siaka, Quanwon, and several other of their gods, not necessary to be particularly described here, as they do not differ much in form or structure from other temples erected to the same gods at Miako, which we shall have an opportunity to view and describe more particularly upon our return to that city.

"There are many stately palaces in Jedo, as may be easily conjectured, by its being the residence of the emperor, and the abode of all the noble and princely families. They are distinguished from other houses by large court-yards and stately gates. Fine varnished stair-cases, of a few steps, lead up to the door of the house, which is divided into several magnificent apartments, all of a floor, they being not above one story high, nor adorned with towers, as the castles and palaces are where the princes and lords of the empire reside in their hereditary dominions.

"The city of Jedo is a nursery of artists, handicraftsmen, merchants, and tradesmen, and yet everything is sold dearer than anywhere else in the empire, by reason of the great concourse of people,

and the number of idle monks and courtiers, as, also, the difficulty of importing provisions and other commodities.

"The political government of this city is much the same as at Nagasaki and Osaka. Two governors have the command of the town by turns, each for the space of one year. The chief subaltern officers are the Burgo-masters, as the Dutch call them, or mayors, who have the command of particular quarters, and the Ottona, who have the inspection and subordinate command of single streets.

"The castle and residence of the emperor is seated about the middle of the city. It is of an irregular figure, inclining to the round, and hath five Japanese miles in circumference. It embraces two fore-castles, as one may call them, the innermost and third castle, which is properly the residence of the emperor, and two other strong, well fortified, but smaller, castles at the sides, also some large gardens behind the imperial palace. I call these several divisions castles, because they are every one by itself, enclosed with walls and ditches.

"The first and outermost castle takes in a large spot of ground, which encompasses the second castle, and half the imperial residence, and is enclosed itself with walls and ditches, and strong, well-guarded, gates. It hath so many streets, ditches, and canals, that I could not easily get a plan of it. Nor could I gather anything to my satisfaction out of the plans of the Japanese themselves.* In this outermost castle reside the princes of the empire, with their families, living in commodious and stately palaces, built in streets, with spacious courts, shut up by strong, heavy gates. The second castle takes in a much smaller spot of ground. It fronts the third, and residence of the emperor, and is enclosed by the first, but separated from both by walls, ditches, draw-bridges, and strong gates. The guard of this second castle is much more numerous than that of the first. In it are the stately palaces of some of the most powerful princes of the empire, the councillors of state, the prime ministers, chief officers of the crown, and such other persons, who must give a more immediate attendance upon the emperor's person.

"The castle itself, where the emperor resides, is seated somewhat

* One of these Japanese plans is published as a frontispiece to Titsingh's "Illustrations of Japan." This plan would seem to embrace only what Kämpfer speaks of, further on, as "the palace itself."

higher than the others, on the top of a hill, which hath been purposely flatted for the imperial palace to be built upon it. It is enclosed with a thick, strong wall of free-stone, with bastions standing out, much after the manner of the European fortifications. A rampart of earth is raised against the inside of this wall, and at the top of it stand, for ornament and defence, several long buildings and square guard-houses, built in form of towers, several stories high. Particularly the structures on that side where the imperial residence is are of an uncommon strength, all of free-stone of an extraordinary size, which are barely laid upon each other, without being fastened either with mortar or braces of iron, which was done, they say, that, in case of earthquakes, which frequently happen in this country, the stones yielding to the shock, the wall itself should receive no damage.

"Within the palace a square white tower rises aloft above all other buildings. It is many stories high, adorned with roofs, and other curious ornaments, which make the whole castle look, at a distance, magnificent beyond expression, amazing the beholders, as do, also, the many other beautiful bended roofs, with gilt dragons at the top, which cover the rest of the buildings within the castle.

"The side castles are very small, and more like citadels, without any outward ornament. There is but one passage to them, out of the emperor's own residence, over a high, long bridge. Both are enclosed with strong, high walls, encompassed with broad, deep ditches, filled by the great river. In these two castles are bred up the imperial princes and princesses.

"Behind the imperial residence there is still a rising ground, beautified, according to the country fashion, with curious and magnificent gardens and orchards, which are terminated by a pleasant wood at the top of a hill, planted with two curious kinds of plane-trees, whose starry leaves, variegated with green, yellow, and red, are very pleasing to the eye, of which the Japanese affirm that one kind is in full beauty in spring, the other towards autumn.

"The palace itself hath but one story, which, however, is of a fine height. It takes in a large spot of ground, and hath several long galleries and spacious rooms, which, upon putting on or removing of screens, may be enlarged or brought into a narrower compass, as occasion requires, and are contrived so as to receive at all

times a convenient and sufficient light. The chief apartments have each its particular name. Such are, for instance, the waiting-room, where all persons that are to be admitted to an audience, either of the emperor or his prime ministers of state, wait till they are introduced; the council-chamber, where the ministers of state and privy councillors meet upon business; the hall of thousand mats, where the emperor receives the homage and usual presents of the princes of the empire and ambassadors of foreign powers; several halls of audience; the apartments for the emperor's household, and others. The structure of all these several apartments is exquisitely fine, according to the architecture of the country. The ceilings, beams, and pillars, are of cedar, or camphor, or jeseriwood, the grain of which naturally runs into flowers and other curious figures, and is, therefore, in some apartments, covered only with a thin, transparent, layer of varnish, in others japanned, or curiously carved with birds and branched work, neatly gilt. The floor is covered with the finest white mats, bordered with gold fringes or bands; and this is all the furniture to be seen in the palaces of the emperor and princes of the empire."

The 29th of March, the last of the second Japanese month, was appointed for the reception of the Dutch — *Makino Bingo*, the emperor's principal counsellor and favorite, being in a hurry to get rid of them, because on the fifth of the ensuing month he was to have the honor to treat the emperor at dinner, a favor which requires a good deal of time and vast preparations. "This Bingo," says Kämpfer, "tutor to the reigning monarch before he came to the crown, is now his chief favorite, and the only person whom he absolutely confides in. At our audience it is he that receives the emperor's words and commands from his own mouth, and addresses the same to us. He is near seventy years of age, a tall but lean man, with a long face, a manly and German-like countenance, slow in his actions, and very civil in his whole behavior. He hath the character of a just and prudent man, no ways given to ambition, nor inclined to revenge, nor bent upon heaping up immoderate riches — in short, of being altogether worthy of the great confidence and trust the emperor puts in him."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

PERSONAGES TO BE VISITED. — VISIT TO THE EMPEROR. — FIRST AUDIENCE. — SECOND AUDIENCE. — VISITS TO THE HOUSES OF THE COUNCILLORS. — VISITS TO THE GOVERNORS OF JEDO AND THE TEMPLE LORDS. — VISITS TO THE HOUSES OF THE GOVERNORS OF NAGASAKI. — AUDIENCE OF LEAVE. — RETURN. — VISITS TO TEMPLES IN THE VICINITY OF MIAKO. — A. D. 1691—1692.

The ministers of state and other great men at court, some of whom the Dutch were to visit, and to make presents to others, were the five chief councillors of state, called *Goratzi*, or the five elderly men; four imperial deputy councillors of state; the three *Dsisia*, as they are called, that is, lords of the temple; the imperial commissioners, as the Dutch call them, described by Kämpfer as the emperor's attorney-generals for the city of Jedo; the two governors of Jedo; and, last of all, that one of the governors of Nagasaki resident at Jedo.

"On the 29th of March," * says Kämpfer, "the day appointed for our audience, the presents designed for his imperial majesty† were sent to court, to be there laid in due order on wooden tables, in the hall of hundred mats, as they call it, where the emperor was to view them. We followed soon after with a very inconsiderable equipage, clad in black silk cloaks, as garments of ceremony, attended by three stewards of the governors of Nagasaki, our Dosiu or deputy Bugio, two town messengers of Nagasaki, and an interpreter's son, all walking on foot. We three Dutchmen and our second interpreter rode on horseback, behind each other, our horses led by grooms, who took them by the bridle. Our president,

* The 23d a considerable shock of an earthquake was felt. The weather that day was excessively hot. The next day it was very cold, with snow.

† The reigning emperor was *Tsuna Josi*, who had succeeded to the empire in 1681, the fourth in succession from Gongin-Sama the founder of the dynasty. The Japanese accounts, according to Titsingh, give him but a bad character.

or captain, as the Japanese call him, came after us, carried in a norimon, and was followed by our old chief interpreter, carried in a kango. The procession was closed by the rest of our servants and retinue, walking a-foot at proper distances, so far as they were permitted to follow us.

"In this order we moved on towards the castle, and after about half an hour's riding came to the first enclosure, which we found well fortified with walls and ramparts. This we entered over a large bridge across a broad river, on which we saw great numbers of boats and vessels. The entry is through two strong gates, with a small guard between them. Having passed through the second gate, we came to a large place, where we found another more numerous guard, which, however, seemed to be intended more for state than defence. The guard-room was hung about with cloth; pikes were planted in the ground near the entry, and within it was curiously adorned with gilt arms, lackered guns, pikes, shields, bows, arrows and quivers. The soldiers on the ground were in good order, clad in black silk, each with two scymetars stuck in their girdle.

"Having passed across this first enclosure, riding between the houses and palaces of the princes and lords of the empire, built within its compass, we came to the second, which we found fortified much after the same manner, only the gates and inner guard and palaces were much more stately and magnificent. We left our norimon and kangos here, as also our horses and servants, and were conducted across this second enclosure to the *Tonomatz* [Lord-street], which we entered over a long stone bridge; and having passed through a double bastion, and as many strong gates, and thence about twenty paces further through an irregular street, built, as the situation of the ground would allow it, with walls of an uncommon height on both sides, we came to the *Fiakninban*, that is, guard of hundred men, or great guard of the castle. Here we were commanded to wait till we could be introduced to an audience, which we were told should be as soon as the great council of state was met in the palace. We were civilly received by the two captains of the guard, who treated us with tea and tobacco. Soon after, Tsina-Kami (the governor of Nagasaki resident at Jedo), and the two commissioners, came to compliment us, along with some gen-

tlemen of the emperor's court, who were strangers to us. Having waited about an hour, during which time most of the imperial councillors of state, old and young, went into the palace, some walking on foot, others carried in norimons, we were conducted through two stately gates, over a large square place, to the palace, to which there is an ascent of a few steps leading from the second gate. The place between the second gate and the front of the palace is but a few paces broad, and was then excessively crowded with throngs of courtiers and troops of guards.

"Thence we were conducted up two other stair-cases into a spacious room next to the entry on the right, being the place where all persons that are to be admitted to an audience wait till they are called in. It is a large and lofty room, but, when all the screens are put on, pretty dark, receiving but a sparing light from the upper windows of an adjoining room. It is otherwise richly furnished, according to the country fashion, and its gilt posts, walls and screens, are very pleasing to behold.

"Having waited here upwards of an hour, and the emperor having in the mean while seated himself in the hall of audience, Tsina-Kami and the two commissioners came in and conducted our president into the emperor's presence, leaving us behind. As soon as he came thither, they cried out aloud, *Hollanda Captain!* which was the signal for him to draw near and make his obeisance. Accordingly he crawled on his hands and knees to a place showed him between the presents, ranged in due order on one side, and the place where the emperor sat on the other, and then kneeling, he bowed his forehead quite down to the ground, and so crawled backwards like a crab, without uttering one single word. So mean and short a thing is the audience we have of this mighty monarch. Nor are there any more ceremonies observed in the audience he gives even to the greatest and most powerful princes of the empire; for, having been called into the hall, their names are cried out aloud; then they move on their hands and feet humbly and silently towards the emperor's seat, and having showed their submission by bowing their forehead down to the ground, they creep back again in the same submissive posture.

"The hall of audience is not in the least like that which hath been described and figured by Montanus in his *Memorable Embas-*

sies of the Dutch to the Emperors of Japan. The elevated throne, the steps leading up to it, the carpets pendent from it, the stately columns supporting the building which contains the throne, the columns between which the princes of the empire are said to prostrate themselves before the emperor, and the like, have all no manner of foundation but in that author's fancy. The floor is covered with an hundred mats, all of the same size. Hence it is called *Sen Sio Siki*, that is, The Hall of an Hundred Mats.* It opens on one side towards a small court, which lets in the light; on the opposite side it joins two other apartments, which are on this occasion laid open towards the same court, one of which is considerably larger than the other, and serves for the councillors of state when they give audience by themselves. The other is narrower, deeper, and one step higher than the hall itself. In this the emperor sits when he gives audience, raised only on a few carpets. Nor is it an easy matter to see him, the light reaching not quite so far as the place where he sits, besides that the audience is too short, and the person admitted to it, in so humble and submissive a posture that he cannot well have an opportunity to hold up his head and to view him. This audience is otherwise very awful and majestic, by reason chiefly of the silent presence of all the councillors of state, as also of many princes and lords of the empire, the gentlemen of his majesty's bed-chamber, and other chief officers of his court, who line the hall of audience and all its avenues, sitting in good order, and clad in their garments of ceremony.

"Formerly all we had to do, at the emperor's court, was completed by the captain's paying the usual homage, after the manner above related. But, for about these twenty years last past, he and the rest of the Dutchmen that came up with the embassy to Jedo, were conducted deeper into the palace, to give the empress, and the ladies of her court, and the princesses of the blood, the diversion of seeing us. In this second audience the emperor and the ladies invited to it attend behind screens and lattices, but the councillors

* *Sen* is not a hundred, but a thousand. According to Klaproth (*Annals des Dairi*, p. 184), *ken* or *kin* does not signify a mat, as Kämpfer translates it (though mats were made of that length), but a space between columns. It was a measure of length divided into six Japanese feet, but equal to seven feet four inches and a half, Rhineland measure. But see Glossary.

of state and other officers of the court sit in the open rooms in their usual and elegant order. As soon as the captain had paid his homage, the emperor retired into his apartment, and not long after we three Dutchmen were likewise called up and conducted, together with the captain, through several apartments, into a gallery curiously carved and gilt, where we waited about a quarter of an hour, and were then, through several other walks and galleries, carried further into a large room, where they desired us to sit down, and where several courtiers with shaved heads, being the emperor's physicians, the officers of his kitchen, and some of the clergy, came to ask after our names, age and the like; but gilt screens were quickly drawn before us, to deliver us from their throng and troublesome importunity.

"We staid here about half an hour; meanwhile the court met in the imperial apartments, where we were to have our second audience, and whither we were conducted through several dark galleries. Along all these several galleries there was one continued row of life-guardsmen, and nearer to the imperial apartments followed in the same row some great officers, who lined the front of the hall of audience, clad in their garments of ceremony, bowing their heads and sitting on their heels.

"The hall of audience consisted of several rooms looking towards a middle place, some of which were laid open towards the same, others covered by screens and lattices. Some were of fifteen mats, others of eighteen, and they were a mat higher or lower, according to the quality of the persons seated in the same. The middle place had no mats at all, they having been taken away, and was consequently the lowest, on whose floor, covered with neat varnished boards, we were commanded to sit down. The emperor and his imperial consort sat behind the lattices on our right. As I was dancing, at the emperor's command, I had an opportunity twice of seeing the empress through the slits of the lattices, and took notice that she was of a brown and beautiful complexion, with black European eyes, full of fire, and from the proportion of her head, which was pretty large, I judged her to be a tall woman, and about thirty-six years of age. By lattices, I mean hangings made of reed, split exceedingly thin and fine, and covered on the back with a fine, transparent silk, with openings about a span broad, for the persons

behind to look through. For ornament's sake, and the better to hide the persons standing behind, they are painted with divers figures, though it would be impossible to see them at a distance when the light is taken off behind.

"The emperor himself was in such an obscure place that we should scarce have known him to be present had not his voice discovered him, which yet was so low, as if he purposely intended to be there incognito. Just before us, behind other lattices were the princes of the blood and the ladies of the empress and her court. I took notice that pieces of paper were put between the reeds, in some parts of the lattices, to make the openings wider, in order to a better and easier sight. I counted about thirty such papers, which made me conclude, that there was about that number of persons sitting behind.

"Bingo sat on a raised mat, in an open room by himself, just before us, towards our right, on which side the emperor sat behind the lattices. On our left, in another room, were the councillors of state of the first and second rank, sitting in a double row in good and becoming order. The gallery behind us was filled with the chief officers of the emperor's court and the gentlemen of his bedchamber. The gallery, which led into the room where the emperor was, was filled with the sons of some princes of the empire, then at court, the emperor's pages and some priests. After this manner it was that they ordered the stage on which we were now to act.

"The commissioners for foreign affairs having conducted us into the gallery before the hall of audience, one of the councillors of state of the second rank came to receive us there and to conduct us to the above-described middle place, on which we were commanded to sit down, having first made our obeisances after the Japanese manner, creeping and bowing our heads to the ground, towards that part of the lattices behind which the emperor was. The chief interpreter sat himself a little forward, to hear more distinctly, and we took our places on his left hand all in a row. After the usual obeisances, Bingo bid us welcome in the emperor's name. The chief interpreter received the compliment from Bingo's mouth, and repeated it to us. Upon this the ambassador made his compliment in the name of his masters, returning their most humble thanks to the emperor for having graciously granted the Dutch liberty of

commerce. This the chief interpreter repeated in Japanese, having prostrated himself quite to the ground, and speaking loud enough to be heard by the emperor. The emperor's answer was again received by Bingo, who delivered it to the chief interpreter, and he to us. He might have, indeed, received it himself from the emperor's own mouth, and saved Bingo this unnecessary trouble; but I fancy that the words, as they flow out of the emperor's mouth, are esteemed too precious and sacred for an immediate transit into the mouth of persons of a low rank.

"The mutual compliments being over, the succeeding part of this solemnity turned to a perfect farce. We were asked a thousand ridiculous and impertinent questions. They desired to know how old each of us was, and what was his name, which we were commanded to write upon a bit of paper, in anticipation of which we had provided ourselves with an European inkhorn. This paper, together with the inkhorn itself, we were commanded to give to Bingo, who delivered them both into the emperor's hands, reaching them over below the lattice. The captain, or ambassador, was asked the distance of Holland from Batavia, and of Batavia from Nagasaki; also which of the two was the most powerful, the Director-general of the Dutch East India Company at Batavia, or the Prince of Holland? As for my own particular, the following questions were put to me. What external and internal distempers I thought the most dangerous and most difficult to cure? How I proceeded in the cure of cancerous humors and imposthumations of the inner parts? Whether our European physicians did not search after some medicine to render people immortal, as the Chinese physicians had done for many hundred years? Whether we had made any considerable progress in this search, and which was the last remedy conducive to long life that had been found out in Europe? To which I returned in answer, that very many European physicians had long labored to find out some medicine, which should have the virtue of prolonging human life and preserving people in health to a great age; and having thereupon been asked which I thought the best, I answered, that I always took that to be the best which was found out last, till experience taught us a better; and being further asked, which was the last, I answered, a certain spirituous liquor, which could keep the humors of our body

fluid and comfort the spirits. This general answer proved not altogether satisfactory; for I was quickly desired to let them know the name of this excellent medicine, upon which, knowing that whatever was esteemed by the Japanese had long and high-sounding names, I returned in answer it was the *Sal volatile Oleosum Sylvii*. This name was minuted down behind the lattices, for which purpose I was commanded to repeat it several times. The next question was, who it was that found it out, and where it was found out? I answered, Professor Sylvius, in Holland. Then they asked whether I could make it up. Upon this our resident whispered me to say no; but I answered, yes, I could make it up, but not here. Then it was asked whether it could be had at Batavia; and having returned, in answer, that it was to be had there, the emperor desired that it should be sent over by the next ships.

"The emperor, hitherto seated almost opposite to us, at a considerable distance, now drew nearer, and sat himself down on our right, behind the lattices, as near us as possible. He ordered us to take off our cappas, or cloaks, being our garments of ceremony; then to stand upright, that he might have a full view of us; again to walk, to stand still, to compliment each other, to dance, to jump, to play the drunkard, to speak broken Japanese, to read Dutch, to paint, to sing, to put our cloaks on and off. Meanwhile [illegible] the emperor's commands in the best manner we could, I [illegible]y dance a love-song in High German. In this manner, [illegible] numerable such other apish tricks, we must suffer our[illegible]ntribute to the emperor's and the court's diversion. The [illegible], however, is free from these and the like commands, for, [illegible]sents the authority of his masters, some care is taken [illegible]g should be done to injure or prejudice the same; and [illegible] showed so much gravity on his countenance and whole [illegible]s was sufficient to convince the Japanese that he was [illegible] fit person to have such ridiculous and comical com[illegible] upon him.

[illegible] been thus exercised for a matter of two hours, though [illegible] apparent civility, some shaved servants came in and put [illegible] of us a small table with Japanese victuals, and a couple [illegible]ks instead of knives and forks. We took and eat some [illegible], and our old chief interpreter, though scarce able to

walk, was commanded to carry away the remainder for himself. We were then ordered to put on our cloaks again and to take our leave; which we gladly and without delay complied with, putting thereby an end to this second audience.* The imperial audience over, we were conducted back by the two commissioners to the waiting-room, where we took our leave of them also.

"It was now already three o'clock in the afternoon, and we had still several visits to make to the councillors of state of the first and second rank. Accordingly we left forthwith, saluted as we went by the officers of the great imperial guard, and made our round a-foot. The presents had been carried beforehand to every one's house by our clerks. They consisted of some Chinese, Bengalese, and other silk stuffs, some linen, black serge, some yards of black cloth, gingangs, pelangs, and a flask of Tent wine.

"We were everywhere received by the stewards and secretaries with extraordinary civility, and treated with tea, tobacco and sweetmeats, as handsomely as the little time we had to spare would allow. The rooms where we were admitted to audience were filled behind the screens and lattices with crowds of spectators, who would fain have obliged us to show them some of our European customs and ceremonies, but could obtain nothing excepting only a short dance at Bingo's house (who came home himself a back way), and a song from each of us at the youngest councillor's of state. We then returned again to our kangos and horses, and having got out of the castle, through the northern gate, went back to our inn another

* In his account of his second visit to Jedo, a year later, Kämpfer gives the following account of this second audience: "Soon after we came in, and had, after the usual observances, seated ourselves in the place assigned us, *Bingo-sama* welcomed us in the emperor's name, and then desired us to sit upright, to take off our cloaks, to tell him our names and age, to stand up, to walk, to turn about, to sing songs, to compliment one another, to be angry, to invite one another to dinner, to converse one with another, to discourse in a familiar way like father and son, to show how two friends or man and wife compliment or take leave of one another, to play with children, to carry them about in our arms, and to do many more things of a like nature. They made us kiss one another like man and wife, which the ladies, by their laughter, showed themselves to be particularly well pleased with. It was already four in the afternoon when we left the hall of audience, after having been exercised after this manner for two hours and a half."

way, on the left of which we took notice that there were strong walls and ditches. It was just six in the evening when we got home, heartily tired.

"Friday, the 30th of March, we rode out again betimes, in the morning, to make some of our remaining visits. The presents, such as above-described, were sent before us by our Japanese clerks, who took care to lay them on trays or tables, and to arrange them in good order, according to the country fashion. We were received at the entry of the house, by one or two of the principal domestics, and conducted to the apartment where we were to have our audience. The rooms round the hall of audience were everywhere crowded with spectators. As soon as we had seated ourselves we were treated with tea and tobacco. Then the steward of the household came in, or else the secretary, either alone or with another gentleman, to compliment us, and to receive our compliments, in his master's name. The rooms were everywhere so disposed as to make us turn our faces towards the ladies, by whom we were very generously and civilly treated with cakes and several sorts of sweetmeats. We visited and made our presents, this day, to the two governors of Jedo, to the three ecclesiastical judges (or temple lords), and to the two commissioners for foreign affairs, who lived near a mile from each other, one in the south-west, the other in the north-east, part of the castle. They both profess themselves to be particular patrons of the Dutch, and received us accordingly with great pomp and magnificence. The street was lined with twenty men armed, who, with their long staffs, which they held on one side, made a very good figure, besides that they helped to keep off the throng of people from being too troublesome. We were received upon our entering the house, and introduced to audience, much after the same manner as we had been in other places, only we were carried deeper into their palaces and into the innermost apartment, on purpose that we should not be troubled with numbers of spectators, and be at more liberty ourselves as well as the ladies who were invited to the ceremony. Opposite us, in the hall of audience, there were grated lattices, instead of screens, for the length of two mats (twelve feet) and upwards, behind which sat such numbers of women of the commissioner's own family and their relations and friends, that there was no room left.

We had scarce seated ourselves, when seven servants, well clad, came in, and brought us pipes and tobacco, with the usual apparatus for smoking. Soon after, they brought in something baked, laid on japanned trays, then some fish fried, all after the same manner, by the same number of servants, and always but one piece in a small dish; then a couple of eggs, one baked, the other boiled and shelled, and a glass of old, strong saki standing between them. After this manner we were entertained for about an hour and a half, when they desired us to sing a song and to dance; the first we refused, but satisfied them as to the last. In the house of the first commissioner's a drink made of sweet plums was offered us instead of saki. In the second commissioner's house we were presented first of all with *mange* bread,* in a brown liquor, cold, with some mustard-seed and radishes laid about the dish, and at last with some orange-peels with sugar, which is a dish given only upon extraordinary occasions, in token of fortune and good will. We then drank some tea, and having taken our leave, went back to our inn, where we arrived at five in the evening."

[The following bills of fare are given in Kämpfer's account of his second visit to Jedo: "At the first commissioner's: 1. Tea. 2. Tobacco, with the whole set of instruments for smoking. 3. Philosophical or white syrup. 4. A piece of *stienbrassen*, a very scarce fish, boiled in a brown sauce. 5. Another dish of fish, dressed with bran-flower and spices. 6. Cakes of eggs rolled together. 7. Fried fish, presented on skewers of bamboo. 8. Lemon-peels with sugar.

"After every one of these dishes they made us drink a dish of saki, as good as ever I tasted. We were likewise presented twice, in dram cups, with wine made of plums, a very pleasant and agreeable liquor. Last of all, we were again presented with a cup of tea.

"At the second commissioner's we were treated, after tea and tobacco, with the following things: 1. Two long slices of *mange*, dipped into a brown sop or sauce, with some ginger. 2. Hard eggs. 3. Four common fish fried and brought in on bamboo skewers. 4. The stomachs of carps, salt, in a brown sauce. 5. Two

* This is what Kämpfer calls, in another place, *Mansies*, and describes as a sort of round cakes, which the Japanese had learned to make of the Portuguese, as big as a common hen's egg, and sometimes filled within with bean-flour and sugar.

small slices of a goose, roasted and warm, presented in unglazed earthen dishes.

"Good liquor was drank about plentifully, and the commissioner's surgeon, who was to treat us, did not miss to take his full dose. Each guest was separately served with the above dishes on little tables or salvers, about a foot square and a few inches high.]

"On the 31st of March, we rode out again at ten in the morning, and went to the houses of the three governors of Nagasaki, two of whom were then absent on duty at Nagasaki. We presented them on this occasion only with a flask of Tent each, they having already received their other presents at Nagasaki. We were met by Tsina Kami, the one then at Jedo, just by the door of his house. He was attended by a numerous retinue, and, having called both our interpreters to him, he commanded them to tell us his desire that we should make ourselves merry in his house. Accordingly we were received extraordinarily well, and desired to walk about and to divert ourselves in his garden, as being now in the house of a friend at Jedo, and not in the palace of our governor and magistrate at Nagasaki.* We were treated with warm dishes and tea, much after the same manner as we had been by the commissioners, and all the while civilly entertained by his own brother, and several persons of quality of his friends and relations.

"Having staid about two hours, we went to Tonosama's house, where we were conducted into the innermost and chief apartment, and desired twice to come nearer the lattices on both sides of the room. There were more ladies behind the screens here than, I think, we had as yet met with in any other place. They desired us, very civilly, to show them our clothes, the captain's arms, rings, tobacco-pipes, and the like, some of which were reached them between or under the lattices. The person that treated us in the absent governor's name, and the other gentlemen who were then present in the room, entertained us likewise very civilly, and we could not but take notice that everything was so cordial that we made no manner of scruple of making ourselves merry, and diverting the company each with a song. The magnificence of this family appeared

* See the character given of Tsina-Kami as a harsh enemy of the Dutch, or, at least, a strict disciplinarian over them ; *ante*, p. 263–4.

fully by the richness and exquisiteness of this entertainment, which was equal to that of the first commissioner's, but far beyond it in courteous civility and a free, open carriage. After an hour and a half we took our leave. The house of Tonosama is the furthermost to the north or north-west we were to go to, a mile and a half from our inn, but seated in by much the pleasantest part of the town, where there is an agreeable variety of hills and shrubbery. The family of Tubosama, the third governor, lives in a small, sorry house near the ditch which encompasses the castle. We met here but a few women behind a screen, who took up with peeping at us through a few holes, which they made as they sat down. The strong liquors, which we had been this day obliged to drink in larger quantities than usual, being by this time got pretty much into our heads, we made haste to return home, and took our leave as soon as we had been treated, after the usual manner, with tea and tobacco."

Two or three days after followed the audience of leave preparatory to the return to Nagasaki. Of this Kämpfer gives much the fullest account in his narrative of his second visit to Jedo, which we follow here.

Having proceeded to the palace as at the first audience, after half an hour's stay in the waiting-room, the "Captain Hollanda" was called in before the councillors of state, who directed one of the commissioners to read the usual orders to him, five in number, chiefly to the effect that the Dutch should not molest any of the boats or ships of the Chinese or the Lew Chewans trading to Japan, nor bring in any Portuguese or priests.

These orders being read, the director was presented with thirty gowns, laid on three of the Japanese wooden stands or salvers, which he crept upon all fours to receive, and in token of respect held one of the gowns over his head.

This ceremony over, the Dutch were invited to stay to dinner, which was served up in another room. Before each was placed a small table or salver, on which lay five fresh, hot, white cakes, as tough as glue, and two hollow cakes of two spans in circumference, made of flour and sprinkled with sesamum seeds. A small porcelain cup contained some bits of pickled salmon in a brown sauce, by the side of which lay two wooden chop-sticks. Tea also was

served up, but in "poor and sorry" brown dishes, and the tea itself proved to be little better than hot water. Fortunately the Dutch, seldom caught napping upon that point, had provided themselves, before leaving home in the morning, with "a good substantial breakfast;" and, besides, they had been treated in the guard-room with fresh *manges* and with sweet brown cakes of sugar and bean flour.

While they were eating this dinner, "so far from answering to the majesty and magnificence of so powerful a monarch, that a worse one could not have been had at any private man's house," several young noblemen busied themselves in examining their hats, coats, dress, &c. Dinner over, after half an hour in the waiting-room, they were conducted, through passages and galleries which they did not remember to have seen before, to the hall of audience, which, by a change in the position of some of the screens, presented quite a new appearance. They were put in the very same uncarpeted spot as at their first audience, and were again called upon, as then, to answer questions, dance, sing songs and exhibit themselves. Among the persons called in were two physicians, with whom Kämpfer had some professional conversation; also several shaven priests, one of whom had an ulcer on his shin, as to which Kämpfer's opinion was asked. As it was a fresh sore, and the inflammation about it slight, he judged it to be of no great consequence. At the same time he advised the patient not to be too familiar with saki, pretending to guess by his wound, what was obvious enough from his red face and nose, that he was given to drinking, — a shrewd piece of professional stratagem, which occasioned much laughter at the patient's expense.

"This farce over, a salver was brought in for each guest, on which was placed the following Japanese dishes: 1. Two small, hollow loaves, sprinkled with sesamum seeds. 2. A piece of white, refined sugar, striped. 3. Five candied kernels of the *kusi* tree, not unlike almonds. 4. A flat slice of cake. 5. Two cakes, made of flour and honey, shaped like a tunnel, brown, thick and somewhat tough. 6. Two slices of a dark reddish and brittle cake, made of bean flour and sugar. 7. Two slices of a rice flour cake, yellow and tough. 8. Two slices of another cake or pie, of which the inside seemed to be of quite a different substance from the crust.

9. A large *mange* boiled and filled with brown sugar, like treacle. Two smaller *manges*, of the common bigness, dressed after the same manner. A few of these things were eaten, and the rest, according to the Japanese custom, were taken home by the interpreter, for whom they proved quite a load, especially as he was old and rheumatic."

Having been dismissed with many ceremonies, they went next to the house of the acting governor of Jedo, who received them with great cordiality, and gave them an entertainment consisting of a cup of tea, boiled fish with a very good sauce, oysters boiled and brought in the shells, with vinegar, a dish which, it was intimated, had been prepared from the known fondness of the Dutch for it; several small slices of a roasted goose; fried fish and boiled eggs, with very good liquor served up between the dishes. Thence they went to the houses of the governors of Nagasaki, and returned home at night thoroughly tired out, but well satisfied with their reception.

Meanwhile, the customary presents began to come in, which, in case the director was at home, were presented and received in quite a formal manner, — a speech being made by the bearer and an answer returned, after which he was treated with tobacco, tea, sweetmeats and Dutch liquors. Besides thirty gowns from the emperor, ten were sent by each of the five ordinary councillors, six by each of the four extraordinary councillors, five by each of the three lords of the temple, and two, "pretty sorry ones," Kämpfer says, by each of the governors of Jedo, — in all, a hundred and twenty-three, of which those given by the emperor went to the Company, and all the rest to the director, constituting no inconsiderable perquisite.

It is the custom, on the return of the Dutch, when they reach Miako, to take them to see some of the principal temples. The first one visited by Kämpfer was the Buddhist temple and convent, where the emperor lodges when he comes to visit the Dairi. The approach to this temple was a broad, level, gravel walk, half a mile in length, lined on both sides with the stately dwellings of the ecclesiastics attached to it. Having alighted and passed a lofty gateway, the visitors ascended to a large terrace, finely gravelled and planted with trees and shrubs. Passing two handsome structures, they ascended a beautiful stairway to a magnificent building, with a

front superior to that of the imperial palace at Jedo. In the middle of the outermost hall was a chapel containing a large idol with curled hair, surrounded with smaller idols. On both sides were some smaller and less elaborate chapels; behind were two apartments for the emperor's use, opening upon a small pleasure-garden at the foot of a mountain, clothed with a beautiful variety of trees and shrubs. Behind this garden, and on the ascent of the mountain, was a chapel dedicated to the predecessor of the reigning emperor, who had been deified under the name of *Gingosin*.

"The visitors were next conducted across a square to another temple, of the size of an ordinary European church, supported on thirty pillars, or rather fifty-six, including those of the gallery which surrounded it. These pillars were, however, but nine feet high, and of wood, and, with the beams and cornices, were painted some red, some yellow. The most striking feature of this building, which was entirely empty within, was its bended roofs, four in number, one over the other, of which the lowest and largest jutted over the gallery. There were said to be not less than twenty-seven temples within the enclosure of this monastery.

"Up the hill, near a quarter of a mile distant, was a large bell, which Kämpfer describes as rather superior in size to the smaller of the two great Moscow bells (which he had seen), rough, ill-cast and ill-shaped. It was struck on the outside by a large wooden stick. The prior who, with a number of the monks, received and entertained the Dutch visitors, was an old gentleman, of an agreeable countenance and good complexion, clad in a violet or dark purple-colored gown, with an alms bag in his hand richly embroidered with gold.

"The largest and most remarkable of the temples seen at Miako, was that called *Daibods*, on the road to *Fusimi*. It was enclosed by a high wall of free-stone, the front blocks being near twelve feet square. A stone staircase of eight steps led up to the gateway, on either side of which stood a gigantic image, near twenty-four feet high, with the face of a lion, but otherwise well-proportioned, black, or of a dark purple, almost naked, and placed on a pedestal six feet high. That on the left had the mouth open and one of the hands stretched out. The opposite one had the mouth shut and the hand close to the body. They were said to be emblems of the two first

and chief principles of nature, the active and passive, the giving and taking, the opening and shutting, generation and corruption. Within the gateway were sixteen stone pillars on each side for lamps, a water basin, &c.; and on the inside of the enclosing wall was a spacious walk or gallery, open towards the interior space, but covered with a roof which was supported by two rows of pillars, about eighteen feet high and twelve feet distant from each other.

"Directly opposite the entrance, in the middle of the court, stood the temple, much the loftiest structure which Kämpfer had seen in Japan, with a double roof supported by ninety-four immense wooden pillars, of at least nine feet diameter, some of them of a single piece, but others of several trunks put together as in the case of the masts of our large ships, and all painted red."

Within, the floor was paved with square flags of free-stone, — a thing not seen elsewhere. There were many small, narrow doors running up to the first roof, but the interior, on account of its great height, the whole up to the second roof forming but one room, was very badly lighted. Nothing was to be seen within except an immense idol, sitting (not after the Japanese, but after the Indian manner, with the legs crossed before it) on a terete flower, supported by another flower, of which the leaves were turned upwards, the two being raised about twelve feet from the floor. The idol which was gilt all over, had long ears, curled hair, a crown on the head, which appeared through the window over the first roof, with a large spot not gilt on the forehead. The shoulders, so broad as to reach from one pillar to another, a distance of thirty feet, were naked. The breast and body were covered with a loose piece of drapery. It held the right hand up, the left rested edgewise on the belly.

The Quanwon temple was a structure very long in proportion to its breadth. In the midst was a gigantic image of Quanwon, with thirty-six arms. Sixteen black images, bigger than life, stood round it, and on each side two rows of gilt idols with twenty arms each. On either side of the temple, running from end to end, were ten platforms rising like steps one behind the other, on each of which stood fifty images of Quanwon, as large as life, — a thousand in all, each on its separate pedestal, so arranged as to stand in rows of

five, one behind the other, and all visible at the same time, each with its twenty hands. On the hands and heads of all these are placed smaller idols, to the number of forty or more; so that the whole number, thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three, according to the estimate of the Japanese, does not appear exaggerated.

Klaproth* gives some curious details as to these temples, derived from a Japanese Guide Book, such as is sold to visitants. The dimensions of the temple and of the image of Daibods, or the great Buddha, are given with great minuteness. The body is seventy-seven feet five and one fourth inches high (Rhineland measure), and the entire statue with the lotus, eighty-nine feet eight and three fourths inches. The head of the colossus protrudes through the roof of the saloon.†

At a little distance is a chapel called *Mimitsuka*, or "tomb of ears," in which are buried the ears and noses of the Coreans who fell in the war carried on against them by Taiko-Sama, who had them salted and conveyed to Japan. The grand portico of the external wall of the temple is called Ni-wo-mon, "gate of the two kings." On entering this vast portico, which is eighty-three and one half feet high, on each side appears a colossal figure twenty-two feet in height, representing the two celestial kings, Awoon and Jugo, the usual porters at the Buddhist temples. Another edifice placed before the apartment of the great Buddha, contains the largest bell known in the world. It is seventeen feet two and one half inches high, and weighs one million seven hundred thousand Japanese pounds (katties), equal to two millions sixty-six thousand pounds English. Its weight is consequently five times greater than the great bell at Moscow. If this is the same bell described by Kämpfer, here is a remarkable discrepancy.

* *Annals des Empereurs du Japan*, p. 405, note, and in the *Asiatic Journal* for Sept. 1831.

† The history of this image, derived from the same source, is given in a note on p. 150. The roof of the temple is supported on ninety-two columns, each upwards of six feet in diameter.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FURTHER DECLINE OF THE DUTCH TRADE. — DEGRADATION OF THE JAPANESE COINS. — THE DUTCH THREATEN TO WITHDRAW FROM JAPAN. — RESTRICTIONS ON THE CHINESE TRADE. — PROBABLE CAUSE OF THE POLICY ADOPTED BY THE JAPANESE. — DRAIN OF THE PRECIOUS METALS. — NEW BASIS UPON WHICH FUTURE TRADE MUST BE ARRANGED.

NOTWITHSTANDING the lamentations uttered by Kämpfer in the name of the Dutch factors, the trade to Japan had by no means in his time reached its lowest level, and it was subjected soon after his departure to new and more stringent limitations.

In the year 1696 appeared a new kind of kobang. The old kobang was twenty carats eight and a half, and even ten, grains fine; that is, supposing it divided into twenty-four parts, twenty parts and a half were fine gold.* The new kobang was thirteen carats six or seven grains fine, containing, consequently, only two thirds as much gold as the old one, and yet the Dutch were required to receive it at the same rate of sixty-eight mas of silver.

The old kobang had returned on the coast of Coromandel a profit of twenty-five per cent., the new produced a loss of fifteen or sixteen per cent.; but some of the old kobangs being still paid over at the same rate as the new, some profits continued to be derived from the gold, till, in 1710, the Japanese made a still more serious change in their coin, by reducing the weight of the kobang nearly one half, from forty-seven kanderins (two hundred and seventy-four grains) to twenty-five kanderins (one hundred and forty-six grains), which, as the Dutch were still obliged to receive these new kobangs at the rate of sixty-eight mas, caused a loss of from thirty-four to

* In one thousand parts, eight hundred and fifty-four were pure gold. The pure metal in our American coins is nine hundred parts in one thousand; or, in the old phraseology, they are twenty-one carats and twelve grains fine.

thirty-six per cent. From this time the old kobangs passed as double kobangs, being reckoned at twice their former weight. The kobangs of the coinage of 1730 were about five per cent. better than the preceding ones; but the Dutch trade continued, rapidly to decline, especially after the exportation of copper was limited, in 1714, to fifteen thousand chests, or piculs, and, in 1721, to ten thousand piculs annually. From this time, two ships sufficed for the Dutch trade.

For thirty years previous to 1743, the annual gross profits on the Japanese trade had amounted to five hundred thousand florins (two hundred thousand dollars), and some years to six hundred thousand (two hundred and forty thousand dollars); but in 1743 they sunk below two hundred thousand florins (eighty thousand dollars), which was the annual cost of maintaining the establishment at Desima.

Upon this occasion, a "Memoir on the Trade of Japan, and the Causes of its Decline," was drawn up by Imhoff, at that time governor-general at Batavia, which affords information on the change in the value of the kobang, and other matters relating to the Dutch trade to Japan, not elsewhere to be found.* It is apparent from this memoir that the trade was not managed with the sagacity which might have been expected from private merchants. The cargoes were ill assorted, and did not correspond to the requisitions of the Japanese. They, on the other hand, had repeatedly offered several new articles of export, which the Company had declined, because, in the old routine of their trade, no profitable market appeared for these articles at the prices asked for them.

The Dutch attempted to frighten the Japanese, by threatening to close their factory altogether, but this did not produce much effect, and, since the date of Imhoff's memoir, the factory appears not to have done much more than to pay its expenses. That the Japanese were not very anxious for foreign trade, appears by their having restricted the Chinese, previous to 1740, to twenty junks annually, and at a subsequent period to ten junks.

* Having been discovered by Sir Stamford Raffles among the public documents at Batavia, he published an abstract of it in the appendix B to his *History of Java*.

The Dutch imagined that the above-mentioned changes in the coins of Japan were made solely with a view to their trade and to curtail their profits. Raffles suggests, on the other hand, that this degradation of the Japanese coins was the natural result of the immense export of the precious metals, which, in the course of the two hundred years from 1540 to 1740, must have drained Japan of specie to the value of perhaps not less than two hundred millions of dollars. The exports of foreign nations, as we have seen, were almost entirely metallic, and the mines of Japan were by no means so productive as to be able to withstand this constant drain. The export of silver was first stopped. Then gold was raised to such a value as effectually to stop the exportation of that, and restrictions were, at the same time, put upon the exportation of copper. This sagacious conjecture of Raffles is confirmed by a tract on the Origin of the Riches of Japan, written, in 1708, by *Arrai Tsikugo-no-Kami Sama*, a person of high distinction at the emperor's court, of which the original was brought to Europe by Titsingh, and of which Klaproth has given a translation, in the second volume of the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*. The author of this tract states, perhaps from official documents, the amount of gold and silver exported from Nagasaki, from 1611 to 1706, as follows: Gold, 6,192,600 kobangs; silver, 112,268,700 taels. Of this amount, 2,397,600 kobangs, and 37,420,900 taels of silver had been exported since 1646. The exports of copper from 1668 to 1708 are stated at 1,114,446,700 lbs. (kattie...) had

This export is represented as having commenced in the time of Nobunanga,* when the mines of Japan had first begun to be largely productive, and, previous to 1611, to have been much greater than afterwards, which is ascribed by this author in part to the amounts sent out of the country, by the Catholic natives, to purchase masses for their souls. Much alarm is expressed lest, with the decreased product of the mines, and continual exportation, Japan should be

* Yet Pinto, whose knowledge of Japan preceded the time of Nobunanga, represents silver as very abundant there; and, indeed, it seems to have been this abundance which first attracted the Portuguese trade. On the whole, one does not derive a very high idea, from this tract, of the extent or correctness of the knowledge possessed by the Japanese of their own history, even the more recent periods of it.

reduced to poverty. Titsingh ascribes the origin of this tract to the extravagance of the reigning emperor, which it was desired to check by good advice; but the exportation of the precious metals by foreigners is evidently the point aimed at.

"There goes out of the empire annually," says this writer, "about one hundred and fifty thousand kobangs, or a million and a half in ten years. It is, therefore, of the highest importance to the public prosperity to put a stop to these exportations, which will end in draining us entirely. Nothing is thought of but the procuring foreign productions, expensive stuffs, elegant utensils, and other things not known in the good old times. Since Gongin, gold, silver and copper have been abundantly produced; unfortunately the greater part of this wealth has gone for things we could have done quite as well without. The successors of Gongin ought to reflect upon this, in order that the wealth of the empire may be as lasting as the heavens and the earth." Ideas like those broached in this tract seem to be the basis of the existing policy of Japan on the subject of foreign trade; and, independently of this, the failure of the Japanese mines renders any return to the old system of the Portuguese and Dutch traffic quite out of the question. Japan has no longer gold and silver to export, and if a new trade is to be established with her, it must be on an entirely new basis, the exports to consist of something else than metallic products.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THUNBERG'S VISIT TO JAPAN. — SEARCHES AND EXAMINATIONS. — SMUGGLING. — INTERPRETERS. — DESIMA. — IMPORTS AND EXPORTS. — UNICORN'S HORN AND GINSENG. — SOY. — THE DUTCH AT DESIMA. — JAPANESE MISTRESSES. — JAPANESE WOMEN. — STUDYING THE LANGUAGE. — BOTANIZING. — CLOCKS. — NEW YEAR'S DAY. — TRAMPLING ON IMAGES. — DEPARTURE FOR JEDO. — JOURNEY THROUGH THE ISLAND OF XIMO. — JAPANESE HOUSES AND FURNITURE. — MANUFACTURE OF PAPER. — PRACTICE OF BATHING. — SIMONOSEKI. — VOYAGE TO OSAKA. — CHILDREN. — FROM OSAKA TO MIAKO. — AGRICULTURE. — ANIMALS. — A. D. 1775–1776.

FROM the time of Kämpfer's departure from Desima, of all the Dutch residents and visitors there, none, for a period of upwards of eighty years, favored the world with their observations. They went to Japan in pursuit of money, not to obtain knowledge, either for themselves or others.

At length, in 1775, Charles Peter Thunberg, a Swedish physician, naturalist and traveller, to gain an opportunity of seeing Japan, obtained the same official situation which Kämpfer had held before him. Being an enthusiastic botanist, he was sent to the East by some wealthy merchants of Amsterdam to obtain new trees and plants, as well for the medical garden of that city as for their own private collections. Circumstances caused him to spend three years at the Cape of Good Hope, whence he proceeded to Batavia. He left that port June 20, 1775, and arrived off Nagasaki the 14th of the following August. From an experience of more than a hundred years, the Company reckoned on the loss of one out of every five ships sent to Japan, though care was taken to select the best and strongest vessels.*

The searches and examinations previous to landing were the

* This was a considerable improvement upon the state of things in the time of Xavier, when every third vessel was expected to be lost. See p. 49.

same described by Kämpfer. Hitherto it had been usual to allow the captains of the vessels to pass at pleasure to and from their ships without being searched; they, with the directors of the Dutch factory, being the only persons exempt from that ceremony. The captains had taken advantage of this exemption to dress themselves out, for the convenience of smuggling, in a showy, blue silk, silver-laced coat, made very wide and large, in which dress they generally made three trips a day to and from Desima, being often so loaded down with goods that they had to be supported by a sailor under each arm. Thunberg's captain rigged himself out in the same style; but, much to his disappointment and that of the other Dutchmen, whose private goods the captains had been accustomed to smuggle for a commission, the Japanese officers who boarded the ship brought orders that the captain should dress like the rest; that he and the director also should be searched when they landed, and that the captain should either stop on board, or, if he landed, should remain on shore, being allowed to visit the ship only twice during her stay. "It was droll enough," says Thunberg, "to see the astonishment which the sudden reduction in the size of our bulky captain excited in the major part of the ignorant Japanese, who before had always imagined that all our captains were actually as fat and lusty as they appeared to be."

In the year 1772, one of the Dutch ships from Batavia, disabled in a violent storm, had been abandoned by her crew, who, in their haste, or believing that she would speedily sink, had neglected the standing order of the Company, in such cases, to set her on fire. Some days after she drifted to the Japanese shore, and was towed into the harbor of Nagasaki, when the Japanese found on board a number of chests marked with the names of the principal Dutch officers, and full of prohibited goods, — and it was to this discovery that the new order was ascribed.

The examination of the clothes and persons of all who passed to and from the ship was very strict. The large chests were emptied, and the sides, top and bottom, sounded to see if they were not hollow. Beds were ripped open and the feathers turned over. Iron spikes were thrust into the butter-tubs and jars of sweetmeats. A square hole was cut in the cheeses, and a thick, pointed wire thrust through them in every direction. Even some of the eggs brought

from Batavia were broken, lest they might be shams in which valuables were concealed.

Formerly, according to Thunberg, the Dutch took the liberty to correct with blows the Japanese *kuli* employed as laborers on board the ships; but in his time this was absolutely prohibited. He adds, that the respect of the Japanese for the Dutch was a good deal diminished by observing "in how unfriendly and unmannerly a style they usually behave to each other, and the brutal treatment which the sailors under their command frequently experience from them, together with the oaths, curses and blows, with which the poor fellows are assailed by them."

The interpreters would seem to have adopted, since the time of Kämpfer (as he makes no mention of it), the practice of medicine among their countrymen after the European manner. This made them very inquisitive as to matters of physic and natural history, and very anxious to obtain European books, which they studied diligently. Kämpfer speaks of the interpreters with great indignation as the most watchful and hateful of spies. Thunberg appears to have established very good terms with them. New restrictions, however, had been placed on their intercourse with the resident Dutchmen, whom, to prevent smuggling, they were not allowed to visit, except in company with one or two other officers.

Desima, from Thunberg's description of it, appears to have altered very little since Kämpfer's residence there; though glass windows had lately been brought from Batavia, by some of the Dutch residents, as a substitute for the paper windows of the Japanese. The permanent residents were now twelve or thirteen (there had been but seven in Kämpfer's time), besides slaves brought from Batavia, of whom each Dutchman had one.

The goods sent out by the Company, at the time of Thunberg's visit, were sugars (almost the only article of consumption which the Japanese do not produce for themselves), elephant's teeth, sappan-wood for dyeing, tin, lead, bar-iron, fine chintzes of various sorts, Dutch broadcloths, shalloons, silks, cloves, tortoise-shell, China-root and *Costus Arabicus*. The goods of private adventurers were saffron, Venice treacle, Spanish liquorice, ratans, spectacles, looking-glasses, watches, Ninsi-root or ginseng, and unicorns' horns. This latter article, the horn of the *Monodon monoceros*, a product

of the Greenland fishery, had been lately introduced. The Japanese ascribed to it wonderful virtues as a medicine, believing it to have the power to prolong life, strengthen the animal spirits, assist the memory, and cure all sorts of complaints. Thunberg had carried out as his venture thirty-seven katties (about fifty pounds) of this horn, which sold for five thousand and seventy-one taels, or upwards of six thousand dollars; so that, after paying the advances made to him at Batavia, he had a handsome surplus to expend in his favorite pursuit of natural history.

The genuine Chinese ginseng (*Panax quinquefolium*) sold at a price full as high as that of unicorn's horn. The American article, being regarded as not genuine, was strictly prohibited, but was smuggled in to mix with the Chinese.*

Scientific works in the Dutch language, though not a regular article of sale, might be often exchanged to advantage with the interpreters.

The Company imported a quantity of silver coin, but private persons were not allowed to do so, though a profit might have been made on it. The sale by *Kambang* continued exactly as Kämpfer had described it. No Japanese money came into the hands either of the Company or of individuals from the sale of their goods by kambang. They only acquired a credit, which they were able to exchange for Japanese articles.

The chief articles of export were copper, camphor and lackered goods; porcelain, rice, saki, soy,† were also exported. The profits

* Kämpfer had seen the ginseng cultivated in gardens in Japan, but it was not supposed to possess the virtues of the Chinese article. Father Jontoux, one of the Jesuit missionaries in China, employed by the emperor in preparing a map of the region north of the great wall, had an opportunity to see the ginseng growing wild. He sent home, in 1711, a full account of it, with drawings (which may be found in *Voyages au Nord*, vol. IV.), and suggested, from the similarity of the climate, that the same plant might be found in Canada, as it soon was by the Jesuit missionaries there.

† This sauce, used in great quantities in Japan, and exported to Batavia by the Dutch, whence it has become known throughout the East Indies and also in Europe, is made from the soy bean (*Dolichos Soia*), extensively used by the Japanese in the making of soup. The soy is prepared as follows: the beans are boiled till they become rather soft, when an equal quantity of pounded barley or wheat is added. These ingredients being mixed, the com-

of this trade had been greatly curtailed. "Formerly," says Thunberg, "it was so very profitable to individuals that hardly anybody but favorites were sent out as chiefs, and when these had made two voyages, it was supposed that they were rich enough to be able to live on the interest of their fortunes, and that, therefore, they ought to make room for others. At present a chief is obliged to make many voyages. His success is now no more to be envied, and his profits are thought to be very inconsiderable."

Of the general enjoyments of a residence at *Desima* Thunberg does not speak very highly. "An European that remains here is, in a manner, dead and buried in an obscure corner of the globe. He hears no news of any kind; nothing relative to war or other misfortunes and evils that plague and infest mankind; and neither the rumors of inland or foreign concerns delight or molest his ear. The soul possesses here one faculty only, which is the judgment (if, indeed, it be at all times in possession of that). The will is totally debilitated, and even dead, because, to an European, there is no other will than that of the Japanese, by which he must exactly square his conduct.

"The European way of living is, in other respects, the same as in other parts of India, luxurious and irregular. Hence, just as at Batavia, we pay a visit every evening to the chief, after having walked several times up and down the two streets. These evening visits generally last from six o'clock till ten, and sometimes eleven or twelve at night, and constitute a very disagreeable way of life, fit only for such as have no other way of spending their time than droning over a pipe of tobacco and a bottle."

The Europeans remaining at *Desima* had each two or three handsome rooms, besides the store-rooms in the lower story. These they occupied without rent, the only expense being that of furnishing

pound is set away for twenty-four hours in a warm place to ferment. An equal quantity of salt is then added, and twice and a half as much water. It is stirred several times a day for several days, and then stands well covered for two or three months, when the liquid portion is decanted, strained and put in wooden casks. It is of a brown color, improves with age, but varies in quality, according to the province where it is made. The Dutch of Desima cork up the better qualities in glass bottles, boiling the liquor first in an iron kettle, to prevent fermentation, by which it is liable to be spoiled.

them. As the winter set in, the cold, with an easterly or northerly wind, was quite piercing, and they had fires of charcoal in a large copper kettle with a broad rim. Placed in the middle of the room it warmed the whole apartment for hours together. The looseness of the doors and windows prevented any ill consequences from the gases. As the residents all dined and supped at a common table, kept at the Company's expense, their outlays did not amount to much — "except," says Thunberg, "they squander away their money on the fair sex, or make expensive entertainments and give suppers to each other."

The account which Thunberg gives of the Japanese mistresses of the Dutch is very much the same with that given by Kämpfer. These women, when spoken for to an officer appointed for that purpose, come attended by a little serving-maid,— one of the young apprentices of the houses to which they belonged, — who brought daily from the town her mistress' food, made her tea, kept her things in order, and ran on errands. One of these female companions could not be had for less than three days, but might be kept a year, or even several years. The price was eight mas, or one dollar a day, besides her maintenance and presents of silk dresses, girdles, head-ornaments, &c. According to Thunberg, children were very seldom born of these connections. He was assured, but did not credit it, that if such a thing happened, the child, if a boy, would be murdered; and that, if a girl, it would be sent at fifteen to Batavia; but of this he knew of no instance. There was, in his time, one girl about six years old, born of a Japanese mother, living on the island with her father. Later accounts go to show that Dutch Japanese children are by no means such rarities as Thunberg represents.*

The women painted their lips with colors, made of the *Carthamus tinctorius*, or bastard saffron, rubbed on little porcelain bowls. If laid on very thin, the lips appeared red; if thick, it gave them a

* The murdering of the children may be explained by the following passage from one of the letters of Cocks, the English factor, written at Firando, in December, 1614: "James Turner, the fiddling youth, left a wench with child here, but the w——e, the mother, killed it so soon as it was born, although I gave her two taels in plate [silver] before to nourish it, because she should not kill it, it being an ordinary thing here."

violet hue, esteemed by the Japanese as the more beautiful. The married women were distinguished by blacking their teeth with a fœtid mixture, so corrosive that the lips had to be protected from it while it was laid on. It eat so deeply into the teeth that it took several days and much trouble to scrape it away. "To me at least," says Thunberg, "a wide mouth with black shining teeth had an ugly and disagreeable appearance." The married women distinguished themselves also by pulling out their eyebrows; and another distinction was that they knotted their girdles before, and the single women behind.

Thunberg noticed that venereal diseases, which he ascribed to European intercourse, were very common,* and he congratulated himself on the questionable service of having introduced the mercurial treatment.

As he had plenty of leisure and little taste for the Dutch fashion of killing time, he endeavored to find more rational and profitable employment. The residents were still allowed native servants, who, though not interpreters, had learned to speak the Dutch language. But the Dutch were strictly prohibited from learning the Japanese; and though the interpreters were sufficiently well inclined, Thunberg encountered many difficulties in his study of that language. It was only after many inquiries that he found at last an old dictionary, in the Latin, Portuguese and Japanese, in quarto, containing nine hundred and six pages. The title-page was gone, but the book purported to have been compiled by the joint labors of the Jesuits at Japan, as well European as natives. It belonged to one of the interpreters, who possessed it as a legacy from his ancestors, and he refused to sell it for any price.†

Afterwards, at Jedo, he saw a book in long quarto, about an inch thick, printed on Japanese paper, entirely in Japanese characters, except the title-page, which bore the imprint of the Jesuits, with the date, Nagasaki, A. D. 1598.

"Through incapacity in some and indolence in others," the Dutch possessed no vocabulary of the Japanese, and all the knowledge the Dutch residents had of it did not go beyond calling by name a

* Cocks also had noticed their existence a century and a half earlier.

† This was doubtless the lexicon printed at Amakusa in 1595. See note p. 125, also Appendix A.

few familiar articles. Thunberg has annexed to his Travels a short Japanese vocabulary, but he does not appear to have made any great progress in the language.

With much difficulty he obtained, about the beginning of February, leave to botanize.* Every excursion cost him sixteen or eighteen taels, as he was obliged to feast from twenty to thirty Japanese officials, by whom he was always attended. On the neighboring hills he noticed many burying-grounds, containing tombstones of various forms, sometimes rough, but more frequently hewn, with letters, sometimes gilt, engraved upon them. Before these stones were placed vessels, made of large bamboos, containing water, with branches of flowers.

He also noticed, both around Nagasaki and afterwards on his journey to Jedo, the pits, or rather large earthen jars, sunk by the road-side for the collection of manure, both liquid and solid. To the fœtid exhalations from these open pits, and to the burning of charcoal without chimneys, he ascribed the red and inflamed eyes very common in Japan. In the gardens he saw growing the common red beet, the carrot, fennel, dill, anise, parsley, and asparagus; leeks, onions, turnips, radishes, lettuce, succory, and endive. Long ranges of sloping ground, at the foot of the mountains, were planted with the sweet potato. Attempts were also made to cultivate the common potato, but with little success. Several kinds of yams (*Dioscoreæ*) grew wild in the vicinity of Nagasaki, of which one species was used for food, and, when boiled, had a very agreeable taste.† Buckwheat, Windsor beans (*Vicia faba*), several species of French beans (*Phascolus*), and peas (*Pisum sativum*), were commonly cultivated; also, two kinds of cayenne pepper (*Capsicum*), introduced probably by the Portuguese. *Tobacco* was also raised, for the use and the name of which the Japanese were indebted to

* A precedent of a similar permission, formerly granted to the medical men of the factory, was found, but, upon a critical examination of Thunberg's commission, he appeared to be a surgeon, whereas he to whom permission had formerly been granted had been surgeon's mate, and it took three months to get over this difficulty, and to persuade the Japanese that these two officers were in substance the same.

† This species, the *Dioscorea Japonica* (confounded sometimes with the sweet potato), has been lately introduced into the United States.

the Portuguese. He observed, also, hemp, the *Acorus*, strongly aromatic; a kind of ginger (*Amomum mioga*); the *Mentha piperita;* the *Alcea rosea*, and *Malva Mauritiana*, cultivated for their flowers; the *Celastrus alatus*, a branch of which, stuck at a young lady's door, is thought by the Japanese to have the power of making her fall in love with you; the common juniper-tree; the bamboo, and the box; also, the ivy; the China-root (*Smilax China*); wild figs, with small fruit like plums (*Fiscus pumila and erecta*); the pepper bush (*Figara peperita*); a species of madder (*Rubia cordata*), and several species of the *Pologonum*, used for dying. Also, two species of nettles, the bark of which furnished cordage and thread, and the seeds of one species an oil. The yellow flowers of the colewort (*Brassica orientalis*), which was largely cultivated for the oil afforded by its seeds, presented through the spring a beautiful appearance. This oil was used for lamps. Oil for food, used, however, but sparingly, was expressed from the *Sesamum orientale* and the mustard seed. Solid oils, for candles, were obtained from the nuts of the varnish-tree (*Rhus vernix*), and from those of the *Rhus succedanea*, the camphor-tree, the *Melea azedarach*, and the *Cammelia sasanqua.**

* Kämpfer, who describes the Cammelia under the Japanese name of *Tsubaki*, speaks of it as a large shrub, almost a tree. Thunberg represents it as attaining the size of a large tree, exceedingly common in groves and gardens, and a very great favorite, as well for its polished, evergreen leaves, as from the size, beauty and variety, of its blossoms, which appear from April to October, single and red in the wild ones, but double, and of several colors, red, purple, white, &c., in the cultivated varieties, of which the Japanese assured Kämpfer there were several hundreds. Siebold describes the wild kind as a small tree, growing in clumps and thickets, often with many shoots from the same root, from fifteen to twenty feet high; while a much larger size is attained by the cultivated kinds. The name of Cammelia was given to the genus by Linnæus, in honor of George Joseph Kamel, a Jesuit missionary, who sent to Ray descriptions of the plants of the Philippine Islands, published by him at the end of his "History of Plants." The single-flowering variety was introduced into England, about 1739, by Lord Petre, probably from China, of which it is a native, in common with quite a number of plants, to which the specific epithet *Japanese* has been applied. As late as 1788 (as appears from Curtis' *Botanical Magazine*, vol. I.) it was very rare and costly. Down to that time it had been treated as a stove-plant, but soon after, on Curtis' suggestion, it was introduced into

In striking fire a tinder is used made of the woolly part of the leaves of the common wormwood. The famous moxa, spoken of hereafter, is a finer preparation of the same root. Instead of soap the meal of a species of bean is employed.

The bark of the *Skimmi*, or anise-tree (a near relation of the mangolia tribe, and whose flowers and leaves are much employed in religious ceremonies), is used as a time-measurer. A box, a foot long, is filled with ashes, in which are marked furrows, in parallel lines, strewed with fine powder of this bark. The lid being closed, with only a small hole left to supply air, the powder is set on fire at one end, and consumed very slowly, and the hours, marked beforehand on these furrows, are proclaimed in the day-time by striking the bells in the temples, and in the night by the watch striking together two pieces of wood. Another method of measuring time is by burning slow match, divided into knots to mark the hours. The Japanese also have a clock, the mechanism of which is described in a subsequent chapter.

"The first of January, according to custom," says Thunberg, "most of the Japanese that had anything to do at the Dutch factory, came to wish us a happy new year. Dressed in their holiday clothes, they paid their respects to the director, who invited them to dine with him. The victuals were chiefly dressed after the European manner, and, consequently, but few of the dishes were tasted by the Japanese. Of the soup they all partook, but of the other dishes, such as roasted pigs, hams, salad, cakes, tarts, and other pastries, they ate little or nothing, but put on a plate a little of every dish, and, when it was full, sent it home, labelled with the owner's name; and this was repeated several times. Salt beef, and the like, which the Japanese do not eat, were set by, and used as a medicine. The same may be said of the salt butter, of which I

conservatories, of which it soon became the pride, and was even found hardy enough to bear the winter in the open air. Previous to 1806, a number of varieties were imported from China; many others were produced in Europe, and already, by 1825, these varieties had become very numerous (see *Botanical Magazine*, vols. XL. and LVI.). The *Camellia sasanqua* is smaller, with smaller leaves and flowers, very closely resembling the tea-plant; and, in packing their teas, the Chinese are in the habit of putting some of the blossoms into the chests. It is extensively cultivated for its oil, in China as well as in Japan.

was frequently desired to cut a slice for some of the company. It is made into pills, and taken daily in consumptions and other disorders. After dinner, warm saki was handed round, which was drank out of lackered wooden cups.

"On this festive occasion, the director invited from the town several handsome girls, partly for the purpose of serving out the saki, and partly to dance and bear the girls company who were already on the island. After dinner, these girls treated the Japanese to several of their own country messes, placed on small square tables, which were decorated with an artificial fir-tree, the leaves of which were made of green silk, and, in several places, sprinkled over with white cotton, in imitation of the winter's snow. The girls never presented the saki standing, but, after their own fashion, sitting. In the evening they danced, and about five o'clock the company took their leave."

The 19th of February, 1776, on which fell the beginning of the Japanese year, was celebrated according to the Japanese custom, all of them going visiting, dressed up in their holiday clothes, and wishing their neighbors joy; and, indeed, this interchange of congratulations is kept up, more or less, through the first month.

On the two last days of the year a general settlement of accounts takes place. Fresh credit is then given for six months, when a new settlement takes place. The rate of interest was high, ranging from eighteen to twenty per cent. Thunberg was told that, after new-year's day, there was no right to demand settlement of the last year's accounts.

Shortly after the Japanese new-year, took place the trampling of images, which ceremony, according to the information obtained by Thunberg, was still performed by all the inhabitants of *Nagasaki*, exactly as in Kämpfer's time.

On the 4th of March the director set out for the emperor's court, accompanied, as usual, by the secretary of the factory, and by Thunberg as physician. In Kämpfer's day these two latter persons had been obliged to make the journey on horseback, exposed to cold, rain, and all the inclemencies of the weather. Since then they had obtained the privilege of travelling in norimons, equally with the director. Dr. Thunberg seems to have been well satisfied with his vehicle, which he describes as both handsome and

convenient. Each norimon traveller had with him a bottle of red wine, and another of Dutch ale, taken daily from the large stock provided for the journey, and preferred by the Europeans to tea, which they regarded as a "great relaxer of the stomach." Each traveller had also an oblong lackered box, containing "a double slice of bread and butter." In order to support the dignity of the Dutch East India Company, the bed equipage which they carried with them consisting of coverlids, pillows, and mattresses, was covered with the richest open-work velvets and silks. Their retinue, on horseback and on foot, was numerous and picturesque. They were received everywhere with the honor and respect paid to the princes of the land; and, besides, says Thunberg, were so well guarded "that no harm could befall us, and, at the same time, so well attended that we had no more care upon our minds than a sucking child; the whole of our business consisting in eating and drinking, or in reading or writing for our amusement, in sleeping, dressing ourselves, and being carried about in our norimons."

At setting out, each of the three Dutchmen received from the purveyor fifty taels, for their individual expenses. This was the first Japanese money which Thunberg had seen, and this, with other sums doled out to them from time to time, was chiefly spent in presents to their attendants. The disbursement on this score, at starting, amounted to ten taels each.

In the early part of their journey, they followed a somewhat different road from Kämpfer's, all the way by land, not crossing either the bay of *Omura*, nor that of *Simabara*. They passed, however, through *Suota*, as Kämpfer had done, famous for its large water-jars, and visited the hot springs in that neighborhood, and also *Sanga*, capital of the province of FISEN, remarkable for its handsome women, its rice and its fine porcelain. The roads were found such as Kämpfer had described them. Proceeding onward, still by Kämpfer's route, they reached *Kokura* on the ninth of March. The following description of Japanese houses corresponds sufficiently well with that of Kämpfer, while it gives a rather more distinct, and somewhat less flattering, idea of them. "The houses are very roomy and commodious, and never more than two stories — at most twenty feet — high, of which the lower one is inhabited, and the upper serves for lofts and garrets, and is seldom occupied.

The mode of building in this country is curious and peculiar. Every house occupies a great extent of ground, and is built in general of wood and plaster, and white-washed on the outside so as to look exactly like stone. The beams all lie horizontal or stand perpendicular. Between these beams, which are square and far from thick, bamboos are interwoven, and the space filled up with clay, sand and lime. The roofs are covered with tiles of a singular make, very thick and heavy. The more ordinary houses are covered with chips [shingles], on which are frequently laid heavy stones to secure them. In the villages and meaner towns I sometimes saw the sides of the houses, especially behind, covered with the bark of trees, which was secured by laths nailed on it to prevent the rain from damaging the wall.

"The whole house makes but one room, which can be divided according as it may be found necessary, or thought proper, into many smaller ones. This is done by moving slight partitions, consisting of wooden frames, pasted over with thick painted paper, which slide with great ease in grooves made in the beams of the floor and roof for that purpose. Such rooms were frequently partitioned off for us and our retinue, during our journey; and when a larger apartment was wanted for a dining-room, or any other purpose, the partitions were in an instant taken away. One could not see, indeed, what was done in the next room, but one frequently overheard the conversation that passed there.

"In each room there are two or more windows, which reach from the ceiling to within two feet of the floor. They consist of light frames which may be taken out, put in, and slid behind each other, at pleasure, in two grooves made for this purpose in the beams above and below them. They are divided by slender rods into panes of a parallelogrammatic form, sometimes to the number of forty, and pasted over on the outside with fine white paper, which is seldom if ever oiled, and admits a great deal of light, but prevents any one from seeing through it. The roof always projects a great way beyond the house, and sometimes has an addition which covers a small projecting gallery that stands before each window. From this little roof go slanting inwards and downwards, several quadrangular frames, within which hang blinds made of rushes, which may be drawn up and let down, and serve not only to hinder people that pass by from looking into the house, but chiefly when it

rains to prevent the paper windows from being damaged. There are no glass windows here; nor have I observed mother-of-pearl or muscovy talc [mica, or isinglass] used for this purpose.

"The houses have neither the elegant appearance nor the convenience and comfort of ours in Europe. The rooms are not so cheerful and pleasant, nor so warm in the winter, neither are they so safe in case of fire, nor so durable. Their semi-transparent paper windows, in particular, spoil the houses, as well in their inside as outside appearance. Neither chimneys nor stoves are known throughout the whole country, although the cold is very intense, and they are obliged to make fires in their apartments from October to March. The fires are made in copper kettles, of various sizes, with broad projecting edges. This mode of firing is liable, however, to this inconvenience, that the charcoal sometimes smokes, in consequence of which the apartment becomes dirty and black, and the eyes of the company suffer exceedingly.

"The floors are always covered with mats made of a fine species of rush (*Juncus effusus*), cultivated in low spots for that purpose, and interwoven with rice straw. These mats are from three to four inches thick, and of the same size throughout the country, viz., two yards long and one broad. The insides of the houses, both ceiling and walls, are covered with a handsome, thick paper, ornamented with various flowers. These hangings are either green, yellow or white; and sometimes embellished with silver and gold. As the paper is greatly damaged by the smoke in winter, it is renewed every third or fifth year.*

* The Japanese paper, as well for writing and printing as for the household uses to which it is so extensively put, is manufactured from the bark of the young twigs of the paper mulberry (*Morus papyrifira*). Kämpfer has given a particular account of it in the appendix to his work. That account, which, now that so many experiments are on foot for the manufacture of paper, may suggest some useful hints, is abridged by Thunberg as follows:

"After the tree has shed its leaves in the month of December, they cut off the young shoots about three feet in length, which they tie up in bundles and boil in a lye of ashes, standing inverted in a copper kettle till the bark is so shrunk that half an inch of the woody part is seen bare at the ends. If the twigs grow dry before they can be boiled, they are first soaked in water for four-and-twenty hours. When sufficiently boiled they are taken out and the bark cut lengthwise and stripped off. After being soaked in water for

"The furniture in this country is as simple as the style of building. Neither cupboards, bureaus, sofas, beds, tables, chairs, clocks, looking-glasses, nor anything else of the kind, is to be seen. To the greater part of these the Japanese are utter strangers. Their soft floor-mats serve them for chairs. A small table, or rather salver, about twelve inches square and four high, is set before each person in company at every meal, of which there are three a day. The food (rice, soup and fish being the principal articles) is served in lackered wooden cups. Most other nations of the East sit with their legs laid across before them — the Chinese and Japanese lay their feet under their bodies, and make a chair of their heels. When the hour of rest approaches, a soft mattress, stuffed with cot-

three hours, the exterior black skin and the green part beneath it is scraped off with a knife, and the bark is then sorted into qualities; that which is a full year's growth makes the best paper, and the less mature an inferior quality. Thus prepared and sorted, it is again boiled in a clear lye, being perpetually stirred, and fresh lye supplied to make up for the evaporation; and this process is continued till the bark is dissolved, as it were, separating into flocks and fibres. It must then be washed — a process requiring care and judgment, as, if not carried far enough, the paper will be coarse, and if too far, thin and slazy. This is done in a running stream, by means of a sieve containing the material, which is perpetually stirred till it is diluted into a delicate, soft pap. For the finer kinds this washing is repeated, a piece of linen being substituted for the sieve, to prevent the finer parts from being carried away. After being washed, it is beaten with sticks of hard wood, on a wooden table, till it is brought to a pulp, which if put into water will dissolve and disperse like meal.

"It is then mixed in a tub with a clammy infusion, obtained by soaking rice in cold water, and with another mucilaginous infusion, obtained in the like manner from the root of *Oreni* (*Hibiscus manihot*). This mixture, upon which much depends, and the proportions of which vary with the season of the year, succeeds best in a narrow tub, and requires perpetual stirring. The whole is then put into a larger tub, from which the sheets are taken out and put between mats made of delicate grass straw, and laid one upon another in heaps, being pressed at first lightly, but gradually harder and harder, till the water is squeezed out. They are then laid upon a board to dry in the sun; after which they are packed in bundles for sale and use.

"For the coarser kinds of paper other sorts of bark are sometimes used.

"The Japanese paper is very close and strong. It will bear being twisted into ropes, and is occasionally used even for dresses."

ton, is spread out on the mats. The Japanese have no pillows, instead of which they use oblong lackered pieces of wood. With the above apparatus for sleeping, the Japanese bed-chamber is put in order, and he himself up and dressed, in the twinkling of an eye; as, in fact, scarcely a longer time is requisite for him to throw the gown over him, which serves for dress by day and bed-clothes at night, and to gird it round his waist.

"Though mirrors do not decorate the walls, they are in general use at the toilet, made not of glass, but of a composition of copper and zinc highly polished, and fixed obliquely in a stand of wood made for that purpose. Cleanliness is a constant object with these people, and not a day passes in which they do not wash themselves, whether they are at home or on a journey. In all towns and villages, inns and private houses, there are baths." He adds, however, what goes rather against this alleged cleanliness, that as the poor, to save expense, are accustomed to use water in which others have repeatedly bathed, they are apt in that way to take infectious disorders. Neither do their open manure vaults, placed by the roadsides and in the very fronts of their houses, agree so well with this eulogy.

At Kokura the Dutch bespoke, against their return, rice and charcoal for the factory at Desima. Having crossed to Simonoseki, they embarked, on the 12th of March, in a large Japanese junk, for Osaka; but, having made less than half the voyage, they encountered contrary winds, which drove them a long distance back, and detained them for near three weeks. The weather was so cold as to make fires comfortable, and colds and catarrhs, endemical to Japan from the changeability of its climate, were very prevalent. All this time they slept on board, but had several times an opportunity to go on shore to amuse themselves at the inns and temples, the Japanese sailors being always anxious to land in order to bathe.

The country all along this coast was mountainous, which was the reason of going by sea instead of by land, the land road being very difficult. This coast seemed, nevertheless, to be highly cultivated, the mountains in many places resembling beautiful gardens.

At the places where they landed, the children were very numerous. "I observed," says Thunberg, "that the chastisement of chil-

dren was very moderate. I very seldom heard them rebuked or scolded, and hardly ever saw them flogged or beaten, either in private families or on board the vessels; while, in more civilised and enlightened nations, these compliments abound.* In the schools one might hear the children read all at once, and so loud as almost to deafen one."

Whenever the Japanese went on shore, they killed geese and ducks for the Dutchmen to eat; but at sea they had scruples about killing them, though in fine weather the Chinese teal (*Anas galericulata*), and several sorts of ducks, fairly covered the water, so as to look at a distance like great islands. But, though scrupulous themselves, they made no objections to Thunberg's killing them; though, not being allowed the use of fire-arms, it does not appear how he did it.

At length, on the 7th of April, after a disagreeable and dangerous passage of twenty-six days, they reached the harbor of *Fiogo*, whence the next day, partly by land and partly in small boats, they proceeded to Osaka. Here each of the travellers disbursed sixteen taels in presents to the captain and crew of the vessel, for the hire of which the sum of four hundred and eighty taels was paid by the East India Company. They staid at Osaka only a single night, during which they bespoke from some merchants, who visited them† with samples, several articles, such as insects of copper, artificial trees varnished, fans of various kinds, writing paper, paper hangings, &c. They left Osaka early in the morning, by torch-light, and, following the same road which Kämpfer had taken, reached

* Caron, whose opportunities of knowledge upon this point were much superior to those of Thunberg or any subsequent observer, is very explicit upon this point. "The parents educate their children with great care. They are not forever bawling in their ears, and they never use them roughly. When they cry they show a wonderful patience in quieting them, knowing well that young children are not of an age to profit by reprimands. This method succeeds so well, that Japanese children, ten or twelve years old, behave with all the discretion and propriety of grown people. They are not sent to school till they are seven or eight years old, and then they are not forced to study things for which they have no inclination."

† In Kämpfer's time no personal intercourse was allowed with those of whom articles were bought at Osaka, Miako and Jedo. In this respect there would seem to have been a relaxation.

Miako at night. "Except in Holland," says Thunberg, "I never made so pleasant a journey as this, with regard to the beauty and delightful appearance of the country. Its population, too, and cultivation, exceed all expression. The whole country, on both sides of us, as far as we could see, was nothing but a fertile field, and the whole of our long day's journey extended through villages, of which one began where the other ended."

The farmers were now preparing their lands for rice. The fields, by means of a raised border, lay almost entirely under water. This was the case even with those sides of the hills intended for rice. They were laid out in terraces, the water collected on the higher grounds being regulated by means of walls or dams, so as to be let on or shut off at pleasure. There were, also, reservoirs, constructed to retain the contents of the flooded streams, against occasions of drought. The rice was sown first very close and thick, and when about six inches high was transplanted into the fields, in tufts of several plants, placed about six inches apart. This was done by the women, who waded about in water at least six inches deep, the men having first turned up the ground with a hoe. Beautiful white herons followed the laborers, and cleared the fields of worms. The rice thus planted was reaped in November.

Fields of wheat, barley (used to feed the horses), buckwheat, East India kale (*Brassica orientalis*), and mustard (the two latter for oil), were also seen. These crops, planted in November or December, and ripe in May or June, were in beds about a foot broad, and separated from each other by a deep furrow or trench of about the same breadth. Sometimes they were planted across these narrow beds, and sometimes in two rows, lengthwise. Thunberg noticed that when the ear was about to put forth, the plants being grown to the height of a foot, the earth was taken out from the intervening trenches, and drawn up to the roots of the plants. About the same time, or a little earlier, the liquid manure collected in the jars already described, and mingled with all sorts of refuse, was carried out by the farmers, in large pails, and poured with a ladle on the roots of the plants; a method which avoids the waste incident to spreading the manure on unplanted fields, to be dried up by the sun, or to lose by evaporation its volatile salts and oily particles.

The fields were kept so free of weeds as to afford, much to Thun-

berg's disappointment, very little chance to botanize. Animals were little used in agriculture. Only such of the rice fields as lay low, and quite under water, were ploughed by oxen — cows being kept for draft and breeding only, and never milked. The only wheel carriages seen were a few carts, and these only in and about Miako, some with three wheels,* one before the other two, and some two-wheeled. These carts were long and narrow, the wheels, some with spokes and fellies, but without any tire, except a rope tied about them, and others of a solid piece, sawed from a log. They were drawn by an ox, by cows, or a buffalo. Horses were chiefly for the use of their princes, though occasionally employed by others for travelling and carrying burdens. They were not numerous, but Thunberg seems to make rather a close estimate in saying that all Japan has scarcely as many horses as a single province of Sweden. There was no occasion for meadows or pastures, the cattle and horses being fed at home all the year, so that all the land, not too steep or rocky for cultivation, was devoted to the raising of crops; nor did the fields require fences. All the manure of the animals kept was carefully preserved, old men and children following the horses of travellers, with a shell fastened to the end of a stick, and a basket in which to put what they collected. Of course the small number of domestic animals made it the more necessary to resort to the other means of providing manure already noticed.

A few swine were to be seen, but only in the neighborhood of Nagasaki. There were no sheep nor goats. A supply of these animals, and also of cattle and hogs, for the Dutch at Desima, was brought annually from Batavia. Dogs, "the only idlers in the country," were kept from superstitious motives, and cats were the general favorites of the women. Hens and ducks were kept about the houses, chiefly for their eggs, of which the Japanese make great use, boiled hard and chopped into small pieces.

* Kämpfer had noticed similar three-wheeled carts, made very low, and employed in drawing stone from a quarry. In unloading, the single wheel was taken off, when the cart formed an inclined plain.

CHAPTER XL.

JAPANESE MERCHANTS. — JOURNEY FROM MIAKO TO JEDO. — BOTANY OF THE MOUNTAINS. — RAINY WEATHER. — COVERINGS FOR THE HEAD AND FEET. — JEDO. — ASTRONOMERS AND PHYSICIANS. — ACUPUNCTURE. — MOXA. — OTHER JAPANESE REMEDIES. — METHOD OF WEARING THE HAIR. — VISITS TO THE EMPEROR AND HIS CHIEF OFFICERS. — JAPANESE DRESS. — BOOKS AND MAPS. — SUCCESSION OF EMPERORS. — DEPARTURE FROM JEDO. — GNATS. — FIRE-FLIES. — THRESHING. — VEGETABLES AND FRUITS. — CONDITION OF THE JAPANESE FARMER. — CASTING COPPER. — ACTORS AND DANCERS. — THUNBERG'S OPINION OF THE JAPANESE. — A. D. 1775—1776.

The travellers remained four days at Miako, during which the accustomed visits were paid to the chief justice and to the two governors. A new advance of money was also made to them here, Thunberg's share being three hundred taels, in gold kobangs, to be charged against the kambang money standing to his credit from the sale of his private goods, and to be laid out in the purchase of such rarities and merchandise as he chose. Here, again, the Dutch were waited on by the merchants, from whom they bespoke several articles in sowas and lackered ware, to be ready against their return. Of these Japanese merchants, Thunberg observes that they are the only persons in the country, except the emperor, who can become rich, and that they sometimes accumulate very considerable sums; but they cannot, as in Europe, purchase titles, or raise themselves by their money to a higher rank. The position of the trading and manufacturing class seems, indeed, almost precisely the same with that which they held in Europe during the prevalence of feudal ideas.

Commerce, however, was free from any embarrassments by tolls or duties, and a considerable internal trade, of which Miako was the centre (several annual fares being held there), was carried on, in tea, silk goods, porcelain, rice, lackered ware, &c.

Setting out from Miako on the fourteenth of April, the travellers, in passing lake *Oitz*, were treated to a delicious fish, of the salmon kind, the largest of which seen by Thunberg weighed about ten pounds. Finding, in the course of their journey, that this species of fish was often served up, they ordered some to be smoked, against their return; but they did not prove equal to European salmon, either in size, fatness, or style of curing. The country still continued as populous as before. In the villages were many almond, peach and apricot trees, which now presented a very beautiful appearance, blossoming on the bare branches, before the leaves unfolded. These, as well as the plum, cherry, apple and pear* trees, sometimes bore double flowers, upon which the Japanese put a high value.

The road having brought them to the sea-shore, Thunberg observed the *Fucus saccharinus*, called by the Japanese, *Komb*, or *Kobu*, or sometimes *Kosi*. Cleansed and dried, it is eaten, though very tough, either boiled or raw — in the latter case, cut into strips, which are folded in little squares, a considerable number of which are usually strewed on the little tables, or salvers, on which the complimentary presents, so common with the Japanese, are offered. These presents, generally of trifling value, are always accompanied with a complimentary paper (so called), folded in a peculiar manner, and having slips of this fucus pasted to both ends of it.

The mountain, Fusi, was now in sight, and presently the mountainous tract of Facone was entered, separating the bays of Totomina and Jedo. It took a day to cross these mountains, which were covered with bushes and forest-trees, and were the only hills in Japan, except those close to Nagasaki, which Thunberg was permitted freely to wander over and examine. "This day," he says, "I was seldom in my norimon; but in the same degree as I eased my bearers of their burden, I rendered the journey troublesome to the interpreters, and, more particularly, to the inferior officers, who,

* Kämpfer says that the European apple-tree is unknown in Japan, and that they have only one kind of pears, such as we call winter pears. The fruit grows to a great size, but must be cooked to be eaten. Cherry-trees are cultivated only for the flowers, as apricots and plums often are, the blossoms being brought by art to be as big as roses. Golownin, however, ate apples in northern Japan, though of an inferior quality.

by rotation, were to follow my steps. I was not allowed, indeed, to go far out of the road, but having been previously used to run up rocks in the African mountains, I frequently got to a considerable distance before my anxious and panting followers, and thereby gained time to gather a great many of the most curious and scarcest plants, which had just began to flower, and which I put in my handkerchief."

Among the trees growing in this tract was the *Thuya dolebrata*, planted everywhere by the road-side, tall, straight, and with leaves of silver-white on their under sides—in Thunberg's opinion the handsomest of the fir tribe. There were no less than six peculiar species of maple, all of great beauty. Cedars (*Cupressus japonica*), a common tree throughout the country, grew here in great perfection. The straightest and tallest of the firs, their trunks ran up straight as a candle, and, being both light and very durable, the timber was employed for all sorts of constructions, and also for cabinet work, the veins showing to advantage when covered with varnish. The wood of this tree, next to the *Pinus silvestris*, is that most employed by carpenters, &c. He also observed several species of oaks,* the common barberry, in full blossom, several species of the *Vaccinia*, or whortleberry, a wild pear-tree, a shrub with leaves so rough that they are used for polishing by the joiners, the *Oryzis japonica*, bearing its flowers at the middle of its leaves; also, several beautiful flowering shrubs, *Viburna*, with double as well as single flowers, two species of *Spirea*, the *Citrus tripoliata*, and the *Gardenia Florida*, of which the seed-vessels afforded a yellow dye. The dragon lily (*Arum dracontium*), and the edible species of the same plant (*Arum esculentum*), the eddo, or tania, of the West Indies, and taro of the Sandwich Islands (*Caladium* in more recent classifications), were cultivated in some spots.

By night the sea-shore was again reached, at *Odowara*, whence two days' journey took them to Jedo, where they arrived, on account of the delay in the sea voyage, at a period unusually late, but which Thunberg notes as an advantage, since it gave him, both going and returning, a better opportunity to observe the vegetation

* Kämpfer says there are two species peculiar to Japan, the acorns of which are boiled and eaten.

of the country. During the journey there had been rain sometimes, but not too often, and the cold had been such as occasionally to make fires very comfortable. The Japanese, he observed, bore the cold better than the rain, which did not altogether agree with their bare feet and heads. For the feet they used only slippers of rice straw,* left at the door whenever they entered a house, consisting of a sole, without upper leather or hind-piece (kept on by a thong, or strap, held fast between the toes), and soon soaked and spoiled by the rain, on which occasion, indeed, high wooden clogs were sometimes substituted. Ordinarily, even while travelling, no covering for the head was worn, but in hard rains they used an umbrella, a hat of plaited grass, and a cloak of oil-paper, for which the poorer class substituted a piece of straw matting, thrown over their backs.

The weather, during a stay of twenty-six days at Jedo, from April 28th to May 25th, was often damp, almost every day cloudy, with sometimes drizzling, and sometimes heavy, rain. Several slight shocks of earthquake were felt. Several fires occurred, which were soon extinguished. A great fire, during the Dutch visit of 1772, had burned from noon till eight at night, spreading over a vast space, and making it necessary to remove the Dutch three times.

Down to the day of audience, which did not take place till the 18th of May, the Dutch were not suffered to go out. Numbers of persons obtained, however, permission to visit them. The first who called were five physicians and two astronomers, prompted especially by Thunberg's scientific reputation, which the interpreters had noised abroad, and who were very inquisitive on various points of science. The questions of the astronomers related principally to eclipses, which it appeared they could not calculate to minutes, and frequently not even to hours; but besides the difficulty of carrying on this conversation through interpreters, another arose, from the fact that Thunberg's astronomy had grown a little rusty, and that neither he nor the Japanese had any books to which they could refer.

In matters of medicine, he felt more at home, especially as two

* Later accounts represent cloth or cotton stockings, or socks, as frequently worn in cold weather, resembling mittens, in having a separate accommodation for the great toe, so as to permit the introduction between that and the others of the shoe-holding strap.

of the Japanese doctors could speak Dutch — one of them tolerably well. They also had some knowledge of natural history, collected partly from Chinese and Dutch books, and partly from the Dutch physicians who had visited Jedo, but who frequently had not been very well able to instruct them, as they were often, to use Thunberg's expression, "little better than horse-doctors." One of the two Japanese, quite a young man, was the emperor's body-physician; the other, somewhat older and better informed, was physician to one of the chief princes. Both were good-natured, acute and lively. They attached themselves to Thunberg with great zeal, coming to see him every day, and often staying late at night. Though wearisome with their questions, yet so insinuating were they in their manners and anxious to learn, that our traveller found much pleasure in their society. They had a number of Dutch works on botany, medicine and surgery, and Thunberg sold them some others. They were particularly struck with the fine set of surgical instruments which he had brought from Amsterdam and Paris. These medical friends were of great use to him in his studies in natural history. Among the botanical specimens which they brought him were the pine of Europe (*Pinus abies*), of which, as well as of the *Pinus silvestris*, he had seen several on his journey to court, the chestnut, which he saw afterwards at Miako, on his return, and the walnut (*Jugulans nigra*). They also brought him a variety of ores and minerals, and specimens of fishes and insects.

The Japanese, he found, knew nothing of anatomy or physiology. They were ignorant of the circulation of the blood, feeling the pulse for a quarter of an hour, first in one arm and then in the other, not knowing that both beat alike. Bleeding they very seldom practised; of the use of mercury they knew nothing; and, notwithstanding what Thunberg relates of the cures effected under his direction, by the use of corrosive sublimate, it may be doubted how much benefit he conferred by the introduction of that remedy, or by the present which he made to his "beloved pupils" of "his silver-spring lancet," with instructions how to use it.

The two great remedies of the Japanese are acupuncture and burning with the moxa, the former chiefly practised in a violent colic endemic to the country. According to the Japanese theory, it is caused by wind, and to let out this wind several small holes

— nine being a favorite number — are made with needles, prepared for the purpose, generally in the muscles of the stomach or abdomen, though other fleshy parts of the body are, in some cases, chosen for the operation. These needles are nearly as fine as a hair, made of gold and silver generally, but sometimes of steel, by persons who profess a particular skill in tempering them. The bony parts, nerves and blood-vessels, are carefully avoided, and while they are passed through the skin and muscle, they are twirled about in a peculiar manner. There are many practitioners who confine themselves to this practice alone.*

A still more favorite and universal remedy, employed quite as much for prevention as cure, is burning with the moxa — the finer woolly part of the young leaves of the wormwood (*Artemesia*), of which the coarser kind is used for ordinary tinder. It is procured by rubbing and beating the leaves till the green part separates and nothing remains but the wool, which is sorted into two kinds. When applied, it is made up in little cones, which, being placed on the part selected for the operation, are set fire to from the top. They burn very slowly leaving a scar or blister on the skin, which, some time after, breaks and discharges. The operation is not very painful, except when repeated in the same place, as it sometimes is, or when applied to certain tender parts. It is thought very efficacious in pleurisies, tooth-ache, gout and rheumatism — disorders which, like the colic above-mentioned, are rapid in their operation, and of which the paroxysms tend to a speedy termination under any medical treatment or none at all. The Japanese have very elaborate treatises as to the effects produced by the moxa, according to the part to which it is applied, and its application forms a science and profession by itself. The fleshy parts, especially of the back, are ordinarily selected. It is used still more by way of prevention than for cure, every person, young and old, male and female, even prisoners in the jails, submitting to the operation, at least once in six

* There have not been wanting attempts to introduce acupuncture into European practice. See a sensible article on this subject by *Remusat* (*Nov. Melanges Asiat.*, vol. I.), in which he gives an analysis of a Japanese treatise on acupuncture, which, with a translation of it, was brought home by Titsingh.

months.* Another remedy is friction, applied by certain professors, and which proves of great use in pains of the limbs, arising from the prevailing vicissitudes of the weather. Internal remedies are generally exhibited in the form of simple decoctions, diuretic or sudorific. Wonderful virtues are ascribed to certain drugs; and, on the whole, the Japanese appear, as in the use of unicorn's horn and ginseng, to have been not less deluded by quack medicines and medical theories than more enlightened nations.†

The doctors, like the priests, are distinguished from other people by the fashion of wearing their hair. Thunberg states in one place that they shaved the whole head; in another, that they had the option of retaining all their hair, like the boys and women. According to Titsingh, physicians shave the head, and surgeons wear the hair. Of surgery, however, they know next to nothing.

All the male Japanese who are neither priests nor physicians, from the time the beard begins to grow, shave the head from the forehead to the nape of the neck. The little hair left about the neck and on the temples is well oiled, turned up in a cue, and tied with several rounds of white string made of paper. The hair above the tie is cut off, leaving about the length of a finger, which, being stiffened with a sort of pomatum, is so bent that the tip of it is made to stand against the crown of the head. This arrangement is strictly attended to, the head being shaved every day, that the stumps of the growing hair may not disfigure it.

Women who have parted with their husbands also shave their heads — at least Thunberg met with one such instance; but, in general, the women retain all their hair, which they make smooth with oil and mucilaginous substances, and either put close to the head all round, or else (in the case of single women and serving-

* Kämpfer treats at length on the acupuncture and moxa, and gives in his appendix a translation of a Japanese treatise on the parts to be selected to be burnt, according to the object to be accomplished.

† Of the Dosiu powder, to which the Japanese ascribe singular effects, M. Titsingh has given a curious account. *Illustrations*, p. 288. It was the invention of *Kobou*, a great saint and sage, who, by profound meditation on the writings both of his own sect and others, had discovered that the great scourges of mankind are four; namely, *Sigokf*, hell; *Goki*, woman; *Tsikusio*, the man with a perverse heart; and *Sioura*, war.

maids) make it stand in puffs on each side of the face. The ends are fastened together in a knob at the crown of the head, just before which is stuck a large comb, made, in the case of the poorer people, of lackered boxwood, and among the richer of tortoise-shell. The rich wear also several long ornaments of tortoise-shell, stuck through this knob, which, with a few flowers, constitute the whole of their head decorations. "Vanity," says Thunberg, "has not yet taken root among them to that degree as to induce them to wear rings or other ornaments in their ears. No caps, hats or bonnets are worn, except a conical cap, made of reeds, when travelling. Otherwise the parasol, or fan, is all the shelter they use against the sun or the rain."

The official visits are thus described by Thunberg: "We were dressed in the European fashion, but in costly silks, interwoven with silver and laced with gold. On account of the festivity of the day it was requisite for us to wear our swords and a very large black silk cloak. We were carried a considerable distance through the town before we arrived at the emperor's residence. This is surrounded by fosses and stone walls, and separated by draw-bridges. It forms a considerable town of itself, and is said to be five leagues in circumference, comprising the emperor's private palace, as also that of the hereditary prince, each separated from the other by wide fosses, stone walls, gates and other bulwarks. In the outermost citadel, which was the largest of all, were large and handsome covered streets and great houses, which belonged to the princes of the country, the privy councillors, and other officers of state. Their numerous families, who were obliged likewise to remain at the court the whole year throughout, were also lodged here. At the first gate there was a strong guard. That at the second gate was said to consist of a thousand men.* As soon as

* From Thunberg's account of the arms of the Japanese, they cannot be regarded as very formidable soldiers. He mentions bows and arrows, scymeters, halberts and guns. Their bows are very large and their arrows long, like those of the Chinese. The bowman, in order to shoot, places himself on one knee, a position which renders it impossible to discharge his arrows with any great rapidity. Guns were not ordinarily employed. Thunberg saw them, apparently matchlocks, only as articles of show in the houses of the imperial officers, displayed upon a stand in the audience chamber. The few

we had passed through this gate, having previously quitted our norimons, we were conducted to an apartment, where we waited a full hour. At last, having obtained leave to approach the imperial palace, we passed through a long lane of soldiers, who were posted on both sides quite up to the door of the palace, all armed and well clothed.

"The emperor's private palace was situated on an eminence, and although it consisted of one story only, still it was much higher than any other house, and covered a large tract of ground. We were immediately conducted into an antechamber, where we again waited at least an hour. Our officers sat down in the Japanese manner on one side, and the Dutchmen, together with the interpreters, on the other. It proved extremely fatiguing to us to sit in their manner; and, as we could not hold it out long thus, we put our legs out on one side and covered them with our long cloaks, which in this respect were of great service to us.

"The time we waited here did not appear long, as great numbers of people passed in and out, both in order to look at us and talk with us. We were visited by several princes of the country, but constantly incognito, though we could always perceive when they were coming, from the murmuring noise which was at first heard from the inner rooms, and the silence that ensued upon it.

cannon at Nagasaki, which once belonged to the Portuguese, were discharged only once in seven years, the Japanese knowing little or not at all the proper management of them, and fixing the match to a long pole, so as to touch them off at a safe distance. Their longer swords are broad-backed, a little curved, a yard long, and of excellent temper; the hilts somewhat roundish and flat, furnished with a round substantial guard without any bow. The scabbard is thick and rather flat, made of wood, and sometimes covered with shagreen and lackered. The shorter sword is straight. These swords are costly and rated at a high value.

From a Japanese work, Siebold states their method of making sword-blades: "The blades, forged out of good bar-steel, are plastered over with a paste of potash, porcelain clay and powdered charcoal, and dried in the sun. They are next exposed to the fire and heated till the mass assumes a white hue. The glowing blades are then plunged into luke-warm water, three fifths boiling to two fifths cold, and cooled gradually. Often the edge only is heated, and then the cooling is with cold water. The reforging of old blades is not uncommon." Of the two swords worn by the Japanese, one is long and slightly curved, the other short and straight.

Their curiosity was carried to a great length in everything; but the chief employment they found for us, was to let them see our mode of writing. We were thus induced to write something either on paper or on their fans. Some of them showed us fans on which the Dutch had formerly written, and which they had carefully treasured up as great rarities.

"At last the instant arrived when the ambassador was to have audience, at which the ceremony was totally different from that which was used in Kämpfer's time, we remaining in the apartment into which we had been ushered.

"After the return of the ambassador we were again obliged to stay a long while in the antechamber, in order to receive the visits and answer the questions of several of the courtiers, several times during whose entrance a deep silence prevailed. Among these, it was said, his imperial majesty had likewise come *incognito*, in order to have a nearer view of the Dutch and their dress.* The interpreters and officers had spared no pains to find out, through the medium of their friends, everything that could tend to our information in this respect. The emperor was of a middle size, hale constitution, and about forty and odd years of age.

"At length, after all the visits were ended, we obtained leave to see several rooms in the palace, and also that in which the ambassador had had audience, and which has already been described.

"The ambassador was conducted by the outside of the anteroom and along a boarded passage to the audience room, which opened by a sliding-door. The inner room consisted, in a manner, of three rooms, one a step higher than the other, and, according to the measure I took of them by my eye, when afterwards permitted to view them, of about ten paces each in length, so that the distance between the emperor and the ambassador might be about thirty paces. The emperor, as I was informed, stood during the audience, in the most interior part of the room, as did the hereditary prince likewise, at his right hand. To the right of this room was a large saloon, the floor of which was covered by a hundred mats, and hence called the hundred-mat saloon. It is six hundred feet long

* This appears to have been the substitute for those private interviews, in which the doctor and secretary were expected to show off for the entertainment of the Dutch, and of which Kämpfer has given so curious an account.

and three hundred broad,* and is occupied by the most dignified men of the empire, privy councillors and princes, who all, on similar occasions, take their seats according to their different ranks and dignity. To the left, in the audience room, lay the presents, sent beforehand, and piled up in heaps. The whole of the audience consists merely in this, that, as soon as the ambassador enters the room, he falls on his hands, lays his hand on the mat, and bows his head down to it, in the same manner as the Japanese themselves are used to testify their subjection and respect. After this the ambassador rises, and is conducted back to the anteroom the same way that he came.

"The rest of the rooms which we viewed had no furniture in them. The floors were covered with large and very white straw mats; the cornices and doors were handsomely lackered, and the locks, hinges, &c., well gilt.

"After having thus looked about us, we were conducted to the hereditary prince's palace, which stood close by, and was separated only by a bridge. Here we were received and complimented in the name of the hereditary prince, who was not at home; after which we were conducted back to our norimons.

"Although the day was already far advanced, and we had had sufficient time to digest our early breakfast, we were nevertheless obliged to pay visits to all the privy councillors, as well to the six ordinary as to the six extraordinary, at each of their respective houses. And as these gentlemen were not yet returned from court, we were received in the most polite manner by their deputies, and exhibited to the view of their ladies and children. Each visit lasted half an hour; and we were for the most part so placed in a large room that we could be viewed on all sides through thin curtains, without having the good fortune to get a sight of these court beauties, excepting at one place, where they made so free as, not only to take away the curtain, but also desired us to advance nearer. In general we were received by two gentlemen in office, and at every place treated with green tea, the apparatus for smoking, and pastry, which was set before each of us, separately, on small

* It would take a thousand of the ordinary Japanese mats to cover such a floor; but Thunberg says the mats upon it were of an extra size.

tables. We drank sometimes a cup of the boiled tea, but did not touch the tobacco, and the pastry was taken home through the prudent care of our interpreters.

"I shall never forget the delightful prospect we had during these visits, from an eminence that commanded a view of the whole of this large and extensive town, which the Japanese affirm to be twenty-one leagues, or as many hours' walk, in circumference. The evening drew nigh by the time that we returned, weary and worn out, to our inn.

"On the following day (May 19th) we paid our respects to the temple lords, as they are called, the two governors of the town, and the two commissaries of strangers. A few days elapsed after this before we received our audience of leave. This was given, in a very summary manner, on the 23d following, and only before the lords in council appointed for this purpose. The intervening days were employed in receiving presents and preparing for our departure. At the audience of leave, the gowns or Japanese dresses, intended as presents for the Dutch East India Company, were delivered. The presents destined for us were carried to our inns. Every ordinary privy councillor gives, the day after the audience of leave, ten gowns; every extraordinary privy councillor, six; every temple lord, five; and every commissary, and the governor of Nagasaki, two. Of these our *banjos* [the officers called by Kämpfer bugio and deputy-bugio — the conductors of the journey] received two; the secretary and myself two apiece; and the ambassador four. The rest are packed up for the company's account." *

Of these gowns, the universal, and almost only article of Japanese dress, Thunberg, in another place, gives the following account. "They are long and wide, and worn, one or more of them, by people of every age and condition in life. The rich have them of the finest silk, and the poor of cotton. The women wear them reaching down to their feet, and the women of quality frequently with a train. Those of the men come down to their heels; but travellers, together with soldiers and laboring people, either tuck them up or wear them so short that they only reach to their knees.

* This was a different arrangement from that which prevailed in Kämpfer's time, when the ambassador had the whole, except those presented by the emperor himself.

The men generally have them made of plain silk of one color; but the silken stuffs worn by the women are flowered, sometimes in gold. In the summer they are either without any lining at all, or else with a thin lining only. In winter, by way of defence against the cold weather, they are quilted with cotton or silk wad. The men seldom wear many of them, but the women often from thirty to fifty, or more, and all so thin, that together they hardly weigh more than four or five pounds. The undermost serves for a shirt, and is therefore either white or bluish, and, for the most part, thin and transparent. All these gowns are fastened about the waist by a belt, which for the men is about the breadth of a hand, and for the women of twelve inches, and of such length as to go twice round the body, with a large knot and rose. The knot worn by the fair sex, which is larger than that worn by the men, shows immediately whether the woman is married or not; as the married women wear the knot before, and the single behind. The men fasten to this belt their sabres,* fan, tobacco-pipe and pouch. The gowns are rounded off about the neck, without a cape, open before, and show the bare bosom, which is never covered, either with a handkerchief or anything else. The sleeves are ill-shaped, wide and long, the openings partly sewed up, so as to form a bag, into which they put their hands in cold weather, or use it as a pocket to hold their papers and other things.† Young girls, in particular, have the sleeves of their gowns so long as frequently to reach quite down to the ground. On account of the width of their garments, they are soon dressed and undressed, as they have nothing more to do than to untie their girdle and draw in their arms, when the whole of their dress instantly falls off of itself. The gowns serve also for bedclothes. The common people, when at work, are frequently seen naked, with only a girdle about them, or with their gowns taken off the upper part of their bodies, and hanging down loose from their gir-

* The two swords, the badge of nobility, are worn stuck into the belt, on the left side, with no belt of their own, a little crosswise and with the edge upwards. When a person is seated the longer sword is taken from the belt and laid on the ground by him.

† The bosom of the gown is also used for the same purpose. For pocket-handkerchiefs, the Japanese carry about them a supply of small, square bits of soft paper, which they throw away as they use them.

dles. Men of a higher rank wear over the long gowns a shorter one, made of some thin stuff, such as gauze. As to the neck and sleeves of it, they are like those of the other, but it reaches only to the waist, and is not fastened with a girdle, but tied before and at the top with a string. This half-gown is sometimes of a yellow, but most frequently of a black color, and is laid aside at home, or in any place where no superior is present."

As the Japanese ordinarily wear no covering for the legs, feet or head, the above described gowns constitute their entire dress, except upon occasions of ceremony, when a complimentary dress, or honor-gown, *kamisamo*, as they call it, is added to it. This complimentary dress consists of a frock, generally of a blue stuff, with white flowers about half the length of the gown, and made much in the same way, but carried on each side back over the shoulders, so as to give a very broad-shouldered appearance to the wearer. To this, with persons of a certain rank, is added, as part of the dress of ceremony, a garment half breeches, half petticoat, as if it were a petticoat sewed up between the legs, but left open at the sides for two thirds their length, fastened about the waist by a band, and reaching to the ankles.

Before leaving Jedo, Thunberg purchased a number of botanical books, containing very indifferent figures of plants, as did another botanical work, in twenty thin octavo volumes, presented to him by one of his medical pupils. But a large printed* quarto, which he purchased, contained figures of Japanese fishes, engraved and colored in such superior style, as to be able to compete with similar European works. He also procured, though the selling such things to strangers was strictly prohibited, a map of Japan, with plans of Jedo, Miako and Nagasaki, exactly like those brought away by Kämpfer, and engraved in his work. Just before his departure, at the request of his two pupils in medicine, he gave them a certificate in Dutch, of their proficiency, with which they were as highly delighted as ever a young doctor was with his diploma. A warm friendship had sprang up between him and them, and, even after Thunberg's return to Europe, a correspondence was kept up and

* The Japanese print entirely from stereotype plates. They do not employ movable types, and they print on one side of the paper only.

presents exchanged for some years, down at least to the publication of his travels.

According to Thunberg, the personages composing the imperial court were in his time so little known that very few people in the whole empire were acquainted with their names. M. Feith, the director whom he accompanied to Jedo, and who had been on the same embassy four times before, and had lived in Japan fourteen years, was obliged to confess at table, after their return to Batavia, being inquired of as to the name of the reigning emperor, that he did not know it, and never had heard it.* It was only through the friendship of his medical pupils at Jedo, and of the chief interpreter, that he obtained a knowledge of it, and also a list of the emperors since Kämpfer's time, which he gives as follows:

CHIN NA YOS (reigning when Kämpfer left Japan, and for twelve or thirteen years previously.)

1709, YE NOB KOO.

1718, YE TSU KU KOO.

1717, YOSI MUNE KOO.

1752, YE SIEGE KOO.

1762, YE FUR KOO,† who continued to reign at the time of Thunberg's departure, being the forty-first in succession from Joritomo, and ninth from Jesi Jas, otherwise Daisu-Sama and Ogoshu-Sama, or, as he was called after his death, Gongin-Sama, by whom the reigning dynasty had been established.

Thunberg left Jedo on his return the 25th of May. The weather being rainy they were a good deal molested by gnats, against which they had to protect themselves by gauze curtains. The Japanese

* The emperors are seldom or never spoken of, in the Jesuit letters and other contemporary memorials, by their personal or family names, but only by some title, as Kubo-Sama; Kambucundono, or, as Klaproth would write it, Kwanbaku-dono — the Kwanbak (or bonnet-keeper) being a high dignitary in the court of the Dairi, regent in case of a minority or a female Dairi; — Taiko-Sama, mighty lord; Xogun-Sama, which is only, as has been already noted, Siogun-Sama, &c. &c.

† The above names are written by Titsingh, as corrected by Klaproth, thus: Tsuna yosi, Ye-Nobu, Yei tsubo, Yosi-Mune, Ye-Sige (whose accession he places in 1745), Ye-Faru (succeeds in 1760). He gives as successor in 1786, Yeye-Nari. Koo (which Titsingh writes kio) he represents as a title merely.

fire-flies, so much more brilliant and active than the European glow-worm, were noticed with admiration.

At this season the first gathering was made of the tea-leaves, yet quite young and yielding the finer kinds of tea. He observed in some places the leaves carelessly spread before the houses on mats to dry. He also observed the farmers, in several places, threshing barley, wheat and mustard seed, on similar mats, with flails having three swingels, or sometimes by beating the ears against a tub. To separate the exterior husk from the rice, it was pounded by hand in a kind of mortar, or by means of a machine consisting of a number of pestles set in motion by a water-wheel, or by a man's foot. After the wheat and barley were gathered, French beans (*Phaseoli*) were sown for a second crop. He observed many kinds of peas and beans cultivated, especially the *Dolichos soia*, not only used for making soy, but the chief ingredients of a soup, a daily dish with most classes. The *Dolichos polystachos*, which ran winding like scarlet beans, was employed for arbors. Its flowers, hanging down from long stalks, were very ornamental, and appeared in succession for a long period. He mentions, also, lettuce, melons both with red and white pulp, pumpkins, cucumbers, eaten both raw and pickled, gourds, employed for flasks, mushrooms, very much used, especially for soups and sauces, Seville and China oranges, lemons, shaddocks, medlars (*Mespillus japonica*), a large sort of persimmon (*Dyosperos kaki*), grapes, pomegranates, Spanish figs (*Cactus ficus*), chestnuts and walnuts.* The condition of the Japanese farmer Thunberg contrasts very favorably with that of the Swedish agriculturalist, overloaded as the latter was with feudal burdens, though doubtless he knew better these burdens, which he indignantly enumerates, than he did the grievances of the Japanese cultivator.

At Osaka he saw the smelting of copper from the ores obtained in that neighborhood, and the method of casting it into bars. A mould was made for this purpose, by digging a hole in the ground a foot deep, across which were laid ten square iron bars, barely a finger's breadth apart. A strip of sail-cloth was spread over these bars and forced down. The hole was then filled with water, and

* Kämpfer represents the Japanese strawberry as entirely insipid, and the raspberries and brambleberries as not agreeable; and Golownin, from his own experience, agrees with him in this statement.

the melted metal, smelted from the ore, was dipped up in iron ladles and poured into this mould, thus forming each time ten or eleven thin plates. To this method of casting he ascribes its high color.

Thunberg had an opportunity of seeing Japanese plays, both at Osaka, on his return from Miako, and at Nagasaki, during the annual Matsuri in honor of Siwa, which he attended. "The spectators," he says, "sit in houses of different dimensions, on benches. Facing them, upon an elevated but small and narrow place, stands the theatre itself, upon which seldom more than one or two actors perform at a time. These are always dressed in a very singular manner, according as their own taste and fancy suggest, insomuch that a stranger would be apt to believe that they exhibited themselves not to entertain, but to frighten, the audience. Their gestures as well as their dress are strangely uncouth and extravagant, and consist in artificial contortions of the body, which it must have cost them much trouble to learn and perform. In general they represent some heroic exploit, or love story, of their idols and heroes, which are frequently composed in verse, and are sometimes accompanied with music. A curtain may, it is true, be let fall between the actors and the spectators, and some necessary pieces be brought forward upon the theatre; but in other respects these small theatres have no machinery nor decorations which can entitle them to be put in comparison with those of Europe.

"When the Japanese wish at any time to entertain the Dutch, either in the town of Nagasaki, or more particularly during their journey to the imperial court, they generally provide a band of female dancers, for the amusement of their guests. These are generally young damsels, very superbly dressed, whom they fetch from the inns; sometimes young boys likewise are mixed among them. Such a dance requires always a number of persons, who turn and twine, and put themselves into a variety of artificial postures, in order to represent an amorous or heroic deed, without either speaking or singing. Their steps are, however, regulated by the music which plays to them. These girls are provided with a number of very fine and light gowns, made of silk, which they slip off one after another, during the dance, from the upper part of their body, so as frequently to leave them, to the number of a dozen together, suspended from the girdle which encircles their loins."

Though the view taken by Thunberg of the Japanese presents them perhaps not quite so high in the scale of civilization as Kämpfer's, yet he is scarcely less their admirer, coinciding, indeed, in this respect, with most of the Europeans who have left any memorials of their observations in Japan. He notes especially their courtesy, friendly disposition, ingenuity, love of knowledge, justice, honesty, frugality, cleanliness and self-respect; and he emphatically repudiates the conclusion that, because the laws are severe and strictly executed, the people are therefore to be regarded as slaves. These laws are for the public good, and their severity ensures their observance. "The Japanese," he tells us, "hate and detest the inhuman traffic in slaves, carried on by the Dutch, and the cruelty with which these poor creatures are treated."

In common with Kämpfer he admires and extols the immutability of the Japanese laws and customs; but this seems hardly so legitimate a subject of eulogy as the peace in which the empire is kept, the plenty which is said to prevail,* and its freedom as well from internal feuds, political or religious, as from foreign encroachments.

Thunberg's *Flora Japonica* describes about a thousand species, of which upwards of three hundred were new. In the preface to it, he speaks of the Japanese Islands as chiefly hills and valleys, with high mountains. Plains and meadows are rare. The soil is now clayey and now sandy. The summer heat is great, especially in July and August, sometimes one hundred degrees of Fahrenheit, and scarcely tolerable but for the breeze. In winter the thermometer, even in the most southern parts, falls many degrees below the freezing-point, especially with the wind from the north and west, with ice and snow, which on the highest mountains remains all the year round. The changes in the weather are great and sudden; violent storms with thunder and lightning are common. The rains are abundant throughout the year, and especially so in spring and summer, whence in part the fertility of Japan, mainly due, however, to careful cultivation.

* This plenty is in strong contrast with the famine, scarcity and distress, frequently noted by the Jesuit missionaries, as prevailing during the civil wars of their time; yet, even at present, occasional seasons of scarcity seem to occur.

CHAPTER XLI.

ISAAC TITSINGH. — HIS RESIDENCE IN JAPAN. — TRANSLATIONS FROM THE JAPANESE. — ANNALS OF THE DAIRI. — MEMOIRS OF THE SIOGUN. — LIBERAL IDEAS IN JAPAN. — MARRIAGE CEREMONIES. — FUNERAL CEREMONIES. — MOURNING. — FEAST OF LANTERNS. — A. D. 1779—1791.

Soon after Thunberg's departure, he had a worthy successor, in the person of Mr. Isaac Titsingh, the first director at Desima since the time of Caron to whom we are indebted for any information about Japan. Born about 1640, Titsingh had entered early into the service of the Dutch East India Company. After seven years' residence at Batavia, he was sent to Desima, as director, where he arrived August 15th, 1779, and remained till November 29th, 1780, when he returned to Batavia. He came back again to Japan August 12th, 1781, and remained till November 6th, 1783, the war between Holland and England, growing out of the American revolution, having prevented the arrival of any ships from Batavia during the year 1782 — an event of which Titsingh took advantage to stipulate for a considerable advance in the price of Dutch imports, for a term of fifteen years. He reached Nagasaki a third time, August 18th, 1784, but left again November 26th of the same year. During his first and second visits he made the journey to Jedo as Dutch ambassador, where he succeeded in making several friends, particularly *Kutsuka Samon*, prince of Tamba, who had learned Dutch, which he wrote tolerably well, with whom, and other Japanese friends, Titsingh kept up a correspondence for some time after leaving the country.

During his residence in Japan he made a valuable collection of Japanese curiosities, including many Japanese books, and he also brought home with him translations of some of these books, made by aid of Japanese interpreters attached to the factory at Desima, whose interpretations, given *viva voce*, he wrote out in Dutch; for

though Titsingh knew enough of Japanese for the purposes of conversation, he does not seem to have acquired the written language, nor to have been able to read Chinese, of which the characters are largely, and, indeed, chiefly, employed in most Japanese works of much pretensions. "I found," he says, "among the interpreters belonging to our factory, four individuals sufficiently well-informed for my purpose; a fifth had devoted himself chiefly to medicine, in which he had made rapid progress, in consequence of the instruction given to him by Dr. Thunberg. Far from finding them suspicious and reluctant, as Europeans are usually pleased to represent these persons, in order to palliate their own indolence, they manifested, on the contrary, an eagerness to procure for me every practicable information, to consult, in various matters beyond their capacity, the best informed individuals among the magistrates and clergy, and to furnish me with books which might serve as a guide to my labors."

After leaving Japan, Titsingh was governor at the Dutch factory at Chinsurah, in Bengal, where he became acquainted with Sir William Jones. In 1794 he was sent, with Van Braam, on a Dutch embassy to Pekin, with the design to counterwork the English embassy of Lord Macartney; but this residence in China was limited to a few months.

Returning to Europe, after a residence in the East of thirty-three years, Titsingh designed to publish the result of his Japanese researches, in both Dutch and French; but, before having done it, he died at Paris, in 1812, leaving his large fortune and his collections and manuscripts to an only child of his, by an Eastern woman, by whom the fortune was soon spent, and the manuscripts and curiosities sold and scattered, though some of them ultimately fell into appreciating hands.*

* See a notice of Titsingh's collection, by Remusat, in *Nouveau Melanges Asiatique*, vol. I. It included, besides the works since published, a manuscript history of Japan, in eighty volumes (Japanese volumes are quite thin), also, a Chinese Japanese encyclopædia, several copies of a large map of Japan, colored drawings of plants, several botanical treatises, with wood cuts, very well done, &c., &c. The encyclopædia was presented to the *Bibliotheque au Roy*, and Remusat has given a full analysis of it in *Notices et Extracts des Manuscripts*, vol. XI.

Among his translations, the one to which Titsingh ascribed the greatest importance was that of the *Nipon o daï itsi Ran*, an abridged Japanese chronicle, from A. C. 600 to A. D. 1611, compiled in the year 1652, and printed at Miako. Having been carefully compared by Klaproth with the original — a task, as he says, from the manifold defects of Titsingh's version, almost equivalent to a new translation — and having been enriched with an introduction, a supplement and notes, this work was published in 1834, in French, at the expense of the Oriental Translation Fund, under the title of "*Annales des Empereurs du Japan.*"

Though highly valuable as a specimen of what Japanese histories are, and though Klaproth's introduction and notes contain some curious information, this performance is, on the whole, exceedingly dry, while it adds but little to the abstract given by Kämpfer of this or some other similar work. A criticism which Titsingh himself makes upon it, in a letter to the prince of Tamba, to whom he had intended to dedicate his translation, is worthy of notice, as going to show how little, with all its formal precision of years and months, the earlier Japanese chronology is entitled to historical respect. "Must we not suppose," asks Titsingh, "that the Japanese, so jealous of their neighbors, the Chinese, have, in writing their own history, endeavored to fill up many gaps in it by prolonging the reigns of their earlier Dairi? There is in your history a period of one thousand and sixty-one years occupied by the reigns of only sixteen Dairi. The duration of the life of *Syn-mu*, of the reigns of *Ko-an*, of *Sei-sum*, and the life of *O-sin*, appear altogether improbable. The first died at the age of one hundred and twenty-seven years. The second reigned one hundred and two years, the third ninety-nine years. The last lived one hundred and ten years. These statements are too extraordinary to be blindly believed. Grant, even, that a chaste and frugal way of living may have secured for these princes a very advanced age, but how does it happen that, after *Nin-tok-ten-o* [the seventeenth Dairi], none exceeded the ordinary limit of human life?"

The Japanese still cling with tenacity to the formal recognition of the absolute rights of the Dairi. With as much warmth as a loyal Englishman would exhibit in maintaining the actual sovereignty of Queen Victoria, they insisted to Titsingh — and the same

thing afterwards occurred to Golownin — that Europeans were mistaken in applying the term "emperor" to the Siogun, the Dairi being the only legal emperor, and the Siogun but an officer to whom the Dairi had entrusted the administration.*

The annual visit of the Siogun to the Dairi, made in Caron's time, had been discontinued; but mutual embassies are still exchanged, and the envoys sent from the Dairi are received by the Siogun as if they were the Dairi himself. The Siogun goes to meet them, and conducts them to the hall of audience, where he performs the kitu, bending before them till his head touches the mats, as if they were the very Dairi. This homage finished, the Siogun resumes his rank, and the ambassadors then perform the kotu to him. During their stay they are entertained by two persons, who, from the allowance made for it, find this office very lucrative. The ambassadors also receive rich presents, not only at Jedo, but all along the route, and the attendance upon this service, even in an inferior capacity, is so lucrative as to be eagerly coveted by the poor courtiers of the Dairi. Titsingh encountered one of these embassies on his return from Jedo in 1782, and was obliged to stop a whole day, and to lodge in a citizen's house, all the horses, porters and inns, being taken up by the embassy. However poor and powerless, the courtiers of the Dairi still enjoy all the outward observances of superior rank. The first princes of the empire must pay them the homage of the kitu, and must lay aside their two swords in their presence. For this reason, these princes, in going and returning to Jedo, carefully avoid passing through Miako.

A more interesting publication, from the manuscript of Titsingh, and one which appeared earlier, is *Memoirs of the Djogouns*, which had itself been preceded by a number of other pieces, translations

* Theoretically the Siogun is but an inferior officer at the court of the Dairi. The first rank belongs to the Kwanbak, who represents the Dairi when that dignity devolves on a woman or a child. The Siogun, it is said, cannot hold this office. It was assumed, however, by Taiko-sama, and even conferred by him on his presumptive heir. Ordinarily the *Tai sio dai sin*, or president of the council, is the first officer; then follow the *Sa dai sin* and *Ou dai sin*, officers of the left and of the right hand. These constitute the Dairi's council, and theoretically the Siogun can do nothing without their consent. It is esteemed a great honor to the Siogun to receive even the third of these titles.

and originals.* These memoirs profess to be compiled from Japanese manuscripts, of which Titsingh gives the following account: "Since the accession of Gongin, founder of the present dynasty, the printing of any work relating to the government has been prohibited. The curious, however, possess manuscript accounts of all the remarkable events that have occurred. These manuscripts are in great request. The conduct of persons of elevated rank is sometimes as freely censured in them as it would be in any country in Europe. The obstructions which the government throws in the way of the publication of historical works prevent these works from being known, and thus obviate whatever might make an obnoxious impression on the minds of the people, and endanger the interests of the reigning dynasty, as well as the tranquillity of the empire. From some of these manuscripts are extracted the particulars here submitted to the public. The Japanese, to whom they belong, keep them carefully concealed, so that it is difficult to procure a sight of them. If I was fortunate enough to obtain the communication of those from which I have extracted such curious notes, I am indebted for it to the ardent zeal with which my friends assisted me in all my researches." M. Abel Remusat, the learned Orientalist, who, at the request of the French publisher, prefixed some preliminary observations to this publication, observes that, "Thanks to the pains M. Titsingh has taken, we shall outstrip the Japanese themselves, and, by an extraordinary singularity, we shall be earlier and better informed than they concerning the events of their own history." This publication in Europe of Japanese history is not, however, so much a singularity as M. Remusat seems to suppose. The letters of the Jesuit missionaries furnished contemporary details of Japanese history extending over a period of more than seventy years, and including the establishment of the present system of government, far more full and authentic, we may well believe, than anything which the Japanese themselves possess, and far exceeding anything contained in this book of Titsingh's, whom M. Remusat, perhaps in rather too complimentary a spirit, places

* There is no such consonant as Dj in Japanese, and the proper reading is not Djogoun, but Siogun. An English translation, including both the Memoirs of the Djogouns and the other pieces, was published at London, in 1822, with the title of ILLUSTRATIONS OF JAPAN.

on a level with Kämpfer, and in advance of Thunberg, as a contributor to our knowledge of Japan.

The memoirs of the Djogouns, made up of detached fragments, in general very jejune, contain, however, a few anecdotes, which serve to illustrate the ideas and manners of the Japanese. The Kubo-Sama reigning in Kämpfer's time is stated to have been stabbed, in 1709, by his wife, a daughter of the Dairi, because, being childless, he persisted in selecting as his successor a person very disagreeable to all the princes — an act which causes her memory to be held in high honor.

One of the longest of these fragments relates to an alleged conspiracy, in the year 1767, against the reigning Siogun, for which a number of persons suffered death. There is, also, an account of an extensive volcanic eruption, which took place in September, 1783, in the interior of the island of Nipon, in the province of Sinano, north-west of Jedo, and north of Osaka. The mountain Asama vomited sand, ashes, and pumice-stones; the rivers flowing from it were heated boiling-hot, and their dammed-up waters inundated the country. Twenty-seven villages were swallowed up, and many people perished.

The councillor of state, *Tonoma-yamossin*, was assassinated the next year (1784), in the emperor's palace; but of this event, and of others connected with it, Titsingh gives a fuller explanation in his Introduction to the Japanese *Marriage Ceremonies*. He there informs us that "though many Japanese of the highest distinction, and intimately acquainted with matters of government, still consider Japan as the first empire of the world, and care but little for what passes out of it, yet such persons are denominated by the more enlightened *Inoetzi-no-Kajoru* — that is, 'Frogs in a well' — a metaphorical expression, which signifies that when they look up they can see no more of the sky than what the small circumference of the well allows them to perceive." Of this more enlightened party was the extraordinary councillor, *Matsdaira Tsu*, who proposed, in 1769, the building of ships and junks suitable for foreign voyages; but this plan was put a stop to by his death.

Tango-no-kami, the governor of Nagasaki, one of this more liberal party, with whom Titsingh, while director, kept up a secret intercourse, proposed to him, in 1783, to bring carpenters from Ba-

tavia, to instruct the Japanese in building vessels, especially for the transport of copper from Osaka to Nagasaki, in which service many Japanese vessels had been lost, with their cargoes; but this Titsingh knew to be impossible, as skilful carpenters were too rare at Batavia to be spared. He therefore proposed to take with him, on his return to Batavia, a number of Japanese to be instructed there; but the prohibition against any native leaving the country proved an insurmountable obstacle. He then promised to have a model ship built at Batavia, and conveyed to Nagasaki, which was done by himself, on his last visit to Japan; but the assassination of Tonoma, above mentioned, which had happened during his absence at Batavia, put an end to all hopes that had been formed of a modification in the exclusive policy of the Japanese.

This Tonoma (son of Tonomo, ordinary councillor, and uncle of the Siogun) was, according to Titsingh's account, a young man of uncommon merit and liberal ideas, and the anti-frog-in-a-well party flattered themselves that when he should succeed his father, he would, as they expressed it, "widen the road." After his appointment as extraordinary councillor, he and his father incurred, as Titsingh states, the hatred of the grandees of the court, by introducing various innovations, which the "Frogs in a well" censured as detrimental to the empire. It was to this feeling that his assassination was ascribed, a crime which put an end to the hopes which had begun to be entertained, of seeing Japan opened to foreigners, and of its inhabitants being allowed to visit other countries.

The appetite for foreign knowledge which Thunberg had noticed, was also observed by Titsingh. "During my residence in Japan," so he writes in the above quoted Introduction, "several persons of quality, at Jedo, Miako, and Osaka, applied themselves assiduously to the acquisition of the Dutch language, and the reading of our books. The prince of Satsuma, father-in-law of the present Djogoun, used our alphabet to express in his letters what he wished a third person not to understand. The surprising progress made by the prince of Tamba, by Katsagawa Hozun, physician to the Djogoun, and Nakawa Simnau, physician to the prince of Wakasa,*

* These two were the very pupils of Thunberg, though he writes their names somewhat differently.

and several others, enabled them to express themselves more clearly than many Portuguese, born and bred among us at Batavia. Considering the short period of our residence [he means, apparently, the stay of the Dutch embassy] at Jedo, such proficiency cannot but excite astonishment and admiration. The privilege of corresponding with the Japanese, above mentioned, and of sending them back their answers corrected, without the letters being opened by the government, allowed through the special favor of the worthy governor, *Tango-no-Kami*, facilitated to them the learning of Dutch."

In 1786, the reigning Siogun, Ye-Fasou, died, and was succeeded by an adopted son, Yeye-Nari, who was his distant cousin, being a great-grandson of his great-grandfather. This prince was married to a daughter of the prince of Satsuma, and that is stated to have been a principal reason for his adoption, it being the policy of the Sioguns thus to secure the attachment of the most powerful princes. The reigning family is thus allied to the princes of Kaga, Satsuma, Yetsisen, Naugato, and Oxu, while the houses of Voari, Kiusiu, and Mino, are descended from the sons of Gongin, from among whom, in case of failure of heirs, the Siogun is selected. These princes of the first class, notwithstanding the jealous supremacy of the emperors, still retain certain privileges. According to Titsingh, they enjoy absolute power in their own palaces, with the right of life and death over their dependents; nor, in case they commit crimes, has the emperor any authority to put them to death. He can only, with the Dairi's assistance, compel them to resign in favor of their sons.

In 1788, a terrible fire occurred at Miako, by which almost the entire city, including the palace of the Dairi, was destroyed. The particulars of this event were communicated to Titsingh by his Japanese correspondents.

Early in 1793, the summit of the *Oun zen ga dak* (High mountain of warm springs), in the province of Fisen, west of Simabara, sank entirely down. Torrents of boiling water issued from all parts of the deep cavity thus formed, and a vapor arose like thick smoke. Three weeks after, there was an eruption from a crater, about half a league from the summit. The lava soon reached the foot of the mountain, and in a few days the country was in flames

for miles around. A month after, the whole island of Kiusiu was shaken by an earthquake, felt principally, however, in the neighborhood of Simabara. It reduced that part of the province of Figo opposite Simabara to a deplorable condition, and even altered the whole outline of the coast, sinking many vessels which lay in the harbors. This is the event of the latest date mentioned by Titsingh. A plan of the eruption, furnished by one of his Japanese correspondents, also one of the eruption in Sinano, in 1783, is given in the "Illustrations of Japan."

The matter upon which Titsingh throws the most light is the marriage and funeral ceremonies of the Japanese, as to which he gives a translation, or, rather, an abridgment, of two Chinese works, received as authority in Japan, as to the etiquette to be observed on these occasions, at the same time noting the variations introduced by the Japanese.

The system of Japanese manners, being based on that of the Chinese, abounds in punctilios, and the higher the rank of the parties concerned, the more these punctilios are multiplied. This applies to marriages, as to other things. The treatise which Titsingh follows relates only to the marriages of what we should call the middle class (including merchants, artisans, &c.), who, though often possessed of considerable wealth, hold in Japan much the same subordinate position held prior to the French revolution by the corresponding class in France.

With persons of high rank, marriages are made entirely from family convenience; even with those of the middle class they are also much based on prudential considerations. Formerly, the bridegroom never saw the bride till she entered his house, which she does, preceded by a woman bearing a lantern, which originally served the bridegroom to catch his first glimpse of the bride, and, if he did not like her looks, the match might be broken off, and the bride sent home. "Such cases," says Titsingh, "formerly occurred; but at present, beauty is held in much less estimation than fortune and high birth — advantages to which people would once have been ashamed to attach so much value, and the custom has been by degrees entirely laid aside, on account of the mortification which it must give to the bride. At present, when a young man has any intention of marrying a female, whom he deems likely.

from the situation of her parents, to be a suitable match, he first seeks to obtain a sight of her. If he likes her person, a mediator, selected from among his married friends, is sent to negotiate a match. People of quality have neither lantern nor mediator, because the parents affiance the children in infancy, and marriage always follows. Should it so happen that the husband dislikes the wife, he takes as many concubines as he pleases. This is also the case among persons of the inferior classes. The children are adopted by the wife, who is respected in proportion to the number of which she is either the actual or nominal mother."

Formerly the bride was not allowed, in case of the bridegroom's death before the consummation of the nuptials, to marry again. A moving story is told of a romantic Japanese young lady, who, being urged by her friends to a second betrothal, to avoid such a sacrifice of her delicacy, cut off her hair, and, when that would not answer, her nose also. But this antique constancy has, in these latter depraved times — depraved in Japan as well as elsewhere — entirely disappeared, as well among the nobility as the common people.

The match having been agreed upon, the bridegroom's father sends a present — nothing is done in Japan without presents — to the bride's father. The bearer, accompanied by the mediator, delivers not only the presents and a written list or invoice of them, but a complimentary message also. For these presents a written receipt is given, and, three days after, the bearer and those who attended him are complimented by a counter present.

The following articles are then got ready at the bride's house by the way of outfit: A white wedding-dress, embroidered with gold or silver; four other dresses, one with a red, a second with a black ground, one plain white, a fourth plain yellow; a number of gowns, both lined and single, and all the other requisites of a wardrobe, as girdles, bathing-gowns, under robes, both fine and coarse, a thick furred robe for a bed-gown; a mattress to sleep on; bed-clothes; pillows; gloves; carpets; bed-curtains; a silk cap; a furred cotton cap; long and short towels; a cloak; a covering for a norimon; a bag with a mixture of bran, wheat and dried herbs, to be used in washing the face; also, a bag of toothpicks, some skeins of thin twine, made of twisted paper, for tying up the hair; a small

hand-mirror; a little box of medicines; a small packet of the best columbac, for painting the lips; several kinds of paper for doing up packages; also paper for writing letters; a *kollo* (a kind of harp); a *samsi* (a sort of guitar); a small chest for holding paper; an inkhorn; a pin-cushion; several sorts of needles; a box of combs; a mirror with its stand; a mixture for blacking the teeth (the distinguishing mark of married women in Japan, some blackening them the moment they are married, and others when they become pregnant); curling-tongs for the hair; scissors; a letter-case; a case of razors; several small boxes, varnished or made of osier; dusters; a case of articles for dressing the hair; an iron for smoothing linen; a large osier basket to hold the linen; a tub with handles; a small dagger, with a white sheath, in a little bag (thought to drive away evil spirits and to preserve from infectious exhalations — a quality ascribed also to the swords worn by the men); complimentary cards, made of paper, variously colored, and gilt or silvered at the ends, to tie round presents; *nori*, a species of edible sea-weed, of which small pieces are attached to every congratulatory present; silk thread; a small tub to hold flax; several slender bamboos, used in hanging out clothes to dry; circular fans; common fans; fire-tureens; and — what certainly ought to form a part of the bridal outfit of our city belles — a small bench for supporting the elbows when the owner has nothing to do! Several books are also added, poems and stories, moral precepts, a book on the duties of woman in the married state, and another — the very one we are now giving an abstract of — on the etiquette of the marriage ceremony. Two different kinds of dressing-tables are also provided, containing many of the above-mentioned articles; also a number of other housekeeping utensils.

When these things are ready, the mediator and his wife are invited to the house of the bride's father, and entertained there. A lucky day is selected for sending the above-mentioned articles, accompanied by a written list, to the bridegroom's house. The mediator is present to assist in receiving them, and a formal receipt is given, as well as refreshments and presents to the bearers in proportion to the value of the articles brought.

On the day fixed for the marriage, an intelligent female servant

of the second class* is sent to the house of the bride to attend her; and the bride's father, having invited all his kinsfolk, entertains them previous to the bride's departure.

The bridal party sets out in norimons, the mediator's wife first, then the bride, then the bride's mother, and, finally, her father. The mediator has already preceded them to the bridegroom's house. The bride is dressed in white (white being the color for mourning among the Japanese), being considered as thenceforward dead to her parents.

If all the ceremonies are to be observed, there should be stationed, at the right of the entrance to the house of the bridegroom, an old woman, and on the left an old man, each with a mortar containing some rice-cakes. As the bride's norimon reaches the house, they begin to pound their respective mortars, the man saying, "A thousand years!" the woman, "Ten thousand!"—allusions to the reputed terms of life of the crane and the tortoise thus invoked for the bride. As the norimon passes between them, the man pours his cakes into the woman's mortar, and both pound together. What is thus pounded is moulded into two cakes, which are put one upon another and receive a conspicuous place in the toko† of the room where the marriage is to be celebrated.

The norimon is met within the passage by the bridegroom, who stands in his dress of ceremony ready to receive it. There is also a woman seated there with a lantern, and several others behind her. It was, as already mentioned, by the light of this lantern that formerly the groom first saw his bride, and, if dissatisfied with her, exercised his right of putting a stop to the ceremony. The bride, on seeing the bridegroom, reaches to him, through the front window of her norimon, her *marmori*,‡ and he hands it to a female servant

* There are three classes of women-servants. Those of the first class make the clothes of the mistress, dress her hair, and keep her apartments in order. Those of the second wait on her at meals, accompany her when she goes abroad, and attend to other domestic duties. Those of the third are employed in cooking and various menial offices.

† The toko, as already described in Chap. XXXII., is a sort of recess, or open closet, opposite the entrance, considered the most honorable place in the room. The above ceremony might call to mind the *confarratio* of the ancient Roman marriage.

‡ This is a small, square or oblong bag, containing a small image of metal,

who takes it into the apartment prepared for the wedding and hangs it up. The bride is also led to her apartment, the woman with the lantern preceding.

The marriage being now about to take place, the bride is led, by one of her waiting-women, into the room where it is to be celebrated, and is seated there with two female attendants on either side. The bridegroom then leaves his room and comes into this apartment. No other persons are present except the mediator and his wife. The formality of the marriage consists in drinking saki after a particular manner. The saki is poured out by two young girls, one of whom is called the male butterfly, and the other the female butterfly, — appellations derived from their *susu*, or saki-jugs, each of which is adorned with a paper butterfly. As these insects always fly about in pairs, it is intended to intimate that so the husband and wife ought to be continually together. The male butterfly always pours out the saki to be drank, but, before doing so, turns a little to the left, when the female butterfly pours from her jug a little saki into the jug of the other, who then proceeds to pour out for the ceremony. For drinking it, three bowls are used, placed on a tray or waiter, one within the other. The bride takes the uppermost, holds it in both hands, while some saki is poured into it, sips a little, three several times, and then hands it to the groom. He drinks three times in like manner, puts the bowl under the third, takes the second, hands it to be filled, drinks out of it three times, and passes it to the bride. She drinks three times, puts the second bowl under the first, takes the third, holds it to be filled, drinks three times, and then hands it to the groom, who does the same, and afterwards puts this bowl under the first. This ceremony constitutes the marriage. The bride's parents, who meanwhile were in another room, being informed that this ceremony is over, come in, as do the bridegroom's parents and brothers, and seat themselves in a certain order. The saki, with other refreshments interspersed, is then served, by the two butterflies, to these relations of the married parties in a prescribed order, indicated by the mediator; the two families, by this ceremony, extending, as it

wood or stone, supposed to operate as a sort of amulet, something like the medicine-bag of our North American Indians.

were, to each other the alliance already contracted between the bride and bridegroom.

Next follows the delivery of certain presents on the part of the bride to the bridegroom, his relatives and the servants of the household. These are brought by a female, who arranges them in order in an adjoining room, and hands written lists of them to the mediator, who passes it to the bridegroom's father, who, having received the paper, returns thanks, then reads the lists aloud, and again returns thanks.

The bridegroom then presents the bride with two robes, one with a red and the other with a black ground, embroidered with gold or silver. The bride retires, puts on these robes, and again returns. Refreshments of a peculiar kind then follow, the bride, to spare her bashfulness, being suffered to eat in a room by herself.

This entertainment over, the parents of the bride prepare to leave her. They are accompanied by those of the bridegroom, and by the bride herself, to the door; the bridegroom with two servants bears candles, shows the way, and takes leave with compliments.

Sometimes the bridegroom proceeds, that same night, with his parents and the mediator, to the house of the bride's father, where the contracting of relationship by drinking saki is again gone through with, the bride remaining behind in her husband's house, where she is meanwhile entertained by his brothers. On this occasion the father of the bride presents his new son-in-law with a sabre. Presents are also delivered on the part of the bridegroom to the bride's relations.

The feasting over, the bridegroom and his parents return home, and are received at the door by the bride.

In making the bed for the bride, her pillow is placed towards the north (the practice followed with the dead, for she is thenceforward to be considered as dead to her parents). Such is stated to have been the ancient custom, though now generally disused.

The beds having been prepared, the bride is conducted to hers by one of the women appointed to attend her, and the same person introduces the bridegroom into the apartment. The young couple are waited on by the male and female butterflies. One of the bride's women sleeps secretly in the adjoining chamber.

The bridal chamber is abundantly furnished with all the numer-

ous articles of the Japanese toilet, including a greater or less quantity, according to their rank, of wearing apparel, hung on movable racks or clothes-horses.

In families of the rank of the governors of Nagasaki the bride is portioned with twelve robes, each upon a distinct horse; namely, a blue robe, for the first month, embroidered with fir-trees or bamboos; a sea-green robe, for the second month, with cherry flowers and buttercups; a robe of light red, for the third month, with willows and cherry-trees; a robe of pearl color, for the fourth month, embroidered with the cuckoo, and small spots representing islands; a robe of faint yellow, for the fifth month, embroidered with waves and sword-grass; a robe of bright orange, for the sixth month, embroidered with melons and with an impetuous torrent — the rainy season falling in this and the previous month; a white robe, for the seventh month, with *kiki* flowers, white and purple; a red robe, for the eighth month, sprinkled with aloe-leaves; a violet robe, for the ninth month, embroidered with flowers of the *Chrysanthemum indicum*, a very splendid flower; an olive-colored robe, for the tenth month, with representations of a road and ears of rice cut off; a black robe, for the eleventh month, embroidered with emblems of ice and icicles; a purple robe, for the twelfth month, embroidered with emblems of snow. Beyond some personal outfit of this sort, it is said not to be the custom to portion daughters.

Next morning the young couple take a warm bath, and then breakfast together. Soon after numerous presents come in, of which a careful account is kept; the bride also receives visits of congratulation. The day after, all the bridegroom's people are treated with cakes in the apartment of the bride; and rice-cake, put up in boxes, is sent to all the near relations who did not attend the wedding.

After the expiration of three days the bride pays a visit to her parents, preceded by a present from her husband, one corresponding to which is sent back when the bride returns. All the preceding ceremonies over, the bride, accompanied by her mother-in-law, or some aged female relative, pays a visit to all who have sent her presents, thanks them, and offers a suitable return, — a supply of suitable presents for this purpose having been provided for her

before she left her father's house. Seven days after the wedding, the bridegroom and four or five of his intimate friends are invited by the parents of the bride to a grand entertainment. A few days after, the bridegroom invites the relatives of the bride to a similar entertainment, and so the matrimonial solemnities terminate.

The Japanese have two ways of disposing of the dead — *dosi*, or interment, *gunso*, or burning — and persons about to die generally state which method they prefer.

Of the funeral ceremonies observed at Nagasaki, Titsingh gives the following account: The body, after being carefully washed by a favorite servant, and the head shaved, is clothed according to the state of the weather, and (if a female, in her best apparel) exactly as in life, except that the sash is tied, not in a bow, but strongly fastened with two knots, to indicate that it is never more to be loosed. The body is then covered with a piece of linen, folded in a peculiar manner, and is placed on a mat in the middle of the hall, the head to the north. Food is offered to it, and all the family lament.

After being kept for forty-eight hours, the body is placed on its knees in a tub-shaped coffin, which is enclosed in a square, oblong box, or bier, the top of which is roof-shaped, called *quan*. Two *ifays* are also prepared — wooden tablets of a peculiar shape and fashion, containing inscriptions commemorative of the deceased, the time of his decease, and the name given to him since that event.

The ifays and quan, followed by the eldest son and the family, servants, friends and acquaintances, are borne in a procession, with flags, lanterns, &c., to one of the neighboring temples, whence, after certain ceremonies, in which the priests take a leading part, they are carried, by the relatives only, to the grave, where a priest, while waiting their arrival, repeats certain hymns. The moment they are come, the tub containing the body is taken out of the quan and deposited in the grave, which is then filled with earth and covered with a flat stone, which again is covered with earth, and over the whole is placed the quan and one of the ifays, which is removed at the end of seven weeks, to make room for the *sisek*, or grave-stone. If the deceased had preferred to be burnt, the quan is taken to the summit of one of two neighboring mountains, on the top of each of which is a sort of furnace, prepared for this purpose, enclosed in a

small hut. The coffin is then taken from the quan, and, being placed in the furnace, a great fire is kindled. The eldest son is provided with an earthen urn, in which first the bones and then the ashes are put, after which the mouth of the urn is sealed up. While the body is burning, a priest recites hymns. The urn is then carried to the grave, and deposited in it, and, the grave being filled up, the quan is placed over it.

The eldest son and his brothers are dressed in white, in garments of undyed hempen stuff, as are the bearers, and all females attending the funeral, whether relatives or not; the others wear their usual dresses. The females are carried in norimons, behind the male part of the procession, which proceeds on foot, the nearest relatives coming first. The eldest daughter takes precedence of the wife. The eldest son and heir, whether by blood or adoption, who is the chief mourner, wears also a broad-brimmed hat, of rushes, which hang about his shoulders, and in this attire does not recognize nor salute anybody.

It is a remarkable circumstance that relatives in the ascending line, and seniors, never attend the funerals of their junior kindred, nor go into mourning for them. Thus, if the second son should die, neither father, mother, uncle, aunt, elder brother nor elder sister, would attend the funeral.

The laboring classes are not required to go into mourning; yet some of them do for two, three, or four days. With them the burial takes place after twenty-four hours. With the upper class the mourning is fixed at fifty days. It used to be twice that time, but is said to have been cut down by Jesi Jas (founder of the reigning dynasty), that the business of the public functionaries might suffer the less interruption. Persons in mourning stay at home, abstain from animal food of any description, and from saki, and neither cut their nails nor shave their heads.

One of the ifays is left, as has been mentioned, at the grave; the other, during the period of mourning, is set up in the best apartment of the house of the deceased. Sweetmeats, fruit and tea, are placed before it, and morning, noon and night, food is offered to it, served up as to a living person. Two candles, fixed in candlesticks, burn by it, night and day, and a lighted lantern is hung up on either side. The whole household, of both sexes, servants included,

pray before it morning and evening. This is kept up for seven weeks, and during each week, from the day of the death, a priest attends and reads hymns for an hour before the ifay. He is each time supplied with ornaments, and paid a fee of from five to six mas.

During these seven weeks the son goes every day, be the weather what it may, and says a prayer by the grave. He wears his rush hat, through which he can see without being seen, speaks to nobody, and is dressed in white. With this exception, and a ceremonious visit, in the third, fourth or fifth week, to the relatives and friends, he remains in his house, with the door fastened. It is customary to erect a small hut near the grave, in which a servant watches, noting down the names of all who come to visit it.

When the seven weeks are over, the mourner shaves and dresses, opens his door, and goes, if an officer, to inform the governor that his days of mourning are over. He next pays a complimentary visit to all who attended the funeral, or have visited the grave, sending them also a complimentary present. The sisek, or grave-stone (almost precisely like those in use with us), is placed over the grave, and two ifays, varnished black and superbly gilt, are provided, one of which is sent to a temple. The other remains at home, kept in a case in a small apartment, appropriated for that purpose, in which are kept the ifays of all the ancestors of the family. It is customary every morning, after rising and dressing, to take the ifay out of its case, and to burn a little incense before it, bowing the head in token of respect.

Though the wearing of white garments and other formalities of the special mourning, called *imi*, cease at the end of fifty days at the longest, bright colors are not to be worn, or a Sinto temple to be entered, for thirteen months, and this is called *buku*. For a husband, imi lasts thirty days and buku thirteen months. For a wife, imi twenty days and buku three months; for grand-parents and uncles, the periods are thirty days and five months; for an eldest brother or sister, or aunt on the father's side, and great-grand-parents, twenty days and three months; for great-great-grand-parents and aunts on the mother's side, fathers and mothers-in-law, brother-in-law or sister-in-law, or eldest grandchild, ten days and one month; for other grandchildren, and for cousins of either sex, and their children, three days and seven days. For children under the

age of seven years, whatever the relationship, there is no mourning.

The great dignitaries must wear mourning for the Siogun; all officers, civil and military, for their princes; and whoever derives his subsistence from another must mourn for him as for a father. Pupils also must mourn for their teacher, education being esteemed equivalent to a livelihood. The sons of a mother, repudiated by her husband and expelled from his house, mourn for her as if dead.

In case of persons holding office, who die suddenly without previously having resigned in favor of their heirs, it is not unusual to bury them, the night after their death, in a private manner. The death, though whispered about, is not officially announced. The heir, who dresses and acts as usual, notifies the authorities that his father is sick and wishes to resign. Having obtained the succession, he soon after announces his father's death, and the formal funeral and mourning then take place.

The honors paid to deceased parents do not terminate with the mourning. Every month, on the day of the ancestor's decease, for fifty, or even for a hundred years, food, sweetmeats and fruit, are set before the ifay. One hundred days after the decease of a father or mother, an entertainment is to be given to all the intimate friends, including the priest who presided at the funeral. This is to be repeated a year from the death; and again on the third, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, thirty-third, fiftieth, hundredth, and hundred and fiftieth anniversary, and so on, as long as the family exists. To secure the due payment to themselves of funeral honors, those who have no sons of their own adopt one. If any accident, fortunate or disastrous, happens to the family, it is formally communicated to the ifays, such as the birth of a child, a safe return from a journey, &c. In case of floods or fires, the ifays must be saved in preference to everything else, their loss being regarded as the greatest of misfortunes.

The fifteenth day of the seventh Japanese month is a festival, devoted to the honor of parents and ancestors. Every Japanese, whose parents are still living, considers this a happy day. People regale themselves and their children with fish. Married sons and daughters, or adopted sons, send presents to their parents. On the evening of the 13th, the ifays are taken from their cases, and a

repast set before them, of vegetables and the fruits then ripening. In the middle is set a vase, in which perfumes are burnt, and other vases containing flowers. The next day, meals of rice, tea and other food, are regularly served to the ifays, as to living guests.

Towards evening, lanterns, suspended from long bamboos, are lighted before each sisek, or grave-stone, and refreshments are also placed there. This is repeated on the fifteenth. Before daylight of the sixteenth the articles placed at the graves are packed into small boats of straw, provided with sails of paper or cloth, which are carried in procession with vocal and instrumental music, and loud cries, to the water-side, where they are launched, by way of dismissing the souls of the dead, who are supposed now to return to their graves. "This festival," says Titsingh, speaking of its celebration at Nagasaki, "produces a highly picturesque effect. Outside the town, the view of it from the island Desima is one of the most beautiful. The spectator would almost imagine that he beheld a torrent of fire pouring from the hill, owing to the immense number of small boats that are carried to the shore to be turned adrift on the sea. In the middle of the night, and when there is a brisk wind, the agitation of the water causing all these lights to dance to and fro, produces an enchanting scene. The noise and bustle in the town, the sound of gongs and the voices of the priests, combine to form a discord that can scarcely be conceived. The whole bay seems to be covered with *ignes fatui*. Though these barks have sails of paper, or stronger stuff, very few of them pass the place where our ships lie at anchor. In spite of the guards, thousands of paupers rush into the water to secure the small copper coin and other things placed in them. Next day, they strip the barks of all that is left, and the tide carries them out to sea. Thus terminates this ceremony." *

* Father Vilela, in a letter written from Sacai, 1562, in the month of August (at which time this festival happens), describes it in a very lively manner. He represents the people as going out two days before, as if to meet their dead relations, spreading a feast to refresh them after their long journey, escorting them to their houses, talking to them as if they were present, and, finally, dismissing them with torches, lest they might stumble in the dark, or miss their way. This, Vilela adds, is a great time for the bonzes, the very poorest offering them some gift, for their religious aid on this occasion.

CHAPTER XLII.

EXPLORATION OF THE NORTHERN JAPANESE SEAS. — FIRST RUSSIAN MISSION TO JAPAN. — PROFESSORSHIP OF JAPANESE AT IRKUTSK. — NEW RESTRICTIONS ON THE DUTCH. — EMBARRASSMENTS GROWING OUT OF THE WAR OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. — AMERICAN FLAG AT NAGASAKI. — CAPTAIN STEWART. — INGENUITY OF A JAPANESE FISHERMAN. — HEER DOEFF, DIRECTOR AT DESIMA. — SUSPICIOUS PROCEEDINGS OF CAPTAIN STEWART. — RUSSIAN EMBASSY. — KLAPROTH'S KNOWLEDGE OF JAPANESE. — DOEFF'S FIRST JOURNEY TO JEDO. — DUTCH TRADE IN 1804 AND 1806. — AN AMERICAN SHIP AT NAGASAKI. — THE BRITISH FRIGATE PHAETON. — NO SHIPS FROM BATAVIA. — THE DUTCH ON SHORT ALLOWANCE. — ENGLISH SHIPS FROM BATAVIA. — COMMUNICATION AGAIN SUSPENDED. — DUTCH AND JAPANESE DICTIONARY. — CHILDREN AT THE FACTORY. — A. D. 1792–1817.

Till comparatively a recent period Europe was very much in the dark as to the geography of north-eastern Asia. Through the explorations and conquests of the Russians, Kamtchatka (long before visited by the Japanese) first became known to Europeans, about the year 1700. The exploration of the Kurile Islands, stretching from the southern point of that peninsula, led the Russians towards Japan. In 1713 the Cossack Kosierewski reached Konashir (the twentieth Kurile, according to the Russian reckoning, beginning from Kamtchatka), close to the north-eastern coast of Jeso, and claimed by the Japanese. In 1736, Spagenburg, a Dane in the Russian service, visited all the southern Kuriles, coasted the island of Jeso, made the land of Nipon, and entered several harbors on its eastern coast. These explorations were renewed by Potonchew, in 1777; but it was not till 1787 that La Perouse obtained for Europe the first distinct knowledge of the outline of the Sea of Japan, of the relative situations of Sagaleen and Jeso, and of the strait between them, which still bears his name.

In 1791, the Argonaut, an English ship employed in the fur trade on the north-west coast of America, made the western coast of Japan, and attempted to trade; but she was immediately surrounded by lines of boats; all intercourse with the shore was prevented, and she was dismissed with a gratuitous supply of wood and water. In 1795–7, Captain Broughton, in an English exploring vessel, coasted the southern and eastern shore of Jeso, sailed among the southern Kuriles, and touched at several places on the southern part of Sagaleen. Besides the natives, he found a few Japanese, who treated him with much attention, but were very anxious for his speedy departure. Japanese officers came from Jeso, expressly to look after him, to restrict his communications and to send him off, with all civility indeed, but as speedily as possible.

Previous to Broughton's voyage, Russia had already made a first attempt at a commercial and diplomatic intercourse with Japan. The crew of a Japanese vessel, shipwrecked in the Sea of Okhotsk, had been saved by the Russians, about 1782, and taken to Irkutsk, in Siberia, where they lived for ten years. At length the governor of Siberia was directed, by the empress Catherine II., to send home these Japanese, and with them an envoy, not as from her, but from himself. Lieutenant Laxman, selected for this purpose, sailed from Okhotsk in the autumn of 1792, landed on the northern coast of Jeso, and passed the winter there. The next summer he entered the harbor of Hakodade, on the northern coast of the Strait of Sangar. From that town he travelled by land to the city of Matsmai, three days' journey to the west, and the chief Japanese settlement on the island, the authorities of which, after communicating with Jedo, delivered to him a paper to the following effect: "That although it was ordained by the laws of Japan, that any foreigners landing anywhere on the coast, except at Nagasaki, should be seized and condemned to perpetual imprisonment; yet, considering the ignorance of the Russians, and their having brought back the shipwrecked Japanese, they might be permitted to depart, on condition of never approaching, under any pretence, any part of the coast except Nagasaki. As to the Japanese brought back, the government was much obliged to the Russians; who, however, were at liberty to leave them or take them away again, as they pleased, it

being the law of Japan that such persons ceased to be Japanese, and became the subjects of that government into whose hands destiny had cast them. With respect to commercial negotiations, those could only take place at Nagasaki; and a paper was sent authorizing a Russian vessel to enter that port for that purpose; but as the Christian worship was not allowed in Japan, any persons admitted into Nagasaki must carefully abstain from it."

Laxman was treated with great courtesy, though kept in a sort of confinement; he was supported, with his crew, by the Japanese authorities, while he remained, and was dismissed with presents and an ample supply of provisions, for which no payment would be received.

Here the matter rested for several years; but into a school for teaching navigation, which Catherine II. established at Irkutsk, the capital of Eastern Siberia, she introduced a professorship of the Japanese language, the professors being taken from among the Japanese shipwrecked from time to time on the coast of Siberia. Meanwhile, even the Dutch commerce to Japan had undergone some new restrictions. Whether from the prevalence of the "frog-in-a-well" policy, or from apprehensions, as it was said, of the exhaustion of the copper mines, the Dutch in 1790 were limited to a single ship annually, while, to accommodate their expenditures to this diminished trade, the hitherto yearly embassy to Jedo was to be sent only once in four years, though annual presents to the emperor and his officers were still required as before.

The occupation of Holland by the French armies not only exposed Dutch vessels to capture by the English, it cost Holland several of her eastern colonies, and thus placed new obstacles in the way of the Japanese trade. It was no doubt to diminish the danger of capture by the British, that, in the year 1797, the ship despatched from Batavia sailed under the American flag, and carried American papers, while the commander, one Captain Stewart, though in reality an Englishman from Madras or Bengal, passed for an American, and his ship as the Eliza, of New York. That the crew of this vessel spoke English, and not Dutch, was immediately noticed by the interpreters at Nagasaki, and produced a great sensation among the Japanese officials; but at last, after vast difficulty, they were made to understand that though the crew

spoke English, they were not "the English," but of another nation, and, what was a still more essential point, that they had nothing to do with the trade, but were merely hired to bring the goods in order to save them from capture; as a result of which explanation it was finally agreed that the Eliza should be considered as a Dutch ship.

The same vessel and captain returned again the next year; but in leaving the harbor for Batavia, loaded with camphor and copper, she struck a hidden rock, and sunk. The first scheme hit upon for raising the vessel was to send down divers to discharge the copper; but two of them lost their lives from the suffocating effect of the melting camphor, and this scheme had to be abandoned. Heavily laden as she was, every effort at raising her proved abortive, till at last the object was accomplished by a Japanese fisherman, who volunteered his services. He fastened to each side of the sunken vessel some fifteen of the Japanese boats used in towing, and a large Japanese coasting craft to the stern, and, taking advantage of a stiff breeze and a spring tide, dragged the sunken vessel from the rock, and towed her into a spot where, upon the ebbing of the tide, she could be discharged without difficulty. For this achievement the fisherman was raised, by the prince of Fisen, to which province he belonged, to the rank of a noble, being privileged to wear two swords, and to take as his insignia or arms a Dutch hat and two tobacco pipes.

When repaired and reloaded, the Eliza sailed again; but being dismasted in a storm, returned to refit, by reason of which she was detained so long, that the ship of 1799, also under American colors, and this time it would seem a real American, the Franklin, Captain Devereux, arrived at Nagasaki, and was nearly loaded before Captain Stewart was ready to sail. In this ship of 1799 came out, to be stationed as an officer at the factory, Heer Hendrick Doeff, who remained there for the next seventeen years, and to whose *Recollections of Japan*, written in Dutch, and published in Holland in 1835, we are greatly indebted for what we know of the occurrences in Japan during that period. It was, however, a very unfortunate circumstance, tending considerably to diminish the value of his book, that all his papers were lost by the foundering of the ship in which he sailed from Batavia for Holland, in 1819, the crew and

passengers escaping barely with their lives; after which, he allowed near fifteen years more to pass before he drew upon his memory for the materials of his book, which was only published at length to correct some misapprehensions, upon matters personal to himself, likely to arise, as he feared, from publications which preceded his own. His book, indeed, is mainly devoted to the defence of the Dutch nation and the affairs of the factory, against the strictures of Raffles and others, throwing only some incidental light upon the Japanese, the knowledge of whom, so far as it is accessible to residents at Desima, had indeed been pretty well exhausted by previous writers.

Captain Stewart, refusing to wait for the other ship, set sail at once; but he did not arrive at Batavia. He reäppeared, however, the next year at Nagasaki, representing himself as having been shipwrecked, with the loss of everything; but as having found a friend at Manilla, who had enabled him to buy and lade the brig in which he had now come back, for the purpose, as he said, of discharging, out of the sale of her cargo, his debt due to the factory for the advances made for the repairs of his lost vessel. Heer Wadenaar, the director, saw, however, or thought he saw, in this proceeding, a scheme for gaining a commercial footing at Nagasaki, independent of the regular trade from Batavia. He caused the goods to be sold and applied to the discharge of Stewart's debt; but he declined to furnish any return cargo for the brig, and he arrested Stewart, and sent him a prisoner to Batavia; whence, however, soon after his arrival there, he made his escape. He reäppeared again at Nagasaki in 1803, still under the American flag, but coming now from Bengal and Canton, with a cargo of Indian and Chinese goods. He solicited permission to trade and to supply himself with water and oil. With these latter he was gratuitously furnished, but liberty to trade was refused, and he was compelled to depart; nor was anything further heard of him. Doeff seems to have supposed him a real American, and his last expedition an American adventure; but in a pamphlet on Java and its trade, published at Batavia in 1800, by Heer Hagendorp, and quoted by Raffles in his history of Java, Stewart is expressly stated to have been an Englishman from Madras or Bengal, — a statement which seems to be confirmed by his coming from Bengal on his last arrival at Nagasaki, and a fact as

to which Hagendorp, who held a high official position, would not have been likely to be mistaken.*

The next circumstance of importance mentioned by Doeff was the arrival in October, 1804, in the harbor of Nagasaki, of a Russian vessel, commanded by Captain Krusenstern, and having on board Count Resanoff, sent as ambassador from the Czar, in somewhat late prosecution of the negotiation commenced by Laxman in 1792. This vessel brought back a number of shipwrecked Japanese,† and her coming had been notified to the governor of Nagasaki, through the medium of the Dutch authorities at Batavia and Desima. There are two Russian narratives of this expedition, one by Krusenstern, the other by Langsdorff, who was attached to the embassy. Both ascribe the failure of the mission to the jealous opposition of the Dutch. Doeff, on the contrary, insists that he did everything he could — for by this time he was director — to aid the Russians, and that they had only to blame their own obstinacy in refusing to yield to the demands of the Japanese.

The dispute began upon the very first boarding of the Russian ship, on which occasion the Japanese officers took the Dutch director with them. Resanoff consented to give up his powder, but insisted upon retaining his arms; he also refused those prostrations which the boarding-officers demanded as representatives of the emperor. These points were referred to Jedo; but, meantime (Doeff says, through his solicitations), the ship with the arms on board was permitted to anchor. The Dutch and Russians were allowed to pass the first evening together, but afterwards they were jealously separated, though they contrived to keep up an occasional intercourse through the connivance of the interpreters. The annual ship from Batavia, this year Dutch, then at Desima, was removed to another and distant berth. When she left, no letters were allowed to be sent by the Russians, except a bare despatch, first

* Krusenstern, in his narrative of the Russian embassy of Resanoff (as to which see next paragraph of the text), speaks of the last expedition of Stewart as fitted out by some English merchants in Calcutta, and gives to the captain the name of Torey. Very likely he had both names.

† The whole party consisted of fifteen, but of these only five, and those the most worthless, were willing to return home. The others preferred to remain in Siberia.

inspected by the governor, notifying the ambassador's arrival, and the health of his company. Nor were the Dutch allowed, in passing, even to return the salutation of the Russians. The Dutch captain put his trumpet to his lips, but was under strict orders from the director not to speak a word — a discourtesy, as they thought it, which the Russians highly resented. Of the Russians, none were allowed to land till two months and a half after their arrival, the matter having first been referred to Jedo. Finally, a fish-house, on a small island, closely hedged in with bamboos, so that nothing could be seen, was fitted up for the ambassador. All the arms were given up, except the swords of the officers and the muskets of seven soldiers who landed with the ambassador, but who had no powder. The ship was constantly surrounded by guard-boats.

After a detention of near six months, a commissioner from Jedo made his appearance, with the emperor's answer. The ambassador, having been carried on shore in the barge of the prince of Figen, was conveyed to the governor's house in the norimon of the Dutch director, borrowed for the occasion; but all his suite had to walk, and, in order that they might see nothing, the doors and windows of the houses, wherever they passed, were closed; the street gates were fastened, and the inhabitants were ordered to keep at home. A second interview took place the next day, when a flat refusal was returned to all the ambassador's requests, and even the presents for the emperor were declined.

In the midst of all these annoyances everything was done with the greatest show of politeness. The emperor's answer, which Doeff was called upon to assist in translating into Dutch, placed the refusal to receive the ambassador or his presents on the ground that, if they were received, it would be necessary to send back an ambassador with equal presents, to which not only the great poverty of the Japanese was an obstacle, but also the strict law, in force for a hundred and fifty years past, against any Japanese subject or vessel going to foreign countries. It was also stated that Japan had no great wants, and little occasion for foreign productions, of which the Dutch and Chinese already brought as much as was required, and that any considerable trade could only be established by means of an intercourse between foreigners and Japanese, which the laws strictly forbade.

The ambassador did not depart without bitter reproaches against Doeff, whom he charged as the author of his miscarriage. He arrived at Okhotsk in May, 1805, afterwards passed over to Sitka, on the American coast, and the next year, having returned again to Okhotsk, despatched two small Russian vessels to make reprisals on the Japanese. They landed on the coast of Sagaleen, in the years 1806 and 1807, plundered a Japanese settlement, loaded their vessels with the booty, carried off several Kurile and two Japanese prisoners, and left behind written notifications, in Russian and French, that this had been done in revenge for the slights put upon Resanoff.

In 1805 and 1806, Klaproth, the learned Orientalist, passed some months at Irkutsk, as secretary to a Russian embassy to China. He found the Japanese professorship, established there by Catherine II., filled by a Japanese, who had embraced the Greek religion, and, from him and the books which he furnished, Klaproth acquired such knowledge as he had of the Japanese tongue.

In the spring of 1806, Doeff made his first journey to Jedo. In the arrangements of the journey and the audience, there seems to to have been no change since the time of Thunberg. While he was at Jedo a tremendous fire broke out. It began, at a distance from his lodgings, at ten in the morning. At one the Dutch took the alarm, and began to pack. At three they fled. "On issuing into the street," says Doeff, "we saw everything in flames. There was great danger in endeavoring to escape before the wind, in the same direction taken by the fire. We, therefore, took a slanting direction, through a street already burning, and thus succeeded in reaching an open field. It was studded with the standards of princes, whose dwellings had been destroyed, and whose wives and children had fled thither for refuge. We followed their example, and marked out a spot with our Dutch flags. We had now a full view of the fire, and never did I see anything so terrific. The terrors of this ocean of flame were enhanced by the heart-rending cries of the fugitive women and children." The fire raged till noon the next day, when it was extinguished by a fall of rain.* The Dutch

* Golownin was informed, during his captivity at Matsmai, that it is part of the duty of the Japanese soldiers to assist in extinguishing fires, for which purpose they are provided with a fireman's dress of varnished leather. To

learned from their host, that, within five minutes after they left, the fire took his house, and destroyed everything — as an indemnity for which, the Dutch East India Company allowed him annually, for three years, from twelve to fourteen hundred weight of sugar. The palaces of thirty-seven princes had been destroyed. The weight of fugitives broke down the famous Niponbas, or bridge of Japan, so that, besides those burned to death, many were drowned, including a daughter of the prince of Awa. Twelve hundred lives were said to have been lost.

On this occasion the Dutch were greatly aided by a wealthy Japanese merchant, who sent forty men to assist them in removing. He lost his shop, or store, and a warehouse, containing a hundred thousand pounds of spun silk, yet the day after the fire was engaged in rebuilding his premises.

The Dutch, burnt out of their inn, were lodged at first in the house of the governor of Nagasaki; but, four days after, procured a new inn. This was in a more public place than the old obscure lodging. The appearance of the Dutch on the balcony attracted crowds of curious spectators, and soon drew out an order, from the governor of Jedo, that they should keep within doors. But Doeff refused to obey this order, on the ground that, during their entire embassy, the Dutch were under the authority only of the governor of Nagasaki; and in this position he was sustained by that personage.

After the audience the Dutch received many visits, particularly from physicians and astronomers. On the subject of astronomy Doeff was more puzzled than even Thunberg had been, for, since Thunberg's time, the Japanese would seem to have made considerable advances in that science. They had a translation of La Lande's astronomy, and the chief astronomer, Takaro Sampei (to whom, Doeff, at his special request for a name, gave that of *Globius*, and who proved, on subsequent occasions, a good friend of the Dutch), could calculate eclipses with much precision. To a grandson of one of Thunberg's medical friends, who was also a physician, Doeff gave

extinguish a fire is stated to be considered a glorious achievement. But, though fire is almost the only element the Japanese soldiers have to contend with, they do not seem to be very expert at subduing it.

the name of *Johannis Botanicus*. The honor of a Dutch name, exceedingly coveted by the Japanese, was solicited even by the prince of Satsuma and his secretary. Being attacked with colic on his return from Jedo, Doeff submitted to the Japanese remedy of acupuncture; but he does not give any high idea of its efficacy.

Two accounts current of the trade of Japan for the years 1804 and 1806, published by Raffles, will serve to show its condition at this time. The articles sent to Japan were sugar, spices, woollens, cottons, tin, lead, quicksilver, sapan-wood, saffron, liquorice, elephant's-teeth, catechu, and ducatoons, sugar forming about half the cargo in value. The prime cost at Batavia was, in 1804, 211,896, in 1806, 161,008 rix dollars, to which were to be added freight and charges at Batavia, amounting in 1804 to 150,000, in 1806 to 106,244 rix dollars, making the whole cost in 1804, 361,807, in 1806, 266,252 rix dollars. The sales at Desima amounted in 1804 to 160,378, in 1806 to 108,797 rix dollars; but this included, in 1804, 3,333 rix dollars from old goods, and, in 1806, 5,428 rix dollars borrowed of the Japanese to complete the cargo. From these amounts were to be deducted the expenses of the establishment at Desima, and loss in weight on the sugar, viz., in 1804, 67,952,* and in 1806, 39,625 rix dollars, leaving to be employed in the purchase of copper and camphor, in 1804, 92,426, in 1806, 69,172 rix dollars, to which were added 13,125 rix dollars from the sale of old goods. The copper brought back by the ship of 1804 having been coined at Batavia, the entire profit of the voyage amounted to 507,147 rix dollars, but the larger part of this profit belonged, in fact, to the mint, the copper being coined at a rate above its intrinsic value. In 1808, the copper being sold, the balance in favor of the voyage was but 175,505 rix dollars, deducting the amount borrowed in Japan. It was only the low rate at which copper was furnished by the Japanese government that enabled these voyages to pay.

In 1807, the Eclipse, of Boston, chartered at Canton by the Russian American Company, for Kamtchatka and the north-west coast of America, entered the bay of Nagasaki under Russian

* The expenses of the visit to Jedo, in 1804, were sixteen thousand six hundred and sixty-six rix dollars.

colors,* and was towed to the anchorage by an immense number of boats. A Dutchman came on board, and advised them to haul down their colors, as the Japanese were much displeased with Russia. The Japanese declined to trade, and asked what the ship wanted. Being told water and fresh provisions, they sent on board a plentiful supply of fish, hogs, vegetables, and tubs of water, for which they would take no pay. Finding that no trade was to be had, on the third day the captain lifted his anchors, and was towed to sea by near a hundred boats.

In October, 1808, about the time that the annual Dutch vessel was expected, a ship appeared off Nagasaki, under Dutch colors, and, without any suspicion, two Dutchmen of the factory, followed by the usual Japanese officers in another boat, proceeded to board her. The Dutchmen were met by a boat from the vessel, and were requested in Dutch to come into it. Upon their proposal to wait for the Japanese boat, the strangers boarded them with drawn cutlasses, and forced them on board the ship, which proved to be the English frigate Phaeton, Captain Pellew. The Japanese rowed back with the news of what had happened, by which Nagasaki and all its officers were thrown into a state of the greatest agitation.

While the governor of Nagasaki was exchanging messages with director Doeff, as to what could be the meaning of this occurrence, Captain Pellew, who was in search of the annual Dutch ship, stood directly into the harbor, without a pilot. The director, fearing to be himself taken, fled, with the other Dutchmen, to the governor's house. "In the town," he says, "everything was in frightful embarrassment and confusion. The governor was in a state of indescribable wrath, which fell, in the first instance, upon the Japanese officers, for having returned without the Dutchmen, or information as to what nation the ship belonged to. Before I could ask him a question, he said to me, with fury in his face, 'Be quiet, director; I shall take care that your people are restored.' But the governor soon learned, to his consternation, that at the harbor guard-house, where a thousand men ought to have been

* See "A Voyage Round the World," by Archibald Campbell, a Scotchman, who served as a common sailor on board this ship. Doeff also mentions her arrival.

stationed, there were only sixty or seventy, and these uncommanded."

After a while came a letter from one of the detained Dutchmen, in these words: "A ship is arrived from Bengal. The captain's name is Pellew; he asks for water and provisions." The governor was little disposed to yield to this demand, and, about midnight, his secretary waited on Doeff to inform him that he was going to rescue the prisoners. Being questioned as to the manner how, he replied, "Your countrymen have been seized by treachery; I shall, therefore, go alone, obtain admission on board by every demonstration of friendship, seek an interview with the captain, and, on his refusal to deliver his prisoners, stab him first, and then myself." It cost Doeff a good deal of trouble to dissuade the secretary and the governor from this wild scheme. The plan finally adopted was to manage to detain the ship till vessels and men could be collected to attack her.

The next afternoon one of the detained Dutchmen brought on shore the following epistle from the English captain: "I have ordered my own boat to set Goseman on shore, to procure me provisions and water; if he does not return with such before evening, I will sail in to-morrow early, and burn the Japanese and Chinese vessels in the harbor." The provisions and water were furnished, though the Japanese were very unwilling to have Goseman return on board. This done, the two Dutchmen were dismissed.

The governor, however, was still intent upon calling the foreign ship to account. One scheme was to prevent her departure by sinking vessels, laden with stones, in the channel. The prince of Omura proposed to burn her, by means of boats, filled with reeds and straw, offering himself to lead; but while these schemes were under discussion, the frigate weighed and sailed out of the harbor. The affair, however, had a tragical ending. Within half an hour after her departure, the governor, to save himself from impending disgrace, cut himself open, as did several officers of the harbor-guard. The prince of Fizen, though resident at Jedo at the time, was imprisoned a hundred days, for the negligence of his servants in the maintenance of the guard, and he was also required to pay an annual pension to the son of the self-executed governor, whom

Doeff, on again visiting Jedo in 1810, found to be in high favor at court.

Up to 1809,* the ships from Batavia had arrived regularly; but from that time till 1813 neither goods nor news reached the lonely Dutchmen at Desima. The first and second failure they bore with some resignation, looking confidently forward to the next year; "but, alas!" says our by this time very thirsty, and somewhat ragged, director, "it passed away without relief or intelligence, either from Europe or Batavia! All our provision from Java was by this time consumed. Butter we had not seen since the supply of 1807, for the ship Goede Frouw" [good wife, but not good housewife] "had brought us none in 1809. To the honor of the Japanese, I must acknowledge that they did everything in their power to supply our special wants. . . . The inspector, *Sige Denozen*, among others, gave himself much trouble to distil gin for us, for which purpose I supplied him with a still-kettle and a tin worm, which I chanced to possess. He had tolerable success, but could not remove the resinous flavor of the juniper. The corn spirit (whiskey), which he managed to distil, was excellent. As we had also been without wine since the supply of 1807, with the exception of a small quantity brought by the Goede Frouw, he likewise endeavored to press it for us from the wild grapes of the country, but with less success. He obtained, indeed, a red and fermented liquor, but it was not wine. I myself endeavored to make beer; and, with the help of the domestic dictionaries of Chaud and Bays, I got so far as to produce a whitish liquor, with something of the flavor of the white beer of Haerlem, but which would not keep above four days, as I could not make it work sufficiently, and had no bitter with which to flavor it. Our great deficiency was in the articles of shoes and winter clothing. We procured Japanese slippers of straw, and covered the instep with undressed leather, and thus draggled along the street. Long breeches we manufactured

* The ships of 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802 and 1808, had been Americans. The renewal of the war in Europe having again driven the Dutch flag from the ocean, the ships of 1806 had been an American and a Bremener; and those of 1807 an American and a Dane; one of the ships of 1809 was also an American, the *Rebecca*.

from an old carpet which I had by me. Thus we provided for our wants as well as we could. There was no distinction among us. Every one who had saved anything, threw it into the common stock, and we thus lived under a literal community of goods."

Great was the delight of our disconsolate director, when, in the spring of 1813, two vessels appeared in the offing of Nagasaki, displaying the Dutch flag, and making the private signals agreed upon in 1809. A letter was brought on shore, announcing the arrival from Batavia of Heer Waardenaar, Doeff's predecessor as director, to act as warehouse master, of Heer Cassa, to succeed Doeff as director, and of three assistants or clerks. A Japanese officer and one of the Dutch clerks were sent on board. The Japanese speedily returned, saying that he had recognized Waardenaar, who had declined, however, to deliver his papers except to Doeff personally, and that all the officers spoke English, whence he concluded that the ships must be chartered Americans. Doeff went on board, and was received by Waardenaar with such evident embarrassment, that Doeff declined to open the package of papers which he presented, except at Desima, whither he was accompanied by Waardenaar. This package being opened was found to contain a paper signed "Raffles, Lieutenant-governor of Java and its Dependencies," appointing Waardenaar and a Dr. Ainslie commissioners in Japan. In reply to his question, "Who is Raffles?" Doeff learned that Holland had been annexed to France, and Java occupied by the English. But the annexation of Holland to France, Doeff patriotically refused to believe, and, in spite of all the efforts of Waardenaar to shake his resolution, he declined obedience to an order coming from a colony in hostile occupation.

His mind thus made up, Doeff called in the Japanese interpreters, and communicated to them the true state of the case. Alarmed for their own safety, they made to Waardenaar frightful representations of the probable massacre of the crews and burning of the vessels, should this secret go any further, — especially considering the hostile feelings towards the English, excited by the proceedings of the Phaeton in 1808; and finally the commissioners were persuaded to enter into an arrangement by which Doeff was to remain as director, and was to proceed to dispose of the cargoes as usual, first paying out of the proceeds the debt which, since 1807, the factory had

been obliged to contract for its sustenance. Ainslie was also to remain as factory physician, but passing as an American.*

The cost of the cargoes, as given by Raffles, with freight and charges, amounted to two hundred and seventy-three thousand one hundred and fifty Spanish dollars. Out of the proceeds in Japan had to be paid forty-eight thousand six hundred and forty-eight dollars, debts of the factory; and twenty-five thousand dollars for copper to make up the cargo, bought of Doeff at a higher rate than was paid the Japanese. There were left at the factory four thousand six hundred and eighty-eight dollars in cash, and fifteen thousand dollars in woollens, and advances were made to persons on board, to be repaid in Batavia, to the amount of three thousand six hundred and seventy-eight dollars; thus swelling the whole expenses to three hundred and seventy thousand one hundred and sixty-four dollars; whereas the copper and camphor of the return cargo, produced only three hundred and forty-two thousand one hundred and twenty-six dollars, thus leaving an outgo on the voyage of twenty-eight thousand and thirty-eight dollars, which the credits in Japan and Batavia were hardly sufficient to balance. These ships carried out an elephant as a present to the emperor; but, though it excited great curiosity, the Japanese declined to receive it, alleging the difficulty of transporting it to Jedo.

In 1814, a single ship was sent from Batavia with Heer Cassa again on board. He brought tidings of the insurrection in Europe against France, and relied upon the probable speedy restoration of Java, as an argument for inducing Doeff to submit temporarily to the English,—an object which Sir Stamford Raffles had very much at heart. When Doeff refused, Cassa resorted to intrigue. He gained over two of the interpreters, through whom he endeavored to induce at Jedo a refusal to allow Doeff (whose term of office had already been so unusually protracted) to remain any longer as

* This is Doeff's account, but, according to Golownin, at that time a prisoner in the north of Japan (see next chapter), and who learnt from the Japanese the arrival of the two vessels above mentioned, he communicated to the Japanese the fact of the capture of Batavia by the English; which fact, it was afterwards reported to him, the Dutch had confessed. Raffles also, in his memoirs, in speaking of Ainslie and his good treatment by the Japanese, clearly implies that he was known to be English.

director. Doeff, however, got wind of this intrigue, frightened the two interpreters by threatening to tell the whole story to the governor of Nagasaki, and finally carried the day. He paid, however, rather dearly for his obstinacy, as Raffles sent no more ships, and director Doeff was obliged to pass three years more without either goods or news, cooped up and kept on short allowance in his little island, with the satisfaction, however, that there, if nowhere else in the world, the flag of Holland still continued to wave.

The Japanese government, obliged to advance the means for the support of the factory, did not leave the director entirely idle. He was set to work, with the aid of ten Japanese interpreters, in compiling a Japanese and Dutch dictionary, for the use of the Japanese men of science and the imperial interpreters. A copy of this work was deposited in the imperial library at Jedo; another, made by Doeff for his own use, was lost, with all his other papers and effects, on his return to Europe. The original rough draft of the work was found afterwards, however, at Desima, by Herr Fisscher, and having made a transcript, though less perfect than the original, he brought it home in 1829, and deposited it in the royal museum at Amsterdam.*

Thunberg, as we have seen, could hear nothing of semi-Dutch children born in Japan. There were such, however, in Doeff's time; and it appears, from an incidental remark of his, that although no birth was allowed to take place at Desima, yet that the Japanese female inmates of the factory were permitted to nurse their infants in the houses of their Dutch fathers. At a very early age, however, these children were taken away to be educated as pure Japanese, being allowed to visit their fathers only at certain specified intervals. The fathers, however, were expected to provide for them, and to obtain for them, by purchase, some government office.

* Mr. Medhurst, English missionary at Batavia, who has published an English and Japanese vocabulary, enumerates, in a letter written in 1827, as among his helps to the knowledge of the language, besides five different Japanese and Chinese dictionaries, a Dutch, Japanese and Chinese one, in two thick 8vo volumes; also a corresponding one in Japanese, Chinese and Dutch. These were printed in Japan, and were, perhaps, fruits of Doeff's labors.

CHAPTER XLIII.

GOLOWNIN'S CAPTURE AND IMPRISONMENT. — CONVEYANCE TO HAKODADE. — RECEPTION AND IMPRISONMENT. — INTERPRETERS. — INTERVIEWS WITH THE GOVERNOR. — REMOVAL TO MATSMAI. — A PUPIL IN RUSSIAN. — A JAPANESE ASTRONOMER. — ESCAPE AND RECAPTURE. — TREATMENT AFTERWARDS. — SAVANS FROM JEDO. — JAPANESE SCIENCE. — EUROPEAN NEWS. — A JAPANESE FREE-THINKER. — SOLDIERS. — THEIR AMUSEMENTS. — THOUGHTS ON A WEDDING. — DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENTS. — NEW YEAR. — RETURN OF THE DIANA. — REPRISALS. — A JAPANESE MERCHANT AND HIS FEMALE FRIEND. — SECOND RETURN OF THE DIANA. — THIRD RETURN OF THE DIANA. — INTERVIEW ON SHORE. — SURRENDER OF THE PRISONERS. — JAPANESE NOTIFICATION. — THE MERCHANT AT HOME. — THE MERCANTILE CLASS IN JAPAN. — A. D. 1811—1813.

WHILE, by the first interruption of the communication with Batavia, Doeff and his companions were secluded at Desima, a number of Europeans were held in a still stricter imprisonment at the northern extremity of Japan.

Captain Golownin, an educated and intelligent Russian naval officer, had been commissioned in 1811, as commander of the sloop of war Diana, to survey the southern Kurile Islands, in which group the Russians include both Sagaleen and Jeso, which they reckon as the twenty-first and twenty-second Kuriles. At the southern extremity of Etorpoo, the nineteenth Kurile, some Japanese were first met with (July 13). Soon after, Golownin, with two officers, four men and a Kurile interpreter, having landed at a bay on the southern end of Kunashir, the twentieth Kurile, where the Japanese had a settlement and a garrison, they were invited into the fort, and made prisoners. Thence they were taken, partly by water and partly by land, to Hakodade, already mentioned as a Japanese town at the southern extremity of Jeso. This journey occupied four weeks, in which, by Golownin's calculation, they

travelled between six and seven hundred miles. The Japanese stated it at two hundred and fifty-five of their leagues. The route followed was along the east coast of the island. Every two miles or so there was a populous village, from all of which extensive fisheries were carried on, evidently the great business of the inhabitants. The fish were caught in great nets, hundreds at once. The best were of the salmon species, but every kind of marine animal was eaten. The gathering of seaweeds for food (of the kind called by the Russians sea-cabbage*) also constituted a considerable branch of industry. In the northern villages the inhabitants were principally native Kuriles, with a few Japanese officers. Within a hundred and twenty or thirty miles of Hakodade the villages were inhabited entirely by Japanese, and were much larger and handsomer than those further north, having gardens and orchards, and distinguished by their scrupulous neatness; but even the Kurile inhabitants of Jeso were far superior in civilization and comforts to those of the more northern islands belonging to Russia.

When first seized by the Japanese, the Russians were bound with cords, some about the thickness of a finger, and others still smaller. They were all tied exactly alike (according to the prescribed method for binding those arrested on criminal charges), the cords for each having the same number of knots and nooses, and all at equal distances. There were loops round their breasts and necks; their elbows were drawn almost into contact behind their backs, and their hands were firmly bound together. From these fastenings proceeded a long cord, the end of which was held by a Japanese, who, on the slightest attempt to escape, had only to pull it to make the elbows come in contact with great pain, and so to tighten the noose about the neck as almost to produce strangulation. Their legs were also tied together above the ankles and above the knees. Thus tied, they were conveyed all the way to Hakodade, having the choice, for the land part of the route, either to be carried in a rude sort of palanquin formed of planks, on which they were obliged to lie flat, or to walk, which they generally preferred as less irksome,

* The English translator of Golownin's narrative mentions a species of seaweed collected for eating, on the northern coast of Scotland and Ireland, and there called *dhulish*, or when boiled, *sloak*, and which he says answers exactly to Thunberg's description of the edible fucus of the Japanese.

and for which purpose the cords about the ankles were removed, and those above the knees loosened. The cords were drawn so tight as to be very painful, and even after a while to cut into the flesh; yet, though in all other respects the Japanese seemed inclined to consult the comfort of the prisoners, they would not for the first six or seven days, be induced to loosen them, of which the chief reason turned out to be their apprehension lest the prisoners might commit suicide, — that being the Japanese resource under such extremities.

Their escort consisted of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred men. Two Japanese guides from the neighboring villages, changed at each new district, led the way, bearing handsomely-carved staves. Then came three soldiers, then Captain Golownin with a soldier on one side, and on the other an attendant with a twig to drive off the gnats, which were troublesome, and against which his bound hands prevented him from defending himself. Behind came an officer holding the ends of the ropes by which the prisoner was bound, then a party of Kuriles, bearing his kango, followed by another relief party. The other captives followed, one by one, escorted in the same manner. Finally came three soldiers, and a number of Japanese and Kurile servants carrying provisions and baggage. Each of the escort had a wooden tablet, suspended from his girdle, on which were inscribed his duties and which prisoner he was stationed with; and the commanding officer had a corresponding list of the whole. The prisoners had the same fare with the escort, — three meals a day, generally of rice boiled to a thick gruel, two pieces of pickled radish* for seasoning, soup made of radishes or various wild roots and herbs, a kind of macaroni, and a piece of broiled or boiled fish. Sometimes they had stewed mushrooms, and each a hard-boiled egg. Their general drink was very indifferent tea, without sugar, and sometimes saki. Their conductors frequently stopped at the villages to rest, or to drink tea and smoke tobacco, and they also rested for an hour after dinner. They

* "The Japanese radish," says Golownin, "is in form and taste very different from ours. It is thin and extremely long. The taste is not very acrid, but sweetish, almost like our turnips. Whole fields are covered with it. A great part of the crop is salted, the remainder is buried in the ground for winter, and boiled in soup. Not even the radish-leaves remain unused; they are boiled in soup or salted and eaten as salad. They manure the radish-fields with night-soil; this we ourselves saw at Matsmai."

halted for the night an hour or two before sunset, usually in a village with a small garrison. They were always conducted first to the front of the house of the officer in command, and were seated on benches covered with mats, when the officer came out to inspect them. They were then taken to a neat house (which generally, when they first entered, was hung round with striped cotton cloth), and were placed together in one apartment, the ends of their ropes being fastened to iron hooks in the walls. Their boots and stockings were pulled off, and their feet bathed in warm water with salt in it. For bedding they had the Japanese mattresses — quilts with a thick wadding — folded double.

After the first six or seven days their bonds were loosened, and they got on more comfortably. The Japanese took the greatest care of their health, not allowing them to wet their feet, carrying them across the shallowest streams, and furnishing them with quilted Japanese gowns as a protection against the rain.

At Hakodade they were received by a great crowd, among which were several persons with silk dresses mounted on horses with rich caparisons. "Both sides of the road," says Golownin, "were crowded with spectators, yet every one behaved with the utmost decorum. I particularly marked their countenances, and never once observed a malicious look, or any sign of hatred towards us, and none showed the least disposition to insult us by mockery or derision." He had observed the same thing in the villages through which they had passed, where the prisoners had received, as they did afterwards, from numerous individuals, many touching instances of commiseration and sympathy.

At Hakodade they were confined in a prison, a high wooden enclosure, or fence, surrounded by an earthen wall somewhat lower, (and on their first approach to it hung with striped cloth),* inside of which was a long, barn-like building. Within this building were a number of small apartments, scarcely six feet square, formed of thick spars, and exactly like cages, in which the prisoners were

* The fort on the island where they were taken prisoners, when first seen from the ship, was hung round with striped cloths, which concealed the walls. These cloths had embrasures painted on them, but in so rough a manner that the deception could be perceived at a considerable distance.

shut up, the passages and other spaces being occupied by the guards.* Their food was much worse than on the journey (probably Japanese prison fare), boiled rice, soup of warm water and grated radish, a handful of finely-chopped young onions with boiled beans, and one or two pickled cucumbers or radishes. Instead of the radish-soup, puddings of bean-meal and rancid fish-oil were sometimes served. Very rarely they had half a fish, with soy. Their drink was warm water, and occasionally bad tea.

Their only means of communicating with the Japanese had been, at first, a Kurile, one of the prisoners, who knew a little Russian, and probably about as much Japanese. At Hakodade another interpreter presented himself; but he, a man of fifty, naturally stupid, and knowing nothing of any European language, except a little Russian, did not prove much better.

The second day they were conducted through the streets, by a guard of soldiers (the prisoners each with a rope round his waist held by a Japanese), to a fort or castle, which was surrounded by palisades and an earthen wall. Within was a court-yard, in the centre of which was a brass cannon on a badly-constructed carriage. From this court-yard Golownin, and after him each of the others, was conducted through a wide gate, which was immediately shut behind them, into a large hall, of which half had a pavement of small stones. The other half had a floor, or platform, raised three feet from the ground, and covered with curiously-wrought mats. The hall was fifty or sixty feet long, of equal breadth, eighteen feet high, and divided by movable screens, neatly painted, from other adjoining rooms. There were two or three apertures for windows, with paper instead of glass, admitting an obscure, gloomy light. The governor sat on the floor, in the middle of the elevated platform, with two secretaries behind him. On his left (the Japanese place of honor) was the next in command; on his right, another officer; on each side of these, other officers of inferior rank. They all sat, in the Japanese fashion, with their legs folded under them, two paces apart, clothed in black dresses, their short swords in their girdles, and their longer ones lying at their left. The new inter-

* The description of this prison corresponds very well to Kämpfer's description of the one at Nagasaki.

preter sat on the edge of the raised floor, and an inferior officer at each of the corners of it. On the walls hung irons for securing prisoners, ropes, and various instruments of punishment. The Russian prisoners stood in front of the raised floor, the officers in a line, the sailors behind. The Kurile was seated on the stones. They underwent a very rigorous and particular examination, all their answers being written down. The questions related to their birthplaces; their families (and when it appeared that they came from different towns, how it happened that they served on board the same ship); the burden and force of their vessel; their own rank; their object; their route since leaving St. Petersburg, which they were required to trace on a chart, &c., &c.

Among other things, the governor remarked that Laxman (who had visited Japan in 1792) wore a long tail, and covered his hair with flour; whereas the prisoners (powder and queues having gone out of fashion in the interval) had their hair cut short and unpowdered; and he asked if some change of religion had not taken place in Russia. When told that in Russia there was no connection between religion and the way of wearing the hair, the Japanese laughed, but expressed great surprise that there should not be some express law on the subject.

Eighteen days after, they had a second examination, on which occasion a letter, of which the Japanese wanted an interpretation, was delivered to them. It had been sent on shore from their ship along with their baggage, expressing a determination to return to Okhotsk for reinforcements, and never to quit the coast of Japan till the prisoners were rescued. This reëxamination was continued for two days, in which many inquiries were made about Chwostoff, and the papers he had left behind him, one of which was produced. The Russian prisoners tried to make out that the proceedings of Chwostoff were without authority from the Russian government; but the Japanese evidently did not believe them.

After one or two more examinations they were removed to Matsmai, guarded, as before, by soldiers, but furnished with horses, as well as litters or kangos, on or in which the prisoners were suffered to ride, the Japanese, however, retaining the end of a rope by which they were still bound. Near Matsmai, they were shown a battery, on a high hill, intended to command the harbor, but ill adapted

for that purpose. It had three or four small brass pieces on carriages, and an eighteen or a twenty-four pounder, apparently cast in Europe, mounted on cross-beams. Matsmai lies on a large, open bay, with four fathoms of water at low tide; and, according to the Japanese, is about two hundred of their leagues (five hundred miles) from Jedo, the land journey thither, after crossing the strait, being made in twenty-three days.

A great crowd collected to see them enter the town, ropes being stretched to keep the passage clear. Confined in a prison much like the one at Hakodade, and close under the ramparts of the castle, they underwent many more examinations before the bugio or governor of Matsmai. The inquisitiveness of their questioners, which seemed to be without limit, proved a great torment to the Russians, and sometimes put them into a passion; but the Japanese were always cool and polite. They were supplied with much better food than at Hakodade, fresh and salt fish, boiled or fried in poppy-seed oil, with soy for sauce. They also had, after the winter set in, flesh of sea-dogs, hares and bears, and attempts were even made to cook for them after the Russian fashion. For drink they had tea* and warm saki. They were furnished with warm clothing, both their own which had been sent on shore for them, and Japanese gowns, for which a tailor was sent to measure them; and, when the weather grew colder, they had hearths, after the Japanese fashion, made in the prison, at a little distance from each cage, on which charcoal fires were kept burning. A physician visited them daily to look after their health, and if anything serious appeared he brought a consulting physician with him.

After a time their accommodations were much improved. Instead of confinement in separate cages, they had a large room covered with mats. A young man, named Teske, was now brought to them, whom they were requested to instruct in the Russian language. He proved a very apt scholar, made rapid progress, soon

* The tea in common use, Golownin, like other travellers in Japan, observed to be of a very inferior quality. Green tea was used as a luxury on occasions of ceremony. Sugar was rare and costly, being brought from Batavia by the Dutch, and packed for retail in small baskets. Golownin saw also a very inferior kind, which he concluded to be of domestic manufacture.

learned to speak, read and write Russian, and became very much attached to his instructors. They in their turn learned something of Japanese; but it was forbidden to teach them the written characters. Teske was exceedingly anxious to collect statistical information concerning Russia. A Japanese man of science, who had an English sextant, a compass, a case of mathematical instruments, &c., also paid them a visit. He knew how to find the latitude by observing the sun's altitude at noon, using in his calculations some tables obtained, as he said, from a Dutch book; and he was exceedingly anxious to gain additional information, especially how to find the longitude by lunar observations; but this, for want of the necessary tables, the Russians, much to his disgust, were unable to teach him.

The first snow fell about the middle of October, but soon melted. The winter set in about the middle of November, with deep snows, which lasted till April.

As the spring opened they were permitted to take walks and excursions in the vicinity of the town, and were presently removed to a house, composed of three apartments, separated by screens; but were still closely watched and guarded. Tired of this confinement, of which they could see no end, the Russians succeeded in getting out of their prison, and in gaining the mountains back of the town, whence they descended to the coast, hoping to find some means of escape by sea. But, after seven days' wanderings and many sufferings, they were retaken. The island was found to be composed of steep hills, separated by precipitous ravines, with hardly any plain land, except near the coast. The interior was uninhabited, except by wood-cutters employed in getting timber and preparing charcoal.

When retaken they were confined in the common jail of the town, but their accommodations were not worse than they had been in the other two prisons. No ill will was shown towards them by any of the officials, not even by those whose lives their flight had endangered. The soldier who was held the most responsible for their escape, and who had been degraded in consequence to the rank of a common servant, showed even more alacrity than before in their behalf. In a month or two they were removed back to their former prison, where they were visited the next spring (1813) by

an interpreter of the Dutch language, who had come from Jedo, and by a learned man from the same capital, who was indeed no other than Doeff's astronomer, Globius, but known to the Russians as Addati-Sonnai, both of whom desired to learn the Russian language. The interpreter, a young man of twenty-seven, and already acquainted with the rules of European grammar, made rapid progress, and soon applied himself to translate a treatise on vaccination, which one of the returned Japanese had brought from Russia. The astronomer busied himself in translating a Russian school treatise on arithmetic, carried to Japan by one of the Japanese conveyed home by Laxman in 1792. It was evident that he had considerable mathematical learning. The Japanese astronomers had made decided progress since the time of Thunberg. Globius understood the Copernican system, was acquainted with the orbit and satellites of Uranus; knew the nature and doctrine of signs and tangents, and was familiar with the difference between the old and new styles. He assured Golownin that the Japanese could calculate eclipses with much exactness, and he studied with great attention a treatise on physics, which, with other books, had been sent on shore in Golownin's chest.

Nor were the Japanese without knowledge of the revolutions going on in Europe. The Russians were told the news of the taking of Moscow, brought to Nagasaki by the two vessels from Batavia; but with patriotism equal to that shown by Doeff, in relation to the annexation of Holland to France, they refused to believe it. The Japanese gave them a minute description of these two vessels, and also of the elephant which they brought, his length, height, thickness, food, &c. A native of Sumatra, the keeper of the elephant, was described with equal minuteness.

Teske, whom Golownin had taught Russian, was found to be quite a free-thinker, both in politics and religion; but, in general, the Japanese seemed very superstitious, of which, presently, we shall see some instances.

The soldiers Golownin observed to be of two classes, those of the local administration, and others whom he calls imperial soldiers, and who appear, by his description, to be precisely the same with those whom Kämpfer describes under the name of Dosin, or Dosen, as attached to the service of the governor of Nagasaki, and

indeed, this same name, in a modified form, is given to them by Golownin. They took precedence of the others, and were so handsomely clothed and equipped as to be mistaken at first for officers. The profession of arms, like most others in Japan, is hereditary. The arms of the soldiers, besides the two swords, were matchlocks, — which, when they fired, they placed, not against the shoulder, but the right cheek, — bows and arrows, and long pikes, heavy and inconvenient.

They could all read, and spent much time in reading aloud, which they did much in the same droning, half-chanting tone in which the psalms are read at funerals in Russia. Great surprise was expressed that the Russian sailors were unable to read and write; and, also, that but one Russian book was found in the officer's baggage, and that on much worse paper, and much worse bound, than those they had in French and other languages. It was shrewdly asked if the Russians did not know how to print books?

Playing at cards and draughts was a very common amusement. The cards were at first known to the Japanese by their European names, and were fifty-two in the pack. Owing, however, to the pecuniary losses — for the Japanese were great gamesters — and fatal disputes to which cards gave rise, they were strictly prohibited. But this law was evaded by the invention of a pack of forty-eight cards, much smaller than those of Europe. Their game at draughts was extremely difficult and complicated. They made use of a large board, and four hundred men, which they moved about in many directions, and which were liable to be taken in various ways. The Russian sailors played at draughts, in the European way, which the Japanese soon learned to imitate, so that the game, and the Russian terms employed in playing it, soon became familiar throughout the city of Matsmai.

The following anecdote throws some light on Japanese domestic relations: "Our interpreter, Kamaddshero [this was the first interpreter], visited us the day after the marriage of his daughter, and, having mentioned the marriage, said that he had wept very much. 'Why wept,' said we, 'since on such occasions it is usual only to rejoice?' 'Certainly,' he answered, 'I should have rejoiced, were I but convinced that the man will love my daughter and make her

happy; but, as the contrary often happens in the married state, a father who gives his daughter to a husband cannot be indifferent, for fear of future misfortunes.' He spoke this with tears in his eyes, and in a voice which affected us."

Of the value which the Japanese put upon female society the following curious instance occurred. The prisoners' meals were at one time superintended by an old officer of sixty, who was very civil, and frequently consoled them with assurances that they should be sent home. One day he brought them three portraits of Japanese ladies, richly dressed, which, after examining, they handed back; but the old man insisted they should keep them, and, when asked why, he observed that, when time hung heavy on their hands, they might console themselves by looking at them!

For the first fortnight of the new year all business was suspended. Nothing was thought of except visiting and feasting. In the latter half of the month the more industrious resumed their employments. All who can, procure new clothes on this occasion, and the Japanese insisted upon furnishing their prisoners in the same way. "Custom requires," says Golownin, "that each person should visit all his acquaintances in the place in which he resides, and send letters of congratulation to those who are at a distance. Our interpreters and guards were accordingly employed, for some days previous to the festival, in writing letters of that kind and visiting-cards. On the latter the names of the person from whom the card comes, and for whom it is intended, are written, and the opportunity by which it is presented is also noted. Teske translated for us one of his congratulatory letters, addressed to the officer at Kunashir by whom we had been entrapped, and which was to the following effect: "Last year you were happy, and I greatly desire that that this new year you may enjoy good health, and experience happiness and prosperity in every undertaking. I still respect you as formerly, and request that you will not forget me. TESKE."

It is evident, from Golownin's narrative, that the houses, furniture and domestic arrangements, at Matsmai, notwithstanding the coldness of the climate, differed in nothing from those in use in the more southerly islands. The Japanese, Golownin observed, were, compared with the Russians, very small eaters. They were also much more temperate in drinking, it being looked upon as disgraceful to

be drunk in the day-time, or at any time, extraordinary festivities excepted.

Late in the summer following the capture of Golownin and his companions, the Diana, now under the command of Captain Rikord, came back to Kunashir. Of the two Japanese seized by Chwostoff, one had died. The other, who called himself Leonsaima, Rikord had on board, along with six other Japanese, lately shipwrecked on Kamtschatka, hoping to exchange these seven for the seven Russians. On reaching the bay where Golownin had been taken, he saw a new battery of fourteen guns. All the buildings were covered with striped cloth, the boats were drawn up on the shore, and not a person appeared.

Leonsaima, in his six years' captivity, had learned some Russian, and he was employed to write a short letter from Captain Rikord to the commander on shore, stating his having brought back the seven Japanese, and requesting the restoration of his countrymen. From some circumstances, the good faith of Leonsaima was suspected, and the contents of the letter written by him rather distrusted; still it was finally sent on shore by one of the Japanese, upon whom the batteries fired as he landed, and who returned no more.

Three days after, a second Japanese was sent, with a written message in the Russian language; but he came back, saying that the governor had refused to receive it, and that he had been himself thrust out of the castle. As a last resource, Leonsaima — who represented himself as a merchant, and a person of some consequence, though, in fact, he had been only a fishing agent — was sent on shore, with another Japanese, on his promise to return with such information as he could obtain. He did return, without the other, and stated that the Russians were all dead. Sent on shore to obtain in writing a confirmation of this verbal statement, he came back no more.

Rikord now determined to seize any Japanese vessel that might be entering or leaving the harbor. A large Japanese ship soon appeared, from which, as the Russian boats approached her, several of her crew, of sixty men, jumped into the water. Nine were drowned, some escaped to the shore, and others were picked up by the Russian boats. The captain, who was taken on board the

Diana, appeared, from his rich yellow dress, his swords, and other circumstances, to be a person of distinction. Being interrogated in Japanese, of which Rikord had picked up a little from Leonsaima, he answered, with great frankness, that his name was Tachatay-Kachi,* that he was the owner of ten ships, and bound from Eetoo-roop (the nineteenth Kurile) to Hakodade, with a cargo of dried fish, but had been obliged by contrary winds to put into the bay of Kunashir.

Being shown the letter written by Leonsiama, he exclaimed, "Captain Moor† and five Russians are now in the city of Matsmai." This information was hardly credited, and Rikord finally resolved to convey his captive to Kamtschatka, hoping, in the course of the winter, to obtain through him some information respecting the fate of the Russians, and the views of the Japanese government, especially as he seemed far superior to any of the Japanese with whom they had hitherto met, and, therefore, more likely to understand the policy of those who ruled in Japan.

"I informed him," says Rikord, "that he must hold himself in readiness to accompany me to Russia, and explained the circumstances which compelled me to make such an arrangement. He understood me perfectly, and when I proceeded to state my belief that Captain Golownin, Mr. Moor, and the rest of the Russian prisoners, had been put to death, he suddenly interrupted me, exclaiming, 'That is not true. Captain Moor and five Russians are living in Matsmai, where they are well treated, and enjoy the freedom of walking about the city, accompanied by two officers.' When I intimated that we intended to take him with us, he replied, with astonishing coolness, 'Well, I am ready;' and merely requested that on our arrival in Russia he might continue to live with me. This I promised he should do, and likewise that I would carry him back to Japan in the ensuing year. He then seemed perfectly reconciled to his unlooked-for destiny.

"The four Japanese, who still remained on board the ship, un-

* This is Rikord's orthography. In the representation of the Japanese syllables given in the appendix it might probably be thus represented, Tahate-Kahi.

† This was the name of one of Golownin's fellow-prisoners, who had made himself quite famous among the Japanese by his skill as a draftsman.

derstood not a word of Russian, and were, besides, so afflicted with the scurvy,* that they would, in all probability, have perished had they wintered in Kamtschatka. I therefore thought it advisable to set them at liberty, and, having furnished them with every necessary, I ordered them to be put on shore, hoping that they would, in gratitude, give a good account of the Russians to their countrymen.† In their stead, I determined to take four seamen from the Japanese vessel, who might be useful in attending on Tachatay-Kachi, to whom I left the choice of the individuals. He earnestly entreated that none of the seamen might be taken, observing that they were extremely stupid, and that he feared they would die of grief, owing to the dread they entertained of the Russians. The earnestness of his solicitations led me in some measure to doubt that our comrades were really living in Matsmai, and I repeated, in a decided manner, my determination to take four of the seamen. He then begged that I would accompany him to his ship. When he went on board, he assembled the whole of his crew in the cabin, and, having seated himself on a long cushion, which was placed on a fine mat, requested that I would take my place beside him. The sailors all knelt down [seated themselves on their heels?] before us, and he delivered a long speech, in which he stated that it would be necessary for some of them to accompany us to Russia.

"Here a very affecting scene was exhibited. A number of the seamen approached him, with their heads bent downwards, and, with great eagerness, whispered something to him; their countenances were all bathed in tears; even Tachatay-Kachi, who had hitherto evinced calmness and resolution, seemed now to be deeply distressed, and began to weep. I for some time hesitated to carry

* Golownin mentions the scurvy as a prevailing disease among the Japanese, perhaps occasioned by their thin diet.

† These released Japanese were sent to Matsmai, and, after remaining about a week, were forwarded to Jedo. The shipwrecked men did not give, so Golownin was informed, a very favorable account of their entertainment in Kamtschatka. Leonsaima praised Irkutsk, but represented eastern Siberia and Okhotsk as a miserable country, where scarce anybody was to be seen except beggars and government officers. He thought very meanly of the Russians, a few individuals excepted. From their military spirit, even the boys in the street playing soldier, he thought they must meditate conquest, probably that of Japan.

my resolution into effect, and was only induced to adhere to it by the consideration that I would hereafter have the opportunity of interrogating each individual separately, and, probably, thereby ascertaining whether or not our comrades were really alive in Matsmai. I had, however, in other respects, no reason to repent of this determination, for the Japanese merchant, who was accustomed to live in a style of Asiatic luxury, would have experienced serious inconvenience on board our vessel without his Japanese attendants, two of whom were always, by turns, near his person.

"Tachatay-Kachi, and the sailors he selected, soon behaved as though our ship had been their own, and we, on our side, employed every means to convince them that we considered the Japanese, not as a hostile, but as a friendly nation, with whom our good understanding was only accidentally interrupted.

"The same day we received on board, at my invitation, from the captured vessel, a Japanese lady, who had been the inseparable companion of Tachatay-Kachi on his voyage from Hakodade, his place of residence, to Eetooroop. She was extremely desirous of seeing our ship, and the strange people and polite enemies, as she styled us, and to witness our friendly intercourse with her countrymen. A Japanese lady was, also, to us no slight object of curiosity. When she came on board, she appeared very timid and embarrassed. I requested Tachatay-Kachi to conduct her into my cabin, and, as she advanced, I took her by the other hand. On reaching the cabin-door, she wished to take off her straw shoes; but, as there were neither mats nor carpets in my cabin, I explained to her, by signs, that this singular mark of politeness might be dispensed with among us.

"On entering the cabin, she placed both hands on her head, with the palms outwards, and saluted us by bending her body very low. I conducted her to a chair, and Kachi requested her to sit down. Fortunately for this unexpected visitor, there was on board our vessel a young and handsome woman, the wife of our surgeon's mate. The Japanese lady seemed highly pleased on being introduced to her, and they quickly formed an intimacy. Our countrywoman endeavored to entertain the foreigner with what the women of all countries delight in — she showed her her trinkets. Our visiter behaved with all the ease of a woman of fashion; she examined

the ornaments with great curiosity, and expressed her admiration by an agreeable smile. But the fair complexion of our countrywoman seemed most of all to attract her attention. She passed her hands over the Russian woman's face, as though she suspected it had been painted, and, with a smile, exclaimed, '*Yoe! yoe!*' which signifies *good*. I observed that our visiter was somewhat vain of her new ornaments, and I held a looking-glass before her, that she might see how they became her. The Russian lady placed herself immediately behind her, in order to show her the difference of their complexions, when she immediately pushed the glass aside, and said, '*Vare! vare!*' — *not good*. She might herself have been called handsome; her face was of the oval form, her features regular, and her little mouth, when open, disclosed a set of shining black lackered teeth. Her black eyebrows, which had the appearance of having been pencilled, overarched a pair of sparkling dark eyes, which were by no means deeply seated. Her hair was black, and rolled up in the form of a turban, without any ornament, except a few small tortoise-shell combs. She was about the middle size, and elegantly formed. Her dress consisted of six wadded silk garments, similar to our night-gowns, each fastened round the lower part of the waist by a separate band, and drawn close together from the girdle downwards. They were all of different colors, the outer one black. Her articulation was slow, and her voice soft. Her countenance was expressive and interesting, and she was, altogether, calculated to make a very agreeable impression. She could not be older than eighteen. We entertained her with fine green tea and sweetmeats, of which she ate and drank moderately. On her taking leave, I made her some presents, with which she appeared to be much pleased. I hinted to our countrywoman that she should embrace her, and when the Japanese observed what was intended, she ran into her arms, and kissed her with a smile."

The Japanese merchant, at Rikord's request, wrote a letter to the commander at Kunashir, detailing the state of affairs. No answer was returned, and when an attempt was made to land for water, the boats were fired upon, as was the Diana herself, whenever she approached the shore; but the aim was so bad as to excite the derision of the Russians.

During the winter passed in Kamtschatka, the Japanese mer-

chant continued to gain in the good opinion of his captors, whose language he so far mastered as to be able to converse in it even on abstract subjects. He seemed to interest himself much in arranging the misunderstanding between the Russian and Japanese governments, and expressed his wish, which he said was shared by others of his class, to see a commercial intercourse opened between the two nations; and it was at his suggestion that Rikord sent to the governor of Irkutsk for a disavowal of the hostile acts of Chwostoff.

Kachi remained in good health and spirits till the middle of winter, when the death of two of his Japanese attendants greatly affected him. He became melancholy and peevish, asserted that he had the scurvy, and told the surgeon he should certainly die; but his real disorder was home-sickness, aggravated by apprehensions of being detained at Okhotsk, whither Rikord had intended to sail before proceeding to Japan, in order to get the disavowal above referred to. As Kachi's assistance seemed essential, Rikord, fearing lest he might die, resolved to sail direct for Japan as soon as the vessel could be cut from the ice, — a resolution by which Kachi's spirits were greatly raised.

They arrived in Kunashir bay in June, 1813. The buildings were, as formerly, concealed by striped cotton cloth, but no guns were fired, and not a living being was to be seen. When the two Japanese sailors were about to be sent on shore, Rikord, somewhat excited at their master's declining to pledge himself for their return, bade them say to the governor, that if he prevented them from returning, or sent back no information, their master should be carried to Okhotsk, whence some ships of war should immediately come to demand the liberation of the Russians.

"At these words," says Rikord, "Takaytay-Kachi changed countenance, but said, with much calmness, 'Commander of the imperial ship' — he always addressed me thus on important occasions — 'thou counsellest rashly. Thy orders to the governor of Kunashir seem to contain much, but according to our laws they contain little. In vain dost thou threaten to carry me to Okhotsk; my men may be detained on shore, but neither two, nor yet two thousand sailors can answer for me. Therefore I give thee previous notice that it will not be in thy power to take me to Okhotsk. But tell me

whether it be under these conditions only that my sailors are to be sent on shore?' 'Yes,' said I; 'as commander of a ship of war, I cannot under these circumstances act otherwise.'

"'Well,' replied he, 'allow me to give my sailors my last and most urgent instructions, as to what they must communicate from me to the governor of Kunashir.' He then rose up — for during this conversation he sat, according to the Japanese custom, with his legs under him — and addressed me very earnestly in the following terms: 'You know enough of Japanese to understand all that I may say in plain and easy words to my sailors. I would not wish you to have any ground to suspect me of hatching base designs.' He then sat down again, when his sailors approached him on their knees, and hanging down their heads, listened with deep attention to his words. He reminded them circumstantially of the day on which they were carried on board the Diana, of the manner in which they had been treated on board that ship and in Kamtschatka, of their having inhabited the same house with me, and being carefully provided for, of the death of their two countrymen, notwithstanding all the attention bestowed upon them by the Russian physician, and, finally, that the ship had hastily returned to Japan on account of his own health. All this he directed them faithfully to relate, and concluded with the warmest commendations of me, and earnest expressions of gratitude for the care that I had taken of him by sea and on land. He then sank into a deep silence and prayed, after which he delivered to the sailor whom he most esteemed, his picture to be conveyed to his wife, and his large sabre, which he called his paternal sword, to be presented to his only son and heir. This solemn ceremony being finished, he stood up, and with a frank and indeed very cheerful expression of countenance, asked for some brandy to treat his sailors at parting. He drank with them, and accompanied them on deck, when they were landed, and proceeded without interruption towards the fortress."

Rikord was a good deal troubled and alarmed at the air and manner of Kachi; and finally, after consulting with his officers, concluded to dismiss him unconditionally, trusting to his honor for his doing his best to procure the release of the Russians.

Kachi was greatly delighted at this mark of confidence, though he declined to go on shore till the next day, as it would not con-

form to Japanese ideas of etiquette for him to land on the same day with his sailors. He confessed to Rikord that he had been greatly wounded by the threat to carry him to Okhotsk. It was not consistent with Japanese ideas, that a man of his position should remain a prisoner in a foreign country, and he had therefore made up his mind to prevent it by cutting himself open. He had accordingly cut off the tuft of hair from his head, — and he showed that it was gone, — and had laid it in the box with his picture; it being customary with those about to die honorably, by their own hands, in a distant place, to send this token to their friends, who bury the tuft of hair with all the ceremonies which they would have bestowed upon the body. And he even intimated that previous to doing this execution on himself, he might first have stabbed Rikord and the next in command.

Kachi exerted himself with the greatest energy in the matter of the negotiation, and he soon was able to produce a letter, in the hand-writing of Golownin, and signed by him and Moor, but which the jealousy of their keepers had limited to the simple announcement that they were alive and well at Matsmai. Afterwards one of the imprisoned Russian sailors was brought on board the ship, being sent from Matsmai for that purpose; but, though allowed to spend his days on board the Diana, he was required to return to the fort every night. In spite, however, of all the watchfulness of the Japanese, he had brought sewed up in his jacket a letter from Golownin, in which he recommended prudence, civility, candor, and especially patience, and entreated that no letters nor anything else should be sent him which might cause him to be tormented with questions and translations.

The Japanese would not deliver up their prisoners till the Diana first sailed to Okhotsk, and brought from the authorities there a formal written disavowal of the hostilities of Chwostoff. At Okhotsk was found the letter from the governor of Irkutsk, previously sent for at Kachi's suggestion, and with this document and another letter from the commander at Okhotsk, the Diana reached Hokodade towards the end of October.

"As we approached the town," says Rikord, "we observed that cloth was hung out only at a few places on the hill, or near it, and not over the whole buildings, as at Kunashir. With the assistance

of our telescopes, we observed six of these screens of cloth, probably intended to conceal fortifications. There were, beside, five new fortifications at short distances from each other, and from two to three hundred fathoms from the shore.

"We no sooner entered the roads than we were surrounded by a number of boats, of all descriptions and sizes, filled with the curious of both sexes. A European ship must, indeed, have been to them an object of uncommon interest; for, as far as I could ascertain, they had seen none since they were visited twenty-two years before by Laxman.* Many of the inhabitants, therefore, had never beheld a European vessel of any kind, and still less a ship of war; they accordingly thronged about us in vast numbers, and their curiosity frequently gave rise to disputes among themselves. The Doseene (soldiers), who were stationed in the watch-boats, continually called to them to keep at a further distance; but so great was the confusion that, though the people generally showed great respect to the soldiers, their orders were on this occasion disregarded. The military, therefore, were under the necessity of using the iron batons which they wear fastened to their girdles by long silken strings. They neither spared rank nor sex; old persons alone experienced their indulgence, and we had various opportunities of observing that the Japanese, in all situations, pay particular respect to old age. In this case blows were freely dealt out to the young, of every description, who ventured to disobey the commands of the soldiers, and we were at length delivered from a multitude of visitors, who would have subjected us to no small degree of inconvenience."

Kachi came on board the next morning, and the letter from the governor of Okhotsk was given to him to be transmitted to the governor of Matsmai; but Captain Rikord refused to deliver the other letter except in person. After much negotiation, the ceremonial for an interview was arranged. The Japanese even conceded that the

* There has been a great alteration in the last twenty years. Siebold states that sixty-eight square-rigged vessels — mostly no doubt American whalers — had been counted by the Japanese as passing Matsmai and Hakodade in one year. According to a memorandum furnished to Commodore Perry during his recent visit to Hakodade (May 3d, 1854), there had been, in the years 1847—1851, no less than five foreign vessels wrecked in that vicinity.

ten men, who landed with Rikord as his guard of honor, should be allowed to take their muskets with them; he, on his part, agreeing to land in the Japanese governor's barge, and, before entering the audience chamber, to substitute, instead of his boots, shoes, which Kachi undertook to pass off as leather stockings. Rikord had for his interpreter a Japanese whom he had brought from Okhotsk, sent thither from Irkutsk, and who bore the Russian name of Kesseleff. The Japanese had Teske, who had learnt Russian of Golownin. The governor of Matsmai, *Chatori-Bingo-no-kami*, was represented on this occasion by the governor of Hakodade, and by an academician sent for the express purpose of making observations on the Russian ship of war, and collecting particulars respecting European science, — no other, indeed, than Doeff's friend, "Globius."

The letter of the governor of Irkutsk was delivered, with great formality, in a box covered with purple cloth. Rikord took it out, read the address aloud, and returned it. Kesseleff, Rikord's interpreter, then handed the box to Teske, who raised it above his head, and placed it in the hands of the junior commissioner, who delivered it to the senior commissioner, who promised to deliver it to the bungo or governor. An entertainment followed of tea and sweetmeats, during which a Japanese was placed beside Rikord to receive and hand to him his share of the eatables.

From the moment of the departure of the Diana for Okhotsk, Golownin and his companions had began to be treated rather as guests than prisoners. They were soon conveyed back to Hakodade, and at length, after a confinement of more than two years, were delivered up to Rikord, with a paper of which the following are the material parts:

NOTIFICATION FROM THE GINMIYAKS, THE CHIEF COMMANDERS NEXT TO THE BUNGO OF MATSMAI.

"Twenty-two years ago a Russian vessel arrived at Matsmai, and eleven years ago another came to Nagasaki. Though the laws of our country were on both these occasions minutely explained, yet we are of opinion that we have not been clearly understood on your part, owing to the great dissimilarity between our languages and writing. However, as we have now detained you, it will be easy to give you an explanation of these matters. When you return to Russia, communicate to the commanders of the coasts of Kamtschatka, Okhotsk and others, the declaration of our bungo, which

will acquaint them with the nature of the Japanese laws with respect to the arrival of foreign ships, and prevent a repetition of similar transgressions on your part.

"In our country the Christian religion is strictly prohibited, and European vessels are not suffered to enter any Japanese harbor except Nagasaki. This law does not extend to Russian vessels only. This year it has not been enforced, because we wished to communicate with your countrymen; but all that may henceforth present themselves will be driven back by cannon-balls. Bear in mind this declaration, and you cannot complain if at any future period you should experience a misfortune in consequence of your disregard of it.

"Among us there exists this law: 'If any European residing in Japan shall attempt to teach our people the Christian faith, he shall undergo a severe punishment, and shall not be restored to his native country.' As you, however, have not attempted to do so, you will accordingly be permitted to return home. Think well on this.

"Our countrymen wish to carry on no commerce with foreign lands, for we know no want of necessary things. Though foreigners are permitted to trade to Nagasaki, even to that harbor only those are admitted with whom we have for a long period maintained relations, and we do not trade with them for the sake of gain, but for other important objects. From the repeated solicitations which you have hitherto made to us, you evidently imagine that the customs of our country resemble those of your own; but you are very wrong in thinking so. In future, therefore, it will be better to say no more about a commercial connection."

In all this business the efforts of Kachi had been indefatigable. At first he was treated by his own countrymen with the suspicion and reserve extended to all, even native Japanese, who come from a foreign country. For a long time he was not permitted to visit Golownin. A guard was set over him, and even his friends and relations could not see him except in presence of an imperial soldier. In fact, according to the Japanese laws, as a person just returned from a foreign country, he ought to have been allowed no correspondence at all with his friends. The governor of Hakodade, having a letter for him from his only son, said not a word to him about it, but having sent for him to convey a letter from Golownin on board the Diana, while walking up and down the room, threw his son's letter towards him, as if it had been a piece of waste paper taken out of his sleeve accidentally with the other letter, and then turned his back to give him time to pick it up.*

* In Japan, as elsewhere, etiquette requires a good many things to be done

Kachi's abduction had thrown his family into great distress. A celebrated priest, or spirit-medium, at Hakodade, to the question whether he ever would return, had answered, "Kachi will return the ensuing summer, with two of his companions; the remaining two have perished in a foreign land." This answer was communicated to Golownin, who laughed at it; but when, on Kachi's return, it appeared that two of his Japanese attendants had actually died, the Japanese believers were greatly edified, and highly indignant at Golownin's persistence in maintaining that there was more of luck than foresight in the prophecy. Kachi's wife, — another probably than the young female with whom we are already acquainted, — in her grief made a vow to go on a pilgrimage through the whole of Japan; and Kachi assured Captain Rikord that scarcely had she returned from her pilgrimage, when she received his letter from Kunashir, announcing his return.

Kachi had a bosom friend, who, on learning his fate, divided his large property among the poor, and took up his residence in the mountains, as a hermit. As appeared on various occasions, Kachi was a strict disciplinarian, and very punctilious. He had a daughter, whom, owing to some misconduct, he had discarded. She was dead to him, so he said; and to Rikord, to whom he had told the story, and who had taken an interest in the girl, he had insisted that a reconciliation would be inconsistent with his honor. Yet, to show his hermit friend that in the way of self-sacrifice he was not to be outdone, he made up his mind to the great effort of calling his daughter into life, and forgiving her. His friend would, he said, when this communication was made to him, at once understand it.

During Kachi's absence his mercantile affairs had prospered, and before Rikord's departure he brought on board the Diana, with all the evidence of paternal pride, his son, who seemed, indeed, to be a promising youth. He was very liberal in his distribution of silk and cotton wadded dresses to the crew, to all of whom he gave one or more, to his favorites the best ones, taking especial care to remember the cook. He then begged to be allowed to treat them. "Sailors, captain," so he said to Rikord, "are all alike, whether

under feigned pretences, and on many occasions an affected ignorance of what everybody knows. The Japanese have a particular term (*nebooe*) to express this way of doing things.

Russian or Japanese. They are all fond of a glass; and there is no danger in the harbor of Hakodade." So the sailors had a night of it, being plentifully supplied with saki and Japanese tobacco.

Though he refused all presents of value, as being indeed prohibited by Japanese law, Kachi accepted with pleasure a Russian tea-set, as it would enable him, in entertaining his friends, to call to mind his Russian hosts; and he expressed much regret that the custom of his country did not allow him to invite Rikord to his own house. Finally, he brought a number of boats to help tow the Diana out of the harbor.

This is the only full-length portrait we possess of a Japanese merchant; and, if it represents the class, the fraternity have reason to be proud of their Japanese brethren. "The class of merchants in Japan," says Golownin, "is very extensive and rich, but not held in honor. The merchants have not the right to bear arms;* but though their profession is not respected, their wealth is; for this, as in Europe, supplies the place of talents and dignity, and attains privileges and honorable places. The Japanese told us that their officers of state and men of rank behave themselves outwardly with great haughtiness to the merchants, but in private are very familiar with the rich ones, and are often under great obligations to them. We had with us for some time a young officer, who was the son of a rich merchant, and who, as the Japanese said, owed his rank not to his own merit, but to his father's gold. Thus, though the laws do not favor the mercantile profession, yet wealth raises it; for even in Japan, where the laws are so rigorously enforced, they are often weighed down by the influence of gold."

* Yet Kachi wore two swords, though perhaps he did it in the character of a ship-master, or as an officer in authority in the island to which he traded from Hakodade, carrying on the fishery there chiefly by means of native Kuriles. These islands appear to have been farmed out by the government to certain mercantile firms, which thus acquire a certain civil authority over the inhabitants. The privilege of wearing swords, like other similar privileges elsewhere, is probably rather encroached upon by the unprivileged. On festival days, even the poorest inhabitants of Nagasaki decked themselves out, according to Kämpfer, with at least one sword. The present of a sword as a marriage gift — and it is ceremonies practised among the mercantile class, to which reference is made — is mentioned on p. 487.

CHAPTER XLV.

RENEWAL OF THE DUTCH TRADE. — CAPTAIN GORDON IN THE BAY OF JEDO. — FISSCHER. — MEYLAN. — SIEBOLD. — BRITISH MUTINEERS. — VOYAGE OF THE MORRISON. — JAPANESE EDICT. — THE SARAMANG AT NAGASAKI. — THE MERCATOR IN THE BAY OF JEDO. — COMMODORE BIDDLE IN THE BAY OF JEDO. — SHIPWRECKED AMERICANS. — FRENCH SHIPS OF WAR AT NAGASAKI. — THE PREBLE AT NAGASAKI. — SURVEYING SHIP MARINER IN THE BAYS OF JEDO AND SIMODA. — NEW NOTIFICATION THROUGH THE DUTCH. — A. D. 1817—1850.

GREAT was the delight of Heer Doeff, when, in the year 1817, two vessels arrived at last from Batavia, bringing news of its restoration to the Dutch; also — what was hardly less welcome — a supply of butter, wine, and other European creature comforts; together with goods for renewing the trade, and a decoration of the order of the Lion for Doeff, whose conduct in holding out against the English had been highly approved in Holland.

On board these ships were several women, among others the wife of Herr Blomhoff, appointed to succeed Doeff as director, who had with her an infant child. This novelty greatly disturbed the Japanese. It was with the utmost difficulty that permission was obtained for the wife of the new director to land; her remaining was a thing not to be listened to, and she was obliged to leave her husband and to return to Batavia in the departing ships.*

Shortly after this renewal of the old Dutch intercourse, a new English attempt was made at commerce with Japan. Captain

* The old East India Company having become extinct, the Dutch trade to Japan had been revived as a government affair. A new Dutch East India Company having been formed, it was handed over to that company in 1827, but, after a two years' trial, was restored again to the government, in whose hands it still remains.

Gordon, of the British navy, entered, in June, 1818, the bay of Jedo, in a little trading brig, from Okhotsk, of sixty-five tons' burden. He was immediately visited by two officers, to whom he said that he had come merely to obtain permission to return with a cargo of goods for sale. They insisted upon unshipping his rudder, and required all his arms to be given up. The vessel was then surrounded by a circle of some twenty boats, and beyond by a circle of sixty larger ones, besides two or three junks, mounting a number of guns. Two interpreters came on board, one speaking Dutch, the other some Russian, and both a little English. They inquired if the vessel belonged to the East India Company; if the English were friends of the Dutch, and if Captain Golownin was at Okhotsk. They asked after the king of Holland, the king of France, and Bonaparte. They knew the names and uses of the various nautical instruments, and said that the best were made at London. In a subsequent visit, they told Captain Gordon that permission could not be granted for his trading to Japan, as by their laws all foreign intercourse was interdicted, except at Nagasaki, and there only allowed with the Dutch and Chinese, and he was requested to depart the moment the wind was fair. The interpreters declined any presents, being prohibited, they said, from accepting any. Captain Gordon was much struck with the polite and affable conduct of the Japanese, both towards him and towards each other. Everything that had been taken on shore was carefully returned, and thirty boats were sent to tow the vessel out of the bay. The shores were lined with spectators, and, as soon as the guard-boats had left, not less than two thousand visitors came on board in succession, all eager to barter for trifles.*

In 1820, J. F. Van Overmeer Fisscher arrived at Nagasaki, as a member of the factory. He resided there for seven years, and after his return to Holland, published, in 1833, a work in the Dutch language, entitled "Contributions towards a Knowledge of the Japanese Empire," embellished with engravings from Japanese drawings, so superior to former specimens as to give occasion for some suspicion of aid from the European engraver.

* See London *Quarterly Review*, for July, 1819, in a note to an article on Golownin's narrative. The statement about bartering is questionable.

In 1822, Fisscher accompanied Blomhoff in the quadriennial embassy to Jedo, which, from its long intermission, appears to have excited unusual attention. It had been proposed to make the embassy annual as formerly; but to this change the Japanese authorities would not assent. Fisscher's account of the journey does not differ materially from that given by Kämpfer and Thunberg. The entrance into Jedo, notwithstanding the absence of carriages, reminded him, from the noise and the throng of people, of the commercial parts of London. The shops had signs, as in Europe; the goods were exhibited from the doors and windows under the charge of boys, who rivalled each other in calling by loud cries the attention of purchasers. Long before entering Sinegawa they found themselves in the midst of a vast crowd, marching along broad streets, paved at the sides, formed of houses, regularly built, among which were many large buildings. From the suburb to their hotel, called *Nagasakia*, and in the immediate vicinity of the palace, it was two hours' march; and, as the palace was said to occupy a space half a Japanese mile in diameter, Fisscher estimates the diameter of the whole city at not less than five or six hours' walk at an ordinary step.

After the audience and the official visits were over, the Dutch spent twelve days in receiving visits. Among the crowds who obtained the privilege of seeing them, were several princes or their secretaries, and many savans, Doeff's Globius among the rest. Several of these visitors had more or less knowledge of the Dutch language, and great eagerness was exhibited to obtain new scientific information. To a party given to the Dutch by the master of the mint and the conductor of the embassy, many of the Japanese guests came rigged out in Dutch clothes; and as these had been collected through long intervals, and preserved as curiosities, they presented a very grotesque and antique appearance.* Fisscher's own party were laid under contribution in the same way, their lady visitors unpacking and rummaging their trunks, and putting them to the necessity of giving away some of the most valuable articles. The

* Siebold represents the Dutch at Desima as humoring the Japanese antipathy to change, by adhering in their dress to the old fashion, and as rigged out in velvet coats and plumed hats, in the style of Vandyke's pictures.

greater part, however, were content with a few words written on their fans.

Mr. G. F. Meylan, who first arrived in Japan shortly after Fisscher left it, and who subsequently died there, as director, has also contributed something to our knowledge of Japan, by a thin volume published in 1830, like Fisscher's, in the Dutch language, with the title of "Japan; presented in Sketches of the Manners and Customs of that Realm, especially of the Town of Nagasaki." One of the most original things in Meylan's book is his apology for the custom of the Dutch in taking female companions from the Nagasaki tea-houses. None of the male Japanese servants are allowed to remain in Desima over night. "How, then," plaintively asks Mr. Meylan, "could the Dutch residents otherwise manage to procure any domestic comfort in the long nights of winter, — their tea-water, for instance, — were it not for these females?" He passes a high eulogy upon their strict fidelity and affectionate activity; and indeed the connection appears to be regarded by them not so much in the light in which we see it, as in that of a temporary marriage. The female inmates of the Japanese tea-houses hold, indeed, in the estimation of their own people, a very different position from that which our manners would assign to them; since not only is the custom of frequenting these houses, as places of relaxation and amusement, general among the men, but sometimes, according to Fisscher, they even take their wives along with them.

Of the personal charms of these wives, with their teeth blackened, their eyebrows shaven, their lips painted red and their faces white, Fisscher does not give a very high idea. The concubines do not shave their eyebrows, but the custom of blackening the teeth is so common as to be adopted by all females above the age of eighteen. The immoderate use of the warm bath causes them to look, at twenty-five, at least ten years older. Not content with the natural burdens of child-bearing, they augment them by several absurd customs, one of which is the wearing, during pregnancy, a tight girdle round the body.

The works of Fisscher and Meylan are chiefly valuable for the confirmation they give of Kämpfer's accounts, and as showing the Japanese very little altered from what they were when he described them. A visitant to Japan, and a writer of much higher preten-

sions, is Dr. Philipp Franz Von Siebold, who was sent out, in 1823, commissioned by the Dutch government, to make all possible investigations, as well into the language, literature and institutions, as into the natural history of the country. The Japanese interpreters understood Dutch so well as to detect his foreign accent, but they were satisfied with the explanation that he was a Dutch mountaineer. He availed himself, as Kämpfer had done, of all means that offered to elude the restrictive laws; and he found, like Thunberg and Titsingh, a certain number of the natives very anxious to obtain information, and by no means unwilling secretly to impart it.

In 1826, he accompanied Van Sturlen, the director, on the quadriennial journey to Jedo, taking with him a young native physician, a native artist, and several servants to assist his researches into natural history. Following, as Fisscher had done, nearly or quite in Kämpfer's old route, he saw, in the passage across Kiusiu, the same old camphor-tree, as flourishing, apparently, as it had been a hundred and thirty-five years before, but with a hollow in its trunk large enough to hold fifteen men. He visited the same hot springs, and descended some sixty feet into the coal mine, near Kokura, mentioned by Kämpfer. He saw only one thin seam of coal, but was told of thicker ones below — an account which the coal drawn up seemed to confirm.

At Jedo he met with many Japanese physicians, astronomers and others, of whose acquisitions he speaks with much respect.

Besides the other means, already pointed out, of measuring time, he saw in use there Chinese clysedrus, or water-clocks; but the method most relied upon for scientific purposes was a clock, of which the idea was derived from one introduced into China by the Jesuit Ricci, and brought thence to Japan. This clock is worked by two balances, one to act by day and the other by night. The arm of each balance is notched, to accord with the variations in the length of the hours. At the summer solstice the weights are hung respectively upon the outermost notch of the day-balance, and upon the innermost notch of the night-balance. At intervals of six days, four hours and twelve minutes, both weights are moved; that of the day-balance a notch inward, that of the night-balance a notch outward, until at the winter solstice their original positions are reversed.

After Siebold's return to Nagasaki, he continued diligently to

follow out his object, keeping up, through means of the interpreters, a correspondence with his Jedo friends. In the course of five years he had not only made large collections for the government of specimens in natural history, but also, on his own account, of Japanese books and other curiosities, besides acquiring a considerable knowledge of the language. His collections in natural history had been shipped to Batavia; he was preparing himself to follow, when an unlucky disclosure took place. The imperial astronomer, notwithstanding the law to the contrary, had secretly sent him a copy of a new map of Japan, lately constructed on European principles. One of the draftsmen employed in making it having quarrelled with the astronomer, informed against him, in consequence of which the astronomer, his servants, the interpreters, several of Siebold's pupils, and other Japanese suspected of being concerned in this affair, were arrested and subjected to a strict examination. Siebold himself was called upon to give up the map; and, when he hesitated about it, underwent a domiciliary visit, followed by an order to consider himself under arrest, and a prohibition to leave Japan until the investigation was terminated. Finding thus not only the fruits of his own labor, but the lives of his Japanese friends, in danger, he made a full confession as to the map, endeavoring thus to remove suspicions and to preserve some other documents in his possession, of which the Japanese yet had no knowledge, and which might have compromised other persons not yet suspected. Studiously concealing the connection of the Dutch government with his mission, he thought it best to represent himself as simply a private inquirer, whose researches into natural history and the physical sciences might be no less useful to the Japanese than they were interesting to himself. Of the particulars of this affair no account has ever been published. It is said that some of his Japanese friends found it necessary to cut themselves open, but Siebold himself was speedily released, with his entire collections, which he brought with him to Holland, and by means of which he converted his residence at Leyden into a very curious Japanese museum.

The fruits of his researches, so far as zoölogy is concerned, and of those of Dr. Burger, left behind as his successor, have been published by the labors of some distinguished naturalists, and under the patronage of the king of Holland, in a very splendid and ex-

pensive work, called *Fauna Japonica*, with colored plates of most of the animals described, and in the preparation of which the native works on the subject were largely consulted. This work includes three lizards, two tortoises, six snakes, eleven of the frog family, three hundred and fifty-nine fishes (Siebold describes the Japanese as a nation of fish-eaters), besides several whales, and two hundred and two birds. The principal quadrupeds, natives of Japan, and described in it, are a small deer, an antelope, in the most southern parts an ape, a wolf, a bear, and in Jeso another more ferocious species, like the Rocky Mountain bear, a wild hog, two foxes, and a number of smaller animals. There is no animal of the cat kind, except the domestic cat. The dogs used for hunting appear to be indigenous. There are pet house-dogs, derived from China, and troops of street-dogs — belonging to no individual, but denizens of particular streets — of a mongrel breed between the two.

The *Flora Japonica*, prepared by Zaccarini, from Siebold's collection, containing descriptions and drawings of one hundred and twenty-four remarkable plants, was interrupted by the death of that botanist, as was also another, less costly, but fuller enumeration of Japanese plants, arranged in natural families. The latter work, so far as completed, contains four hundred and seventy-eight genera, and eight hundred and forty-seven species. Siebold states, that of five hundred plants most remarkable for ornament or utility, at least half are of foreign origin, chiefly from China.

Siebold's observations, during his residence in Japan, upon other subjects than natural history, have been principally embraced in a publication in numbers, originally in German, but a French translation of parts of which has appeared, entitled "Nippon, or Archives for the Description of Japan." This work, projected like most of Siebold's publications, on an extensive scale, contains many translations from Japanese historical works, and exhibits a great deal of erudition, at the same time it is diffuse, confused, incoherent, introducing a great deal of matter with only a remote bearing on the subject; and, whatever light it may throw upon some particular points, not, on the whole, adding a great deal to the knowledge we previously had of Japan, so far, at least, as the general reader would be likely to take an interest in it.*

* A series of numbers, professing to give the substance of the recent works

The same year in which Siebold was released, a party of English convicts, on their way to Australia in the brig Cyprus, mutinied and got possession of the vessel. After cruising about for five months, being in great distress for wood and water, they anchored on the coast of Japan; but they were fired at from the shore, and obliged to depart without accomplishing their object.

Not long after this occurrence, three Japanese, the only survivors of the crew of a junk, driven by storms across the Pacific, landed on Queen Charlotte's Island, on the north-west coast of America. They were seized by the natives, but were redeemed by an agent of the English Fur Company at the mouth of Columbia river, and sent to England. From England they were carried to Macao, where they were placed in the family of Mr. Gutzlaff, the missionary. Some time after, four other Japanese, who had been wrecked on the Philippines, were brought to Macao.

The return of these men to their homes seemed a good opportunity for opening a communication with Japan, as well for mercantile as for missionary purposes, and an American mercantile house at Macao fitted out the brig Morrison for that purpose, in which sailed one of the partners, Dr. Parker, a missionary physician, and Mr. S. W. Williams, one of the editors of the *Chinese Repository*, and afterwards Chinese interpreter to Commodore Perry's squadron. At Lew Chew, where the vessel touched, Mr. Gutzlaff also came on board.

on Japan, principally Fisscher's, Meylan's, and Siebold's, appeared in the *Asiatic Journal*, during the years 1839 and 1840, and were afterwards collected and published at London in a volume, and reprinted in Harper's Family Library, with the title of *Manners and Customs of the Japanese in the Nineteenth Century*. The same numbers, to which some others were subsequently added in the *Asiatic Journal*, were reprinted in the *Chinese Repository*, with notes, derived from the information given to the editor by the shipwrecked Japanese, whom, as mentioned above, it was attempted to carry home in the Morrison. In the index to the *Chinese Repository* these numbers are ascribed to a lady, a Mrs. B.

A still more elaborate and comprehensive work, based mainly on the same materials, and often drawing largely from the one above referred to, but rendered more complete by extracts from Kämpfer and Thunberg, is De Jancigny's "Japan," published at Paris, in 1850, as a part of the great French collection, entitled *L'univers, ou Histoire et Description de tout les Peuples*.

Neither of these works contains any account of the Portuguese missions.

On the 27th of July, 1837, the chain of islands was made leading up to the bay of Jedo, up which the Morrison proceeded some thirty miles, to Uragawa, the west coast of the bay, rising hill above hill, and the view terminating in the lofty peak of Fusi. Near Uragawa, many of the hills were cultivated in terraces, but the general aspect of the shores was bleak and barren. Just above, the passage was narrowed by two points of land projecting from opposite directions.

Having anchored about three quarters of a mile from the shore, the ship was soon visited by a number of boats. Their crews, some two hundred in number, and evidently of the lower class, hardly seemed to understand the Chinese writing in which provisions, water, and a government officer to communicate with, were asked for. They seemed, however, to invite a landing; but during the night cannon were planted on the nearest eminence, and, though the firing was unskilful, the Morrison was obliged to weigh. She was pursued by three gun-boats, each with thirty or forty men, which bore down upon her, firing swivels; but when she lay to to wait for them, they retired. A piece of canvas, on which was painted, in Chinese, that a foreign ship desired to return some shipwrecked natives, and to obtain some provisions and water, was thrown overboard; but, though it was picked up, no notice was taken of it. The Japanese on board, who had recognized the shores of their country with delight, were much mortified at the result, which they ascribed in part to their not having been allowed to communicate with their countrymen.

For the purpose of making a second experiment, on the 20th of August the Morrison entered the bay of Kangosima, in the principality of Satsuma. The shores, rising gradually from the water, were under high cultivation. A boat from the ship boarded a Japanese fishing-vessel, and proceeded to a little village, where they found the people in great commotion. The Morrison followed, and, when opposite the village, was visited by a richly-dressed officer, with a number of almost naked attendants. He stated that, supposing the ship to be a pirate, preparations had been made to fire on her; but, satisfied by the representations of the Japanese on board of the true state of the case, he received, with much apparent interest, the despatches prepared for the prince of Satsuma

and the emperor, which he promised to deliver to a superior officer. He left a pilot on board; a supply of water was sent, and the ship was visited by many boat-loads of people, superior in appearance to those seen in the bay of Jedo; but they brought nothing to sell.

The despatches were soon brought back by several officers, the superior officer, it was stated, declining to receive them. They added that the depositions of the Japanese passengers, who had landed for the purpose of giving them, had been forwarded to Kangosima, and that a superior officer might be expected from that city. Provisions were promised, and that the vessel should be towed higher up the bay; but, early in the morning of the twelfth, the crew of a fishing-boat communicated to the Japanese on board a rumor that the ship was to be expelled. Warlike preparations were soon seen on shore, in strips of blue and white canvas stretched from tree to tree. The Japanese on board stated, with rueful faces, that these preparations portended war; nor, according to their description, were these cloth batteries so contemptible as they might seem, as four or five pieces of heavy canvas, loosely stretched, one behind another, at short intervals, would weaken the force of, indeed, almost stop, a cannon ball.

Officers on horseback, and several hundred soldiers, soon made their appearance, and a fire of musketry and artillery was commenced. The anchor was weighed, and the sails set, but there was no wind. For eighteen hours the ship was exposed, without any means of offering resistance, to two fires from opposite sides of the bay, which was from three to five miles broad, till, at last, she was with difficulty conducted clear of the shoals, and past the forts.

All hope of friendly intercourse, or of returning the men, was now abandoned. The poor fellows suffered severely at this unexpected extinction of their prospect of revisiting their families. They expressed great indignation at the conduct of their countrymen, and two of them shaved their heads entirely, in token, as it was understood, of having renounced their native soil. As it was not deemed expedient to go to Nagasaki, where the Japanese on board expressed their determination not to land, the Morrison returned to Macao.*

* Three accounts of this voyage have been published, one by Williams (*Chinese Repository*, Nov. and Dec., 1837); a second by Parker, London,

In 1843, probably in consequence of this visit of the Morrison, the Japanese authorities promulgated an edict, of which the following is a translation, as given by the Dutch at Desima, who were requested to communicate to the other European nations — the first attempt ever made to employ their agency for that purpose.

"Shipwrecked persons of the Japanese nation must not be brought back to their country, except on board of Dutch or Chinese ships, for, in case these shipwrecked persons shall be brought back in the ships of other nations, they will not be received. Considering the express prohibition, even to Japanese subjects, to explore or make examinations of the coasts or islands of the empire, this prohibition, for greater reason, is extended to foreigners."

The British opium war in China, of the progress of which the Japanese were well informed, if it increased the desire of the English to gain access to Japan, did not, by any means, diminish the Japanese dread of foreigners.*

In 1845, the British surveying frigate Saramang entered the

1838, and a third by King, New York, 1839. It is possible that outrages by whaling vessels, which had begun to frequent the seas of Japan in considerable numbers, might have somewhat increased the antipathy of the Japanese towards foreigners. Of transactions of that kind we should be little likely to hear, but that they did sometimes occur, seems to be proved by a paragraph in the *Sidney Gazette* of Feb. 1842, warning mariners to be cautious how they landed on Japan, as a Japanese village on the east coast of the islands, somewhere near 43° north latitude, had been recently destroyed by the crew of the Lady Rowena, then in the harbor of Sidney, and whose captain openly boasted of the fact.

* Had the Japanese been readers of the London newspapers, they might have found in the following paragraph, which appeared in the *Examiner* of January 21st, 1843, fresh motives for persisting in their exclusive policy: — "Missionaries to China. — One of the largest meetings, perhaps, ever held in Exeter Hall, was held on Tuesday evening, convened by the London Missionary Society, to consider the means of extending and promoting in China the objects of the society. Wm. T. Blair, Esq., of Bath, presided. Dr. Liefchild moved the first resolution, *expressive of thanksgiving to God for the war between China and Great Britain* [the infamous opium war], and for the greatly enlarged facilities secured by the treaty of peace for the introduction of Christianity into that empire. This resolution was seconded by the Rev. Dr. Adler, and was carried unanimously." I have met with nothing in the letters of the Jesuit missionaries, nor in the history of the Jesuit missions, that can be compared with this specimen of Protestant zeal.

harbor of Nagasaki. As she approached she was surrounded by numerous guard-boats, from one of which a letter was handed, in Dutch and French, directing her to anchor off the entrance, till visited by the authorities. The Japanese officers who came on board, stated that they had been apprized of this intended visit by the Dutch, and that they were acquainted with the recent visit of the Saramang to the Lew Chew and other islands, and of her operations there.

With great difficulty permission was obtained to land, in order to make some astronomical observations, but the officers earnestly begged that this might not be repeated till they could consult their superiors; nor were they willing that the vessel should leave till such consultation had taken place. They asked, for this purpose, a stay of two days. The captain offered to wait four days, if they would allow his observations to be continued; but this they declined, urging, as a reason, their own danger of punishment. The vessel was freely supplied with such provisions as she needed, and the British officers were strongly impressed with the demeanor of the Japanese, as at once dignified and respectful.

That same year, the American whale-ship Mercator, Captain Cooper, while cruising among the northern islands of the Japanese group, fell in with a sinking junk, from which she took eleven Japanese sailors, and as many more from a rock, to which they had escaped. Captain Cooper proceeded with these rescued men to the bay of Jedo, and, on anchoring there, was surrounded by near four hundred armed boats, which took the ship in tow, took all the arms out of her, and carried her in front of a neighboring town, probably Odawara. Here she was guarded for three days, being all the while an object of curiosity to great crowds. Orders presently came from Jedo, in these words: —

"I am informed, by the mouths of some shipwrecked persons of our country, that they have been brought home by your ship, and that they have been well treated. But, according to our laws, they must not be brought home, except by the Chinese or Dutch. Nevertheless, in the present case, we shall make an exception, because the return of these men by you must be attributed to your ignorance of these laws. In future, Japanese subjects will not be received in like circumstances, and will have to be treated rigorously when returned. You are hereby advised of this, and that you must make it known to others.

"As, in consequence of your long voyage, provisions, and wood and water are wanting on board your ship, we have regard to your request, and whatever you want will be given to you.

"As soon as possible after the reception of this order, the ship must depart and return directly to her own country."

Immediately upon the receipt of this order, the ship was abundantly supplied with provisions, her arms were returned, and she was towed out of the bay by a file of boats more than a mile long. It would seem that since the visit of the Morrison, a fleet of guard-boats had been provided to take the bay of Jedo in charge.

Commodore Biddle, sent soon after to the China Seas, with a considerable American naval force, was instructed, among other things, to ascertain if the ports of Japan were accessible. With this object in view, with the Columbus ship of the line, and Vincennes frigate, he anchored (July 20th, 1848) in the bay of Jedo. Before the ships reached their anchorage, an officer with a Dutch interpreter came on board to inquire their object. He was told that the vessels came as friends to ascertain whether Japan had, like China, opened her ports to foreign trade; and, if she had, to negotiate a treaty of commerce. The officer requested that this statement should be reduced to writing, for transmission to the higher authorities. He also stated that all needed supplies would be furnished, but refused permission to land, and even wished to stop the passing of boats between the two vessels; but, as the commodore would not agree to this, he did not persist in it. The vessel was soon surrounded by a multitude of boats, and as many Japanese as wished were allowed to come on board, both as a proof of friendship and to let them see the strength of the ships.

Another officer, apparently of higher rank, came on board the following morning. He stated that foreign ships, on arriving in Japan, were required to give up their arms; but when told that only trading vessels could be expected to do that, he appeared to be satisfied. The emperor's reply might be expected, he said, in five or six days. He was offered copies in Chinese of the late English, French and American treaties with China, but declined to receive them, as did all the other Japanese officers to whom they were offered. To explain the concourse of guard-boats about the ship, he pretended that they were only waiting in readiness to tow the ships

if needed. These boats followed the ships' boats when sent at some distance for sounding, but did not offer to molest them, nor did the crews of the ship's boats make any attempt to land.

The Japanese, who had undertaken to water the ships, sent off the first day less than two hundred gallons, and the next day not so much. As this was less than the daily consumption, the commodore stated that if they went on so, he should send his own boats. This was by no means acceptable, and in the two next days they furnished twenty-one thousand gallons.

On the 28th, an officer with a suite of eight persons came on board with the emperor's letter, which, as translated by the Dutch interpreter, read thus:

"According to the Japanese laws, the Japanese may not trade except with the Dutch and Chinese. It will not be allowed that America make a treaty with Japan or trade with her, as the same is not allowed with any other nation. Concerning strange lands all things are fixed at Nagasaki, but not here in the bay; therefore, you must depart as quick as possible, and not come any more to Japan."

The Japanese original, as translated at Canton, first into Chinese and from Chinese into English, runs as follows:

"The object of this communication is to explain the reasons why we refuse to trade with foreigners who come to this country across the ocean for that purpose.

"This has been the habit of our nation from time immemorial. In all cases of a similar kind that have occurred we have positively refused to trade. Foreigners have come to us from various quarters, but have always been received in the same way. In taking this course with regard to you, we only pursue our accustomed policy. We can make no distinction between different foreign nations — we treat them all alike, and you as Americans must receive the same answer with the rest. It will be of no use to renew the attempt, as all applications of the kind, however numerous they may be, will be steadily rejected.

"We are aware that our customs are in this respect different from those of some other countries, but every nation has a right to manage its affairs in its own way.

"The trade carried on with the Dutch at Nagasaki is not to be regarded as furnishing a precedent for trade with other foreign nations. The place is one of few inhabitants and very little business, and the whole affair is of no importance.

"In conclusion, we have to say that the emperor positively refuses the permission you desire. He earnestly advises you to depart immediately, and to consult your own safety in not appearing again upon our coast."

This paper, which had neither address, signature nor date, was enclosed in an open envelope, on which was written, "Explanatory Edict." With respect to the delivery of it, the following circumstance occurred, which will best be stated in the words of the commodore's despatch:

"I must now communicate an occurrence of an unpleasant character. On the morning that the officer came down in the junk with the emperor's letter, I was requested to go on board the junk to receive it. I refused, and informed the interpreter that the officer must deliver on board this ship any letter that had been entrusted him for me. To this the officer assented; but added, that my letter having been delivered on board the American ship, he thought the emperor's letter should be delivered on board the Japanese vessel. As the Japanese officer, though attaching importance to his own proposal, had withdrawn it as soon as I objected to it, I concluded that it might be well for me to gratify him, and I informed the interpreter that I would go on board the junk, and there receive the letter. The interpreter then went on board the junk, and in an hour afterwards I went alongside in the ship's boat, in my uniform. At the moment that I was stepping on board, a Japanese on the deck of the junk gave me a blow or push, which threw me back into the boat. I immediately called to the interpreter to have the man seized, and then returned to the ship." The interpreter and a number of Japanese followed, who expressed great concern at what had happened, and who succeeded in convincing the commodore that his intention of coming on board had not been understood. They offered to inflict any punishment he chose on the offender; but as to that matter he referred them to the laws of Japan; and being satisfied that it was an individual act, without authority from the officers, he concluded to be satisfied.* What interpre-

* His instructions cautioned him not to do anything "to excite a hostile feeling, or distrust of the United States." The official papers relating to this expedition, and to the subsequent one of the Preble, will be found in *Senate Documents*, 1851—1852, vol. IX. [Ex. Doc. No. 59.]

tation was put upon his conduct by the Japanese will presently appear.

At the very moment that these ships were thus unceremoniously sent away, eight American sailors were imprisoned in Japan, though possibly the fact was not then known at Jedo. They had escaped from the wreck of the whale-ship Lawrence, to one of the Japanese Kuriles, where they had landed early in June. After an imprisonment of several months, they were taken to Matsmai, and finally to Nagasaki. One of them, in an attempt to escape, was killed. At last, after seventeen months' confinement, they were given up to the Dutch at Desima, and sent to Batavia in the ship of 1847. According to an account signed by the mate, and published in the Serampore *Free Press*, their usage had been very hard.

On the 28th of July, the day preceding the departure of the two American ships from the bay of Jedo, two French ships of war, the frigate Cleopatra, commanded by Admiral Cecille, and a corvette, on a surveying expedition, entered the harbor of Nagasaki, for the purpose, as the admiral stated, of letting the Japanese know that the French, too, had great ships of war; but being surrounded by boats and refused all intercourse with the shore, they departed within twenty-four hours. In consequence of these visits the Dutch at length communicated to the French and American governments, copies of the edict of 1843, concerning the return of shipwrecked Japanese, and surveys of the Japanese coast, already given.

In September, 1848, fifteen foreign seamen arrived at Nagasaki, forwarded from Matsmai in a Japanese junk, from which they were carried in close kangos to a temple prepared for their residence, and around which a high palisade was erected, no communication with them being allowed. Indeed, it was not without a good deal of difficulty that the director of the Dutch factory obtained leave to send them some articles of food and clothing. As none of the sailors understood Dutch, the Japanese officers who had them in charge found it difficult to communicate with them, — to aid in which, the Dutch director was finally called in. Eight of the men, according to their own account, were Americans, all quite young, and seven of them Sandwich-Islanders. They stated themselves to have escaped from the wreck of the American whaler, Ladoga, which, according to their account, had struck a shoal in the Sea of

Japan, and gone to pieces. The director wished to send them to Batavia in the annual Dutch vessel, then about to sail, but for this a reference to Jedo was necessary, which would take forty days, much beyond the time fixed by the Japanese rule for the departure of the ship.

These facts having been communicated, under date of Jan. 27, 1849, by the Dutch consul at Canton to the American commissioner there, Captain Geisenger, in command on that station, despatched the sloop-of-war Preble, Commander Glyn, to Nagasaki, to bring away these sailors.

Glyn touched at Lew Chew, where he learned from the Rev. B. J. Bettelheim,* a missionary resident there, that very exaggerated reports had reached these islands of chastisement inflicted upon an American officer who had visited Jedo in a "big" ship. The missionary seemed even to think that these reports were not without their influence upon the authorities of Lew Chew, as the cause of a "want of accommodation" exhibited in their conduct towards the Preble, — a piece of information which had its influence in leading Captain Glyn to assume a very decided tone in his subsequent intercourse with the authorities of Nagasaki.

The Preble made the land off Nagasaki on the 17th of April. Japanese boats, which soon came alongside, threw on board a bamboo, in the split of which were papers containing the customary notifications to foreign vessels, as to their anchorage, and the conduct they were to observe, and certain questions which they were to answer. These papers (in English, with some Dutch variations) were verbatim as follows:

* Dr. Bettelheim is at this moment in this country, anxious to be employed as a missionary to Japan, for which his experience, derived from a nine years' residence in Lew Chew, gives him peculiar qualifications. His treatment there was characteristic. The authorities were anxious to get rid of him, but afraid to send him away by force, while he was determined not to go. The inhabitants were ordered to keep away from his house, to sell him nothing beyond a supply of food, and to avoid him whenever he came near; while officers were appointed to watch and to follow him wherever he went. See *Glyn's Letter* in Senate Documents, 1851—1852, vol. IX., No. 59. There are also two curious pamphlets on the subject, written by Dr. Bettelheim, and printed at Canton.

1. *Warning to respective commanders, their officers and crew of the vessels approaching the coast of Japan, or anchoring near the coast in the bays of the empire.* — During the time foreign vessels are on the coast of Japan, or near, as well as in the bay of Nagasaky, it is expected and likewise ordered, that every one of the *schip's* company will behave properly towards and accost *civillen* the Japanese subjects in general. No one may leave the *vessle*, or use her boats for cruising or landing on the islands or on the main coast, and ought to remain on board until further advice from the Japanese government has been received. It is likewise forbidden to fire guns, or use other fire-arms on board the *vessle*, as well as in their boats. Very disagreeable consequences might result in case the aforesaid *should* not be strictly observed. [Signed], The Governor of Nagasaki.

2. *To the commanders of vessels approaching this empire under Dutch or other colors.* — By express orders of the governor of Nagasaki, you are requested, as soon as you have arrived near the northern Cavallos, to anchor there at a safe place, and to remain until you will have received further advice. Very disagreeable consequences might result in case this order should not be strictly observed. Desima. [Signed.] The Reporters attached to the Superintendent's office. [Seal.] Translated by the Superintendent of the Netherlands' trade in Japan. [Qu. chief interpreter?]

3. [This is addressed like No. 2, and contains the same orders about anchorage. It then proceeds as follows:] "Please to answer, as distinctly and as soon as possible, the following questions: What is the name of your vessel? What her tonnage? What is the number of her crew? Where do you come from? What is the date of your departure? Have you any wrecked Japanese on board? Have you anything to ask for, as water, firewood, &c. &c.? Are any more vessels in company with you bound for this empire? By order of the governor of Nagasaki. Translated by the Superintendent of the Netherlands' trade in Japan. Desima.

* Upper Reporter. [Seal.]
Under Reporter. [Seal.]

The ship was soon after boarded by a Japanese interpreter with seven men, who gave directions in English as to her anchorage; but, as the captain persisted in selecting his own ground, the officer yielded. To another officer, who came on board to learn what he wanted, he stated his object, which led to many inquiries. The vessel was surrounded by guard-boats, and the usual offer was made of supplies, which were refused unless payment would be accepted. To an officer who came on board the next day, Captain

* The same officers probably, designated by Kämpfer as deputies of the governor, called by Thunberg *banjos*, and by the more recent Dutch writers *gobanjosi*.

Glyn complained of these guard-boats; and he gave him also a letter to the governor of Nagasaki, stating his object. The same officer having returned on the 22d, but only with promises of a speedy answer, Captain Glyn remonstrated with warmth. Finally, on the 26th, through the intervention of the Dutch director, who, being sick himself, sent one of his subordinates on board, the sailors were delivered up without waiting to send to Jedo, as had been proposed. The day before, a curious memorandum in Japanese Dutch, a sort of journal or history of the prisoners since their capture, was handed to the captain, who was very hard-pressed to say whether he would sail as soon as he received them. Another memorandum in Dutch was also handed to him, to the effect, that as all shipwrecked mariners were sent home by the Chinese or Dutch, this special sending for them was not to be allowed.

It appears, from the statements of the men, that they were, in fact, deserters, having left the Ladoga near the Straits of Sangar. At a village on the coast of Jeso, where they landed, they were supplied with rice and firewood, but while they staid were guarded by soldiers, and surrounded by a cloth screen, as if to keep them from seeing the country. Landing two days after at another village, they were detained as prisoners, and were confined in a house guarded by soldiers; but for some time were amused by promises that they should be released and furnished with a boat. Disappointed in this expectation, two of them escaped, but were speedily recaptured. A quarrel taking place between them, one of them was shut up in a cage, and two others, having made a second escape, after being retaken were shut up with him. A new quarrel happening in the cage, one of the prisoners was taken out and severely whipped. Two months after their capture, the whole number were put in a junk, the three close prisoners in one cage, the twelve others in another, and forwarded to Nagasaki. They were lodged at first in a palisaded and guarded house, and were subjected to several interrogations, being flattered with hopes of being sent home in the Dutch vessel then in the harbor. In order to get on board her, McCoy (who described himself as twenty-three years old, and born in Philadelphia, and who appears to have been the most intelligent of the party) made a third escape. Japanese jails, he observed, might do well enough for Japanese, but could not hold

Americans. Being retaken, he was tied, — much as described in Golownin's narrative, — put into a sort of stocks, and repeatedly examined under suspicion of being a spy. Thence he was taken to the common prison and confined by himself for three weeks; but, on threatening to starve himself, and refusing to eat for three days, he was restored to his companions, it would seem, through the intercession of the Dutch director, who endeavored to persuade the men to wait patiently, and not to quarrel among themselves.

After a month's longer detention, a new escape was planned, but only McCoy and two others succeeded in getting out. Being retaken they were tied, put in the stocks, and finally all were sent to the common prison, where they had very hard usage. It was stated, and no doubt truly enough, in the Dutch memorandum, respecting their treatment, handed in by the Japanese, that they gave so much trouble that the authorities hardly knew what to do with them. One of the Americans died, and one of the Sandwich-Islanders hung himself. McCoy, who had learned considerable Japanese, was secretly informed of the arrival of the Preble by one of the guards with whom he had established an intimacy.

At the same time with these men another seaman from an American whaler was delivered up, who had landed a month or two later on some still more northerly Japanese island. As this man, named McDonald, and who described himself as twenty-four years old, and born at Astoria, in Oregon, had made no attempt at escaping, he had no occasion to complain of severity. In fact, he lived in clover, the Japanese having put him to use as a teacher of English. The very interpreter who boarded the Preble had been one of his scholars. All these men stated that they had been required to trample on the crucifix as a proof that they were not Portuguese, that reason being suggested to them when they showed some reluctance to do it.

McCoy mentioned, and others confirmed it, that when he threatened the Japanese guards with vengeance from some American ship of war, they told him that they had no fears of that, as the year before, at the city of Jedo, a common soldier had knocked down an American commander, and no notice had been taken of it. McCoy and the others strenuously denied having ever heard this story (evidently referring to the occurrence described in a pre-

ceding page) before it was thus mentioned to them by the Japanese.

McDonald, before his release, was requested by the Japanese to describe the relative rank of the commander of the Preble, by counting down in the order of succession from the highest chief in the United States. Like a true republican, he began with the people; but the Japanese, he says, could make nothing of that. He then enumerated the grades of president, secretary of the navy, commodore, post captain and commander, which latter rank, being that of the officer in question, seemed so elevated as rather to excite the surprise of his auditors.

Five weeks after the departure of the Preble, on the 29th of May, Commander Matheson, in the British surveying ship Mariner, anchored in the bay of Jedo, off the town of Uragawa, and three miles higher up, according to his statement, than any other vessel had been allowed to proceed. As he entered the bay, he was met by ten boats. A paper was handed up, in Dutch and French, requesting him not to anchor, nor cruise in the bay; but when the Japanese found he was determined to proceed, they offered to tow him. During the night he was watched by boats and from the shore. Having a Japanese interpreter on board, he communicated the object of his visit, and sent his card on shore to the governor of the town, with a note in Chinese, proposing to wait upon him; to which the governor replied, that it was contrary to the law for foreigners to land, and that he should lose his life if he allowed Captain Matheson to come on shore, or to proceed any higher up the bay.

The survey of the anchorage having been completed, Matheson proceeded, on the 31st, to the bay of Samoda, on the other side of the promontory of Idsu, where he spent five days in surveying, and was detained two days longer by the weather. After the second day, he was visited by an interpreter, who understood Dutch, and by two officers from Urawaga, apparently spies on each other, to watch his proceedings; and finally an officer of rank, from a town thirteen miles off, came on board. There were three fishing villages at the anchorage, and he landed for a short time, but the Japanese officers followed, begging and entreating him to go on board again.

The ship was supplied with plenty of fish, and boats were furnished to tow her out.

In 1850, the Japanese sent to Batavia, in the annual Dutch ship, three American sailors who had been left in 1848 on one of the Kurile Islands, also thirty-one other sailors belonging to the English whaling-ship Edmund, of Robertstown, wrecked on the coast of Jeso. At the same time, probably in consequence of the numerous recent visits to their coasts, the Dutch were requested to give notice to other nations, that although it had been determined, in 1842, to furnish with necessary supplies such foreign vessels as arrived on the coast in distress, this was not to be understood as indicating the least change as to the policy of the rigorous exclusion of foreigners.

CHAPTER XLV.

FOREIGN RELATIONS — NEW SIOGUN. — DUTCH TRADE. — CHINESE TRADE. — AMERICAN EMBASSY. — ITS OBJECT. — LETTER TO THE EMPEROR. — PERRY'S FIRST VISIT TO THE BAY OF JEDO. — DEATH OF THE SIOGUN. — PERRY'S SECOND VISIT TO THE BAY OF JEDO. — NEGOTIATION OF A TREATY. — THE TREATY AS AGREED TO. — SIMODA. — HAKODADE. — ADDITIONAL REGULATIONS. — JAPANESE CURRENCY. — BURROW'S VISIT TO THE BAY OF JEDO. — THIRD VISIT OF THE AMERICAN STEAMERS. — RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH NEGOTIATIONS. — EXCHANGE OF RATIFICATIONS. — EARTHQUAKE.

We have seen in the last chapter how the whale fishery, on the one hand, and the opening of China to foreign trade, on the other, had more and more drawn attention to Japan; in the conduct of whose functionaries, however, no indication appeared of any disposition to abandon their ancient exclusive policy. It has even been asserted* that a new Siogun, who had succeeded in 1842 (after a fifty-five years' reign on the part of his predecessor), had imposed new restrictions on foreign products, and, by special encouragement to home productions of similar kinds, had endeavored to supersede the necessity of receiving anything from abroad. It is certain that the Dutch trade rather diminished than increased. The amount of that trade, from 1825 to 1833, inclusive, is stated by Jancigny, from official returns, or those reputed to be such, at 289,150 florins ($115,620) for importations, and 702,695 florins ($281,078) for exportations. In 1846, the importations reached only 231,117 fr. ($92,446), and the exportations 552,319 fr. ($220,927); and those of the preceding year had been about the same. The private trade, and the attempts at smuggling connected with it, were very narrowly watched. Within the preceding ten years, one interpreter

* By Siebold, in *Moniteur des Indes*, vol. II., p. 846, in his "Essay on the Commerce of Japan."

had been executed, and another had been driven to cut himself open, in consequence of complicity in smuggling. The private trade had been farmed out, for the benefit of those interested in it, at 30,000 fl. ($12,000) annually — the amount at which Kämpfer had reckoned the profits from that source of the director alone. Among the Dutch imports upon government account, woollens, silks, velvets, cotton goods, gold, silver, tin, lead, mercury, and a few other articles, are mentioned. Sugar, formerly a leading article, no longer appears on the list. The returns continued to be exclusively in camphor and copper, the latter furnished by the Japanese government at the old rates, much below the current price, by which advantage alone was the Dutch trade sustained. Among the private importations were spices, chemicals, and a great variety of Paris trinkets, for which various Japanese manufactures and products were taken in exchange.

The Chinese trade had declined not less than that of the Dutch. The ten junks a year, to which it was now restricted, all came from Sha-po (not far from Chusan), half of them in January and the other half in August — their cargoes, which include a great variety of articles, being partly furnished by private merchants who come over in them, but chiefly by a commercial company at Sha-po, for whom the captains of the junks act as supercargoes. Except as to some trifling articles, this trade seems, like that of the Dutch, to be pretty much in the hands of the government, who, or some privileged company under them, purchase the imports and furnish a return cargo to each junk, two fifths in copper and the remainder in other articles. The Chinese, however, still continued to be allowed much more liberty than the Dutch of personal intercourse with the inhabitants of Nagasaki.

The settlement of California, the new trade opened thence with China, and the idea of steam communication across the Pacific, for which the coal of Japan might be needed, combined with the extension of the whale fishery in the Northern Japanese seas to increase the desire in America for access to the ports of Japan. Shortly after the visit of the Preble, the American government resolved to send an envoy thither, backed by such a naval force, as would ensure him a respectful hearing — the cases of Biddle and Glynn seeming to prove that the humoring policy could not be relied upon,

and that the only way to deal successfully with the Japanese was to show a resolution not to take no for an answer.

Accordingly, Mr. Webster, as Secretary of State, prepared a letter from the President to the Emperor of Japan; also a letter of instructions to the American naval commander in the China seas, to whom it was resolved to entrust the duty of envoy, and whose force was to be strengthened by additional ships. The sailing, however, of these ships was delayed till after Mr. Webster's death; and in the mean time Commodore Matthew C. Perry was selected as the head of the expedition. A new letter,* dated Nov. 5, 1852, addressed from the State Department to the Secretary of the Navy, thus defined its objects:

"1. To effect some permanent arrangement for the protection of American seamen and property wrecked on these islands, or driven into their ports by stress of weather.

"2. The permission to American vessels to enter one or more of their ports, in order to obtain supplies of provisions, water, fuel, &c.; or, in case of disasters, to refit so as to enable them to prosecute their voyage. It is very desirable to have permission to establish a dépôt for coal, if not on one of the principal islands, at least on some small, uninhabited one, of which it is said there are several in their vicinity.

"3. The permission to our vessels to enter one or more of their ports for the purpose of disposing of their cargoes by sale or barter."

The mission was to be of a pacific character, as the president had no power to declare war; yet the show of force was evidently relied upon, as more likely than anything else to weigh with the Japanese. The Dutch government, it was stated, had instructed their agents at Desima to do all they could to promote the success of the expedition. Indeed, if we may believe Jancigny,† who speaks from information obtained during a residence at Bata-

* The official documents relating to this expedition were printed by order of U. S. Senate, 33d Cong., 2d Sess. Ex. Doc. No. 34.

† Japan, p. 197. Perry, to judge by his letters (Dec. 14, 1852, May 6, 1853), did not place much reliance on the aid of the Dutch. The British Admiralty showed their good will by furnishing the latest charts and sailing directions for the Eastern seas.

via in 1844–45, the King of Holland had, as long ago as that time, addressed a letter to the Emperor of Japan, urging him to abandon the policy of exclusion. The letter of instructions disavowed any wish to obtain exclusive privileges; but, as a matter of policy, nothing was to be said about other nations.

A new letter to the Emperor of Japan was also prepared in the following terms:

"MILLARD FILLMORE, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN.

"GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND:

"I send you this public letter by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, an officer of the highest rank in the navy of the United States, and commander of the squadron now visiting your imperial majesty's dominions.

"I have directed Commodore Perry to assure your imperial majesty that I entertain the kindest feelings towards your majesty's person and government, and that I have no other object in sending him to Japan but to propose to your imperial majesty that the United States and Japan should live in friendship and have commercial intercourse with each other.

"The constitution and laws of the United States forbid all interference with the religious or political concerns of other nations. I have particularly charged Commodore Perry to abstain from every act which could possibly disturb the tranquillity of your imperial majesty's dominions.

"The United States of America reach from ocean to ocean, and our Territory of Oregon and State of California lie directly opposite to the dominions of your imperial majesty. Our steamships can go from California to Japan in eighteen days.

"Our great state of California produces about sixty millions of dollars in gold every year, besides silver, quicksilver, precious stones, and many other valuable articles. Japan is also a rich and fertile country, and produces many very valuable articles. Your imperial majesty's subjects are skilled in many of the arts. I am desirous that our two countries should trade with each other, for the benefit both of Japan and the United States.

"We know that the ancient laws of your imperial majesty's government do not allow of foreign trade except with the Chinese and the Dutch; but, as the state of the world changes, and new governments are formed, it seems to be wise, from time to time, to make new laws. There was a time when the ancient laws of your imperial majesty's government were first made.

"About the same time America, which is sometimes called the New World, was first discovered and settled by the Europeans. For a long time there were but a few people, and they were poor. They have now become quite numerous; their commerce is very extensive; and they think that if your imperial majesty were so far to change the ancient laws as to allow a free trade between the two countries, it would be extremely beneficial to both.

"If your imperial majesty is not satisfied that it would be safe altogether to abrogate the ancient laws, which forbid foreign trade, they might be suspended for five or ten years, so as to try the experiment. If it does not prove as beneficial as was hoped, the ancient laws can be restored. The United States often limit their treaties with foreign states to a few years, and then renew them or not, as they please.

"I have directed Commodore Perry to mention another thing to your imperial majesty. Many of our ships pass every year from California to China; and great numbers of our people pursue the whale fishery near the shores of Japan. It sometimes happens, in stormy weather, that one of our ships is wrecked on your imperial majesty's shores. In all such cases we ask, and expect, that our unfortunate people should be treated with kindness, and that their property should be protected, till we can send a vessel and bring them away. We are very much in earnest in this.

"Commodore Perry is also directed by me to represent to your imperial majesty that we understand there is a great abundance of coal and provisions in the empire of Japan. Our steamships, in crossing the great ocean, burn a great deal of coal, and it is not convenient to bring it all the way from America. We wish that our steamships and other vessels should be allowed to stop at Japan and supply themselves with coal, provisions and water. They will pay for them in money, or anything else your imperial majesty's subjects may prefer; and we request your imperial majesty to appoint a convenient port, in the southern part of the empire, where our vessels may stop for this purpose. We are very desirous of this.

"These are the only objects for which I have sent Commodore Perry, with a powerful squadron, to pay a visit to your imperial majesty's renowned city of Yedo: friendship, commerce, a supply of coal and provisions, and protection for our shipwrecked people.

"We have directed Commodore Perry to beg your imperial majesty's acceptance of a few presents. They are of no great value in themselves; but some of them may serve as specimens of the articles manufactured in the United States, and they are intended as tokens of our sincere and respectful friendship.

"May the Almighty have your imperial majesty in his great and holy keeping!

"In witness whereof, I have caused the great seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, and have subscribed the same with my name, at the city of Washington, in America, the seat of my government, on the thirteenth day of the month of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two.

Your good friend,

[Seal attached.]

"MILLARD FILLMORE.

"By the President:

EDWARD EVERETT, *Secretary of State.*" *

* As some persons may feel a curiosity to see Mr. Webster's original letter, and as it is not to be found in the edition of Mr. Webster's writings edited by

Furnished with these orders, and this letter splendidly engrossed and enclosed in a gold box of the value of a thousand dollars, and provided also with a variety of presents, Commodore Perry,

Mr. Everett, I have copied it from the Senate Documents, 1851–52, vol. IX. The expansion given to it in the letter actually sent was not according to Japanese taste, which greatly affects brevity.

"To His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan.

"Great and Good Friend:

"I send you this letter by an envoy of my own appointment, an officer of high rank in this country, who is no missionary of religion. He goes by my command to bear to you my greeting and good wishes, and to promote friendship and commerce between the two countries.

"You know that the United States of America now extend from sea to sea; that the great countries of Oregon and California are parts of the United States, and that from these countries, which are rich in gold, and silver, and precious stones, our steamers can reach the shores of your happy land in less than twenty days.

"Many of our ships will now pass in every year, and some perhaps in every week, between California and China. These ships must pass along the coast of your empire; storms and winds may cause them to be wrecked on your shores, and we ask and expect from your friendship and your greatness, kindness for our men and protection for our property. We wish that our people may be permitted to trade with your people; but we shall not authorize them to break any laws of your empire.

"Our object is friendly commercial intercourse, and nothing more. You have many productions which we should be glad to buy; and we have productions which might suit your people.

"Your empire has a great abundance of coal; this is an article which our steamships, in going from California to China, must use. They would be glad that a harbor in your empire should be appointed to which coal might be brought, and where they might always be able to purchase it.

"In many other respects, commerce between your empire and our country would be useful to both. Let us consider well what new interests arise from these recent events which have brought our two countries so near together, and what purposes of friendship, amity and intercourse, they ought to inspire in the breasts of those who govern both countries. Farewell.

"Given under my hand and seal, at the city of Washington, the 10th day of May, 1851, and of the independence of the United States the seventy-fifth.

[L. S.]

"M. Fillmore.

"By the President:

"D. Webster, *Secretary of State.*"

towards the end of 1852, sailed from the United States in the steam-frigate Mississippi, and, after touching at Madeira and the Cape of Good Hope, arrived at Hong Kong in April, 1853, whence he proceeded to Shanghai. The dispersion of the vessels of the squadron, delay in the arrival of others from the United States, difficulty in obtaining coal, and the claim of the American merchants in China, in consideration of existing civil commotions, to the protecting presence of a naval force, caused some delays. But, at length, after touching at Lew Chew, and making a visit to the Bonin Islands,* Perry, with the steam-frigate Susquehanna, now the flag-ship, the Mississippi, and the sloops-of-war Plymouth and Saratoga, made Cape Idsu about daybreak on the 8th of July. Many rumors had been current on the coast of China of extensive warlike preparations by the Japanese, aided by the Dutch, and the squadron was fully prepared for a hostile reception. Perry had made up his mind, instead of attempting to conciliate by yielding, to stand upon his dignity to the utmost, to allow no petty annoyances, and to demand as a right, instead of soliciting as a favor, the courtesies due from one civilized nation to another.

The promontory constituting the province of Idsu appeared, as the vessels ran along it, to be a group of high mountains, their summits scarred with slides, and their sides mostly wooded, though

* These islands lie between 26° 30′ and 27° 45′ north latitude, about five hundred miles west of Lew Chew and the same distance south of Jedo, on the direct route from the Sandwich Islands to Shanghai, three thousand three hundred miles from the former, and about one thousand one hundred from the latter. They consist of three groups. The largest island is about forty miles in circumference. There are nine others, diminishing down to five or six miles of circumference, and about seventy rocky islets, all evidently of volcanic origin. The extent of the whole is about two hundred and fifty square miles. The name is Japanese, and signifies "uninhabited," descriptive of the state in which they were found when discovered by a Japanese vessel in 1675; and, except some ineffectual attempts at penal colonization by the Japanese, so they remained till occupied, in 1830, by a colony from the Sandwich Islands, partly Americans and Europeans, and partly Sandwich-Islanders. They had been visited and claimed for the British crown in 1827, by Captain Beechey, in the surveying ship Blossom. The larger ones are fertile and well watered, but scantily wooded. The largest, called Peel's Islands by Beechey, has a good harbor, and here Perry bought a piece of land from a squatter for a coal dépôt.

here and there a cultivated spot could be seen. By noon the ships reached Cape Sagami, which separates the inner from the outer bay of Jedo. The shores of this point rose in abrupt bluffs two hundred feet high, with green dells running down to the water-side. Further off were groves and cultivated fields, and mountains in the distance.

Leaving behind some twelve or fifteen Japanese boats, which put off from Cape Sagami to intercept them, the vessels stood up through the narrowest part of the bay, not more than five to eight miles wide, but expanding afterwards to fifteen miles, having now also in sight the eastern shore, forming a part of the province of Awa.*

Within half an hour after passing Cape Sagami, they made another bold promontory from the west, forming a second entrance to the upper bay. In the bight formed by it lay the town of Uragawa, visible from the ships, which, sounding their way, anchored within a mile and a half of the promontory, — a mile or more in advance of the anchorage ground of the Columbus and Vincennes.

As the ships dropped their anchors two or three guns or mortars were fired from the second promontory, and four or five boats put off. They were of unpainted wood, very sharp, their greatest breadth well towards the stern, and propelled with great rapidity by tall, athletic rowers, naked, save a cloth about the loins, who shouted lustily as they pulled. In the stern of each boat was a small flag, with three horizontal stripes, the middle one black, the others white, and about it were four or five well-dressed men with two swords in their girdles.

Some parley took place before anybody was admitted on board, that favor being refused except to the person highest in authority in the town. The conversation was carried on in Dutch, which the Japanese interpreter spoke very well; and, from what he said, it was evident that the vessels had been expected. After a long parley, in which the high rank of the commodore, and the necessity of his being met by persons of corresponding rank, were very much insisted upon, an officer, representing himself as second in command at the town in sight, was admitted on board. The commodore, how-

* There is another province of the same name in the island of Sikokf. That above-mentioned is otherwise called Fusiu.

ever, declined to see him in person, and turned him over to Mr. Contee, the flag lieutenant, who, assisted by the two interpreters — one for Dutch, the other for Chinese* — had a long interview with him and his interpreter in the cabin. He was told that the object of the expedition was to deliver a letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor, and that some high officer must be sent on board to receive it; also, that the squadron would not submit to be watched and guarded, after the Japanese fashion, but that all the guard-boats must withdraw. The officer, as usual, was very inquisitive. He wanted to know whether the vessels came from Boston, New York, or Washington, how many men they had, &c., &c.; but these questions he was given to understand were regarded as impertinent.

Seeing the determination evinced, the Japanese officer, by name *Tabroske*, returned on shore, taking back his official notifications in French, Dutch and English, addressed to ships arriving on the coast (like those given p. 501), which the lieutenant refused to receive. He was followed by the boats, which, after that, kept at a respectful distance. He came back in about an hour to excuse his superior from receiving the letter addressed to the emperor. He spoke of Nagasaki as the proper place for foreign ships to touch at, and doubted if the letter would be answered; but all this was cut short by the assurance that if his superior did not send for the letter, the ships would proceed still higher up the bay to deliver it themselves; upon which information, much agitated, he stipulated for permission to return in the morning. As he departed, looking at the long gun in the cabin, he exclaimed, with an interrogative look, "Paixhan?" showing that the Japanese were not ignorant of the modern improvements in gunnery any more than of American geography.

It was noticed that, towards night, the boatmen put on their Japanese gowns, most of them blue, with white stripes on the sleeves, meeting angular-wise on the shoulders, and with a symbol or badge on the back. Others wore gowns of red and white stripes,

* The squadron had, as Chinese interpreter, Mr. S. W. Williams, an American, long resident at Macao, one of the editors of the *Chinese Repository*, and one of the party of the Morrison, to carry back the shipwrecked Japanese, from whom he had obtained some knowledge of that language.

with a black lozenge upon the back. A few had broad bamboo hats, like a shallow basin inverted; but most of them were bareheaded. The officers wore light and beautifully lackered hats, with a gilded symbol in front.

During the night watch-fires blazed along the coast, and bells were heard sounding the hours. The next morning (Saturday), *Koyama Yezaimon*, first in command at the town, came on board, and made another attempt to beg off from receiving the letter to the emperor. Finally, he proposed to send to Jedo for permission, and was allowed three days to do it in.

Meanwhile, surveying parties from the ships ran up the bay a distance of four miles, finding everywhere from thirty to forty fathoms of water. They sounded round the bight within which the ships lay, keeping about a cable's length from the shore, and finding five fathoms. Yezaimon represented that this survey was against the Japanese laws, but was told that if forbidden by the laws of Japan, it was commanded by the laws of America. On approaching the forts, of which there were five, two apparently of recent construction, the soldiers, armed with matchlocks, came out; but, as the boats drew near, they retired again. These forts were very feeble, mounting only fourteen guns in the whole, none larger than nine-pounders. Of soldiers, about four hundred were seen, many of them armed with spears. There was also, as usual, a great show of canvas screens; but, on the whole, the warlike means of the Japanese seemed contemptible. From the town to the end of the promontory, a distance of a mile and a half, was an unbroken line of villages. At least a hundred small craft lay in the harbor. The hills behind, some five hundred feet high, were dotted with pines and other trees. In the morning and evening, when the air was clear, mount Fusi might be seen in the west, sixty miles distant. The presence of the American ships did not seem to disturb the coasting trade. Sixty or seventy large junks, besides hundreds of boats and fishing-smacks, daily passed up and down the bay, to and from Jedo.

On Monday, the 11th, the same surveying party proceeded up the bay some ten miles, followed by the Mississippi. They were constantly met by government boats, the officers on board which urged them by signs to return, but of which they took no notice.

Deep soundings were everywhere obtained, with a bottom of soft mud. A deep bay was found on the western shore, with good and safe anchoring ground.

In the evening, Yezaimon returned on board, well pleased, apparently, to be able to give information of the probability of good news from Jedo, but rather troubled at the explorations by the boats. The flag lieutenant, with whom he had his interviews, describes him as "a gentleman, clever, polished, well-informed, a fine, large man, about thirty-four, of most excellent countenance, taking his wine freely, and a boon companion."

The next day (the 12th) he brought information that the emperor would send down a high officer to receive the letter. No answer would be given immediately, but one would be forwarded through the Dutch or Chinese. This latter proposition the commodore treated as an insult. As, however, if he waited for an answer, excuses might easily be found for protracting his stay in an inconvenient manner, and at last wearying him out, he agreed to allow time for its preparation, and to return to receive it. The following Thursday (the 14th) was appointed for the interview with the commissioners appointed to receive the letter, which was to take place two miles south of the town, at a picturesque spot, on the left side of a narrow valley, extending inland from the head of the bight. Its retired situation, and the facility it afforded for the display of a military force, were probably the motives of its selection.

At the hour appointed for the meeting, as the two steamers approached the spot, long lines of canvas walls were seen stretching, crescent-wise, quite round the head of the bight, and in front files of soldiers with a multitude of brilliant banners. Near the centre of the crescent were nine tall standards, with broad scarlet pennons, in the rear of which could be seen the roof of the house prepared for the interview. On the right, a line of fifty or sixty boats was drawn up, parallel to the beach, each with a red flag at its stern.

The foremost files of the Japanese soldiers stood about a hundred yards from the beach, in somewhat loose and straggling order. The greater part were behind the canvas screens. There were a number of horses to be seen, and in the background a body of cavalry. The Japanese stated the number of troops at five thou-

sand. On the slope of the hill, near the village, was collected a crowd of spectators, of whom many were women.

As soon as the steamers dropped their anchors, they were approached by two boats, containing their former visitors, the first and second officers of the town, with the interpreters, very richly dressed in silk brocade, bordered with velvet, and having on their garments of ceremony. The steamers lay with their broadsides to the shore, ready for action in case of treachery. Fifteen launches and cutters were got ready, from which three hundred and twenty persons, officers, seamen, marines, and musicians, were landed on an extemporaneous jetty which the Japanese had formed of bags of sand. Last of all the commodore landed with due formality, when the whole body, preceded by the Japanese officers and interpreters, marched to the house of reception, carrying with them the president's letter, the box which held it wrapped in scarlet cloth, as was also that containing the letter of credence. In front of the houses prepared for the interview were two old brass four-pounders, apparently Spanish, and on each side a company of soldiers, those on one side armed with matchlocks, those on the other with old Tower muskets, with flint locks and bayonets. The reception building was a temporary structure, evidently put up for the occasion. The first apartment, about forty feet square, was of canvas. The floor was covered with white cotton cloth, with a pathway of red felt leading across to a raised inner apartment, wholly carpeted with the same red felt. This apartment, of which the front was entirely open, was hung with fine cloth, stamped with the imperial symbols in white on a ground of violet. On the right was a row of arm-chairs for the commodore and his staff. On the opposite side sat the two commissioners appointed to receive the letters, and who were announced by the interpreters as the princes of Idsu and Iwami. The former was a man about fifty, with a very pleasing and intelligent face. The latter was older by fifteen years or so, wrinkled with age, and of looks much less prepossessing. Both were splendidly dressed, in heavy robes of silk tissue, elaborately ornamented with threads of gold and silver. As the commodore entered, both rose and bowed gravely, but immediately resumed their seats and remained silent and passive as statues.

At the end of the room was a large scarlet-lackered box, stand-

ing on gilded feet, beside which Yezaimon and one of the interpreters knelt, at the same time signifying that all things were ready for the reception of the letters. They were brought in, and the boxes containing them being opened so as to display the writing and the golden seals, they were placed upon the scarlet box, and along with them translations in Dutch and Chinese, as well as an English transcript. The prince of Iwami then handed to the interpreter, who gave it to the commodore, an official receipt in Japanese, to which the interpreter added a Dutch translation, which translated literally into English was as follows:

"The letter of the President of the United States of North America, and copy, are hereby received and delivered to the emperor. Many times it has been communicated that business relating to foreign countries cannot be transacted here in Uragawa, but in Nagasaki. Now, it has been observed that the admiral, in his quality of ambassador of the president, would be insulted by it; the justice of this has been acknowledged; consequently the abovementioned letter is hereby received, in opposition to the Japanese law.

"Because the place is not designed to treat of anything from foreigners, so neither can conference nor entertainment take place. The letter being received, you will leave here."

The commodore remarked, when this receipt was delivered to him, that he should return again, probably in April or May, for an answer. "With all the ships?" asked the interpreter. "Yes, and probably with more," was the reply. Nothing more was said on either side. As the commodore departed, the commissioners rose and remained standing, and so the interview ended, without a single word uttered on their part.

The Japanese officers of the town, with the Japanese interpreters, accompanied the American party back to the Susquehanna, whose machinery they examined with much interest. When off the town, they were set ashore; but the steamers, to show how lightly the injunction to leave was regarded, proceeded up the bay, and anchored a short distance above the point reached by the Mississippi. In spite of the solicitude of the Japanese officers, who came again on board, the whole bight between the promontory of Uragawa and another north of it was carefully surveyed. At the head a river was found. The shores were studded with villages, whose inhabitants offered to the surveying party cold water, and peaches from

their gardens. To the place where the steamers lay the name was given of "American anchorage."

The next day (Friday, the 15th), the Mississippi proceeded on an excursion ten miles further up, and reached, as was supposed, within eight or ten miles of the capital. On the western shore were seen two large towns. On the extremity of a cape in front, some four miles distant, stood a tall white tower, like a light-house. Three or four miles beyond was a crowd of shipping, supposed to be the anchorage of Sinagawa, the southern suburb of Jedo. At the point where the steamer put about, she had twenty fathoms of water. On Saturday, the 16th, the vessels moved to a new anchorage, five or six miles down the bay, and much nearer the shore, and here the surveying operations were renewed. The same day an interchange of presents took place with Yezaimon, who, however, was induced to accept those offered to him only by the positive refusal of his own, except on that condition. Thus pressed, he finally took them, except some arms — articles, he said, which the Japanese neither gave nor received. In the afternoon he came again, in excellent humor, his conduct probably having been approved on shore, bringing a quantity of fowls, in light wicker coops, and three or four thousand eggs, in boxes, for which a box of garden-seeds was accepted in return.

The next day, 17th, and the tenth since their arrival, the vessels weighed and stood for Lew Chew, the bay being covered with boats, to witness their departure.*

Commodore Perry spent the remainder of the year on the coast of China, keeping one vessel, however, at Lew Chew, and prosecuting the survey of the Bonin Islands. Shortly after his visit, the Siogun died, and an attempt was made to take advantage of that circumstance to delay or prevent the return of the American ships. A communication, forwarded to Batavia by the Dutch ship that left Nagasaki in November, and communicated by the Dutch governor-general at Batavia to the commodore, represented that the necessary mourning for the deceased sovereign, and other arrangements consequent on his death, as well as the necessity of consulting

* The account of this visit is drawn partly from Commodore Perry's official report, and partly from the letters of Lieutenant Contee and others, published in the newspapers.

all the princes, must necessarily delay the answer to the president's letter, and suggested the danger of confusion, or "broil," should the squadron come back at so unseasonable a moment.

Undeterred, however, by this representation, on the 12th of February, 1854, Commodore Perry reäppeared in the bay of Jedo, with three steam frigates, four sloops-of-war, and two store-ships, and the steamers taking the sailing vessels in tow, they all moved up to the American anchorage.

About two weeks were spent here in fixing upon a place to negotiate, the Japanese importuning the commodore to go back to Kama Kura, twenty miles below Uragawa, or, at least, to the latter place, while he insisted upon going to Jedo. As he declined to yield, and caused the channel to be sounded out within four miles of Jedo, they proposed, as the place of meeting, the village of Yokohama, containing about ten thousand people, and situated on the shore, just opposite the anchorage of the ships. To this the commodore agreed, and the ships drew in and moored in line, with broadsides bearing upon the shore, and covering an extent of five miles.

"On the 8th of March," says a letter dated on board the Vandalia, and published in the New York *Journal of Commerce*, "the day appointed for the first meeting, about nine hundred officers, seamen and marines, armed to the teeth, landed, and, with drums beating and colors flying, were drawn up on the beach, ready to receive the commodore. As soon as he stepped on shore the bands struck up, salutes were fired, the marines presented arms, and, followed by a long escort of officers, he marched up between the lines and entered the house erected by the Japanese expressly for the occasion. Thousands of Japanese soldiers crowded the shore and the neighboring elevations, looking on with a good deal of curiosity and interest. The house was nothing but a plain frame building, hastily put up, containing one large room — the audience hall — and several smaller, for the convenience of attendants, &c. The floor was covered with mats, and very pretty painted screens adorned the sides. Long tables and benches, covered with red woollen stuff, placed parallel to each other, three handsome braziers, filled with burning charcoal, on the floor between them, and a few violet-colored crape hangings suspended from the ceiling, completed the furniture of the room. As we entered we took our seats at one of the tables. The Japanese commissioners soon came in, and placed

themselves opposite to us, at the other table; while behind us both, seated on the floor on their knees* (their usual position, for they do not use chairs), was a crowd of Japanese officers, forming the train of the commissioners.

"The business was carried on in the Dutch language, through interpreters, of whom they have several who speak very well, and two or three who speak a little English. They were on their knees, between the commissioners and the commodore. Our interpreter was seated by the side of the latter. It was curious to see the intolerable ceremony observed by them, quite humiliating to a democratic republican. A question proposed had to pass first through the interpreters, and then through several officers ascending in rank, before it could reach the commissioners, every one bowing his forehead to the floor before he addressed his superior. Refreshments were served in elegantly-lackered dishes; first of all, tea, which, as in China, is the constant beverage; then different kinds of candy and sponge cake (they are excellent confectioners, and very fond of sugar); lastly, oranges and a palatable liquor distilled from rice, called saki. A flimsy banquet like this was not very agreeable to such hungry individuals as we, and we were the more disappointed, for, the Japanese using only chopsticks, we had, previously to coming ashore, taken the precaution, as we shrewdly thought, to provide ourselves with knives and forks. Imagine, then, our chagrin, when finding nothing substantial upon which to employ them. What was left on our plates was wrapped in paper, and given to us to carry away, according to the usual custom in Japan.

"The commissioners were intelligent-looking men, richly dressed in gay silk petticoat pantaloons, and upper garments resembling in shape ladies' short gowns. Dark-colored stockings, and two elegant swords pushed through a twisted silk girdle, finished the costume. Straw sandals are worn, but are always slipped off upon entering a house. They do not cover the head, the top and front part of which is shaved, and the back and side hair, being brought up, is tied so as to form a tail, three or four inches long, that extends forward upon the bald pate, terminating about half way between the apex and the forehead. It is a very comfortable

* Rather on their heels.

fashion, and, were it not for the quantity of grease used in dressing it, would be a very cleanly one.

"Two audiences a week were held, at which the same programme was performed as related above, except that we fared more luxuriously.* Becoming better acquainted with our taste, they feasted us with a broth made of fish, boiled shrimps, hard-boiled eggs, and very good raw oysters. At one of the interviews (March 13), the presents from our government were delivered. They consisted of cloths, agricultural implements, fire-arms, &c., and a beautiful locomotive, tender, and passenger-car, one fourth the ordinary size, which we put in motion on a circular track, at the rate of twenty miles an hour. A mile of magnetic telegraph was also erected on shore, and put in operation. The Japanese were more interested in it than anything else, but never manifested any wonder. So capable are they of concealing and controlling their feelings, that they would examine the guns, machinery, &c., of the steamers, without expressing the slightest astonishment. They are a much finer-looking race than the Chinese — intelligent, polite, and hospitable, but proud, licentious, unforgiving, and revengeful."

The death of a marine afforded an opportunity at the first meeting with the commissioners, of demanding a burying-place. It was proposed to send the body to Nagasaki; but, as the commodore would not listen to that, a spot was assigned near one of their temples, and in view of the ships, where the body was buried, with all the forms of the English church service, after which the Japanese surrounded the grave with a neat enclosure of bamboo.

A formal letter of reply to the propositions contained in the letters delivered at the former visit, repeated the story of a change of succession, and the necessity of delays. The justice, however, of the demands in relation to shipwrecked seamen, wood, water, provisions, and coal, was conceded; but five years were asked before opening a new harbor, the Americans, in the mean time, to resort to Nagasaki.

Of Nagasaki, however, the commodore would not hear, nor of any restrictions like those imposed on the Dutch and Chinese at

* The number of American officers present at these interviews was from twenty to fifty.

that port. He demanded three harbors, one in Nipon, one in Jeso, and a third in Lew Chew. As to the two last, the Japanese pleaded that they were very distant countries, and only partially subject to the emperor, especially the last, upon which the commodore did not insist. In Nipon he asked for Uragawa, and for Matsmai in Jeso, but acceded to the Japanese offer of Simoda and Hakodade, having first sent a ship to examine the former.

The commissioners were exceedingly tenacious, even upon points of phraseology, but gave evidence of acting in entire good faith, and the commodore conceded everything which did not seem absolutely essential. The extent of the liberty to be allowed to American visitors was one of the greatest difficulties.

Shortly before the treaty was concluded, the commodore gave an entertainment on board the Powhatan to the Japanese officials, about seventy in all. In conformity to their customs, two tables were spread, one in the cabin for the commissioners and the captains of the fleet, another on deck for the inferior officers. "They did full justice," says the letter-writer already quoted, "to American cookery, and were exceedingly fond of champagne, under the influence of which they became so very merry and familiar that one of them vigorously embraced the commodore, who, until his epaulets began to suffer in the struggle, was very good-naturedly disposed to endure it."

Three copies of the treaty, in Japanese, signed by the commissioners, were delivered to the commodore, for which he exchanged three copies in English, signed by himself, with Dutch and Chinese translations. This method was adopted to satisfy the commissioners, who alleged that no Japanese could lawfully put his name to any document written in a foreign language. The TREATY was as follows: —

"The United States of America and the Empire of Japan, desiring to establish firm, lasting, and sincere friendship between the two nations, have resolved to fix, in a manner clear and positive, by means of a treaty or general convention of peace and amity, the rules which shall in future be mutually observed in the intercourse of their respective countries; for which most desirable object, the President of the United States has conferred full powers on his commissioner, Matthew Calbraith Perry, special Ambassador of the United States to Japan; and the august Sovereign of Japan has given similar

full powers to his commissioners, Hayashi-Daigaku-no-kami, Ido, prince of Tsus-Sima, Izawa, prince of Mimasaki, and Udono, member of the Board of Revenue.

"And the said commissioners, after having exchanged their said full powers, and duly considered the premises, have agreed to the following articles:

"ARTICLE I. — There shall be a perfect, permanent, and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity, between the United States of America on the one part, and between their people, respectfully [respectively], without exception of persons or places.

"ARTICLE II. — The port of Simoda, in the principality of Idzu, and the port of Hakodade, in the principality of Matsmai, are granted by the Japanese as ports for the reception of American ships, where they can be supplied with wood, water, provisions, and coal, and other articles their necessities may require, as far as the Japanese have them. The time for opening the first-named port is immediately on signing this treaty; the last-named port is to be opened immediately after the same day in the ensuing Japanese year.

"NOTE. — A tariff of prices shall be given by the Japanese officers of the things which they can furnish, payment for which shall be made in gold and silver coin.

"ARTICLE III. — Whenever ships of the United States are thrown or wrecked on the coast of Japan, the Japanese vessels will assist them, and carry their crews to Simoda or Hakodade, and hand them over to their countrymen appointed to receive them. Whatever articles the shipwrecked men may have preserved shall likewise be restored; and the expenses incurred in the rescue and support of Americans and Japanese who may thus be thrown upon the shores of either nation are not to be refunded.

"ARTICLE IV. — Those shipwrecked persons, and other citizens of the United States, shall be free as in other countries, and not subjected to confinement, but shall be amenable to just laws.

"ARTICLE V. — Shipwrecked men, and other citizens of the United States, temporarily living at Simoda and Hakodade, shall not be subject to such restrictions and confinement as the Dutch and Chinese are at Nagasaki; but shall be free at Simoda to go where they please within the limits of seven Japanese miles (or *ri*) from a small island in the harbor of Simoda, marked on the accompanying chart, hereto appended; and shall, in like manner, be free to go where they please at Hakodade, within limits to be defined after the visit of the United States squadron to that place.

"ARTICLE VI. — If there be any other sort of goods wanted, or any business which shall require to be arranged, there shall be careful deliberation between the parties in order to settle such matters.

"ARTICLE VII. — It is agreed that ships of the United States resorting to the ports open to them, shall be permitted to exchange gold and silver coin, and articles of goods, for other articles of goods, under such regulations

as shall be temporarily established by the Japanese government for that purpose. It is stipulated, however, that the ships of the United States shall be permitted to carry away whatever articles they are unwilling to exchange.

"ARTICLE VIII. — Wood, water, provisions, coal, and goods required, shall only be procured through the agency of Japanese officers appointed for that purpose, and in no other manner.

"ARTICLE IX. — It is agreed, that if, at any future day, the government of Japan shall grant to any other nation or nations privileges and advantages which are not herein granted to the United States and the citizens thereof, that these same privileges and advantages shall be granted likewise to the United States and to the citizens thereof without any consultation or delay.

"ARTICLE X. — Ships of the United States shall be permitted to resort to no other ports in Japan but Simoda and Hakodade, unless in distress or forced by stress of weather.

"ARTICLE XI. — There shall be appointed by the government of the United States consuls or agents to reside in Simoda, at any time after the expiration of eighteen months from the date of the signing of this treaty; provided that either of the two governments deem such arrangement necessary.

"ARTICLE XII. — The present convention, having been concluded and duly signed, shall be obligatory, and faithfully observed by the United States of America and Japan, and by the citizens and subjects of each respective power; and it is to be ratified and approved by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by the august Sovereign of Japan, and the ratification shall be exchanged within eighteen months from the date of the signature thereof, or sooner if practicable.

"In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries of the United States of America and the empire of Japan, aforesaid, have signed and sealed these presents.

"Done at Kanagawa,* this thirty-first day of March, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, and of Kayei the seventh year, third month, and third day."

The day after the signing of the treaty a number of presents were sent on board for the president, the commodore, and other officers of the squadron.

* The treaty is dated at Kanagawa, probably because it was the nearest town. See Kämpfer's mention of it, p. 358. Mr. Bidinger, chaplain of the squadron, in one of his excursions on shore, managed to reach and pass through it. He found it a large town.

In agreeing to negotiate at Yokohama, Commodore Perry had stated his intention to carry the ships, at some future time, close up to Jedo, and to anchor them there, "as well to do honor to his imperial majesty by salutes as to be in full view of the palace, and convenient to be visited by such of the court as may desire to examine the steamers." Accordingly, on the 8th of April, to the great distress of the Japanese officials, he got under way; but, as the Japanese interpreters threatened to cut themselves open if he proceeded, he presently turned about and took a lower anchorage down the bay. The published official letters of the commander say nothing of this movement; the letters from the fleet, published in the newspapers, do not agree as to how far up the commodore went. According to one letter, Jedo was full in sight.

On the 18th of April the fleet sailed for Simoda, one of the ports granted in the treaty, of which a letter dated on board the Powhatan, and published in the New York *Tribune*, gives this account:

"Simoda is situated near Cape Fògu, sixty miles west from Point Sagami, at the entrance of the bay of Yedo. It is a good, commodious harbor, well sheltered by hills several hundred feet high, with a rock within the entrance which affords a still more protected anchorage. The town, of about one thousand houses, is situated at the north-western end of the harbor, on the banks of a small stream flowing down through a fertile valley, which is often not more than half a mile wide, but sometimes widens to one and a half miles. Several little brooks offer good watering-places for the ships. The larger Japanese junks mostly anchor at Kakizaki, a village of about three hundred houses, on the north-eastern end and opposite Simoda. There are eight temples, some of which are very large, in the town, and little chapels (*mia*) on almost every eminence, and by the roadsides.

"The country is exceedingly picturesque, and resembles very much the lower ranges of the Alps. Along the little river of Simoda are many villages, and numbers of rice-mills stamp and grind along its banks. About six miles above the bay this river separates into several branches. Following either of them, you pass through numerous gorges and glens, and finally reach the barren tops of mountains, some three thousand feet high. Their summits and the narrow table lands are covered with bushy grass, among

which a certain berry, upon which pheasants and partridges feed, grows very plentifully.

"In one of the larger temples a place has been arranged for the daguerreotype, and Mr. Brown is actively at work. He has obtained many very fine daguerreotypes of the Japanese, and will have a fine collection to show when he reaches home. Mr. Heine continues his sketching, drawing, painting, gunning, skinning, pressing, and preserving plants. Lieutenants Murray, Bent, Whiting, Nicholson, etc. etc., have been busily engaged in the survey, and deserve no small credit for their exertions and the important results they have obtained."

Of this visit to Simoda, the officer of the Vandalia already quoted thus speaks:

"Here we were permitted to go on shore and ramble about in a circuit for ten miles, much to our delight, as we all felt the want of exercise. Excepting at Yokohama, where we were not allowed to go far from the audience house, we had not been on shore since we left Lew Chew. They watched us very closely at first, sending guards of soldiers to accompany us, shutting the shops, and concealing the women; but in a few days these restrictions were removed, and we were left undisturbed to wander where we pleased. The town, containing eight thousand people, is pleasantly situated in a well-cultivated valley, surrounded by high hills that conceal from view the entrance to its safe and picturesque harbor. The streets are wide and straight, and the better class of houses two stories high, plastered, and roofed with elegant tiles.* The interior is kept very clean and neat, and the rooms, covered with mats, are separated from each other by sliding screens, that are closed or removed at pleasure. There are no chimneys in Japan. A charcoal fire is built in a little sand-pit in the middle of the floor, around which the family are usually found seated on their knees [qu. heels?], drinking tea and smoking their pipes. Not a chair or any other piece of furniture can be seen. Tubs of water are kept in front of each house, as well as on the roofs, in readiness against any fire, for conflagrations are so frequent and extensive, that whole towns are sometimes burnt down.

* See, as to the roofs in Hakodade, p. 529, and employ these two passages to reconcile the discrepancy noticed on p. 297, note.

"The temples, chiefly Buddhist, are beautifully situated in the suburbs. The entrance to them leads generally through rows of elegant trees and wild camelias. They are large, plain structures, with high peaked roofs, resembling the houses pictured on Chinese porcelain. In the space immediately in front is a large bell for summoning the faithful, a stone reservoir of holy water, and several roughly-hewn stone idols. The doorway is ornamented with curious-looking dragons and other animals, carved in wood. Upon entering, there is nothing special about the buildings worth noting, the naked sides and exposed rafters having a gloomy appearance. The altar is the only object that attracts attention. It so much resembles the Roman Catholic, that I need not describe it. Some of the idols on these altars are so similar to those I have seen in the churches in Italy, that if they were mutually translated I doubt whether either set of worshippers would discover the change. The priests count beads, shave their heads, and wear analogous robes, and the service is attended by the ringing of bells, the lighting of candles, and the burning of incense. In fact, except that the cross is nowhere to be seen, one could easily imagine himself within a Roman Catholic place of worship.

"I saw some very pretty girls here. They understand the art of applying rouge and pearl powder, as well as some of our ladies at home. The married women have a horrid and disgusting fashion of staining their teeth black."

After remaining three weeks at Simoda, which soon after was made an imperial city, the sailing-vessels departed for Hakodade, followed a few days after by the steamers. Of the island of Oosima, near the entrance of the bay of Jedo, and close to which the Powhatan passed, the *Tribune* correspondent gives the following description:

"About noon we were within three miles of the island of Oosima, and had a fine opportunity of observing the traces of volcanic action which it presents. The whole island is one immense volcano, the top of which has fallen in and formed a great basin, which incessantly belches forth white smoke and ashes. The edges of the crater are black, as if charred by fire, and on the south-western side of the island a stream of lava reaches from the summit to the sea. Some large crevices continue still smoking, and others are

filled with ashes. A bluff near the sea, about two hundred feet high, appears to be of recent formation, for the bushes and trees along the edges of the lava have a yellow, burnt appearance. The slopes of the mountain are covered with luxuriant vegetation; and there are two towns, one on a narrow table-land, and the other on the top of a steep cliff, near a suspicious-looking crater. There is said to be a third village on the north-western side of the island."*

Of Hakodade, in the island of Matsmai, already known to us by Golownin's description, which the squadron visited in the month of May, the same letter affords the following account:

"Hakodade is another Gibraltar. It has the same long, low isthmus, ending in the same mighty rock, with another city sitting at its feet. The bay is seven or eight miles wide, with an entrance of two or three miles in width; it is deep enough for ships-of-the-line to approach within a mile of the shore, and its clayey bottom, free from rocks or shoals, affords excellent anchorage, while it is defended from the sea by a sand-bank, a prolongation of the isthmus. Behind the bay the land is quite level, but at the distance of six or eight miles it rises into a range of hills from one to three thousand feet high. These hills, still covered with snow, send down several streams to the bay, furnishing the best of water for ships. The plain is finely cultivated, and fishing villages line the shore. We took fish plentifully, — one day twenty buckets, with more than twenty fine salmon, some weighing fifteen pounds.

"The city has, I should guess, about four thousand houses, and perhaps five times as many inhabitants. The two main streets are parallel, and run along the foot of the mountain. Narrower streets run from the wharves up the mountain, crossing both the principal streets, one of which is about thirty feet higher than the other. The lower of these is almost as broad as Broadway, and infinitely cleaner. The houses on it are well built; most of them have two stories, with shops on the ground floor. The manner of building reminds one very strongly of Switzerland. A flat, projecting roof is covered with shingles, which are fastened by long poles, with stones laid upon them; broad galleries run quite around the upper

* There is a volcanic island similar to this, off the south coast of Satsuma, and another near Firando.

story; before the door is a little wooden porch; this, too, with projecting gable, which, as well as the pillars that support it, are often adorned with rich carving. The temples, one of which is at least two hundred and fifty feet square, are profusely ornamented with carvings. Dragons, horses, bulls and hares, figure largely, but tortoises and cranes carry the day."

From Hakodade, where the intercourse with the local officials was entirely satisfactory, the ships returned to Simoda, where, according to an appointment previously made, the commodore met the four commissioners, and three new ones, with whom he proceeded to negotiate the following *Additional Regulations:*

"ARTICLE I. — The imperial governors of Simoda will place watch-stations wherever they deem best, to designate the limits of their jurisdiction; but Americans are at liberty to go through them, unrestricted, within the limits of seven Japanese ri, or miles [equal to sixteen English miles]; and those who are found transgressing Japanese laws may be apprehended by the police and taken on board their ships.

"ARTICLE II. — Three landing-places shall be constructed for the boats of merchant ships and whale ships resorting to this port; one at Simoda, one at Kakizaki, and the third at the brook lying south-east of Centre Island. The citizens of the United States will, of course, treat the Japanese officers with proper respect.

"ARTICLE III. — Americans, when on shore, are not allowed access to military establishments, or private houses, without leave; but they can enter shops and visit temples as they please.

"ARTICLE IV. — Two temples, the Rioshen at Simoda, and the Yokushen at Kakizaki, are assigned as resting-places for persons in their walks, until public houses and inns are erected for their convenience.

"ARTICLE V. — Near the Temple Yokushen, at Kakizaki, a burial-ground has been set apart for Americans, where their graves and tombs shall not be molested.

"ARTICLE VI. — It is stipulated in the treaty of Kanagawa, that coal will be furnished at Hakodade; but as it is very difficult for the Japanese to supply it at that port, Commodore Perry promises to mention this to his government, in order that the Japanese government may be relieved from the obligation of making that port a coal dépôt.

"ARTICLE VII. — It is agreed that henceforth the Chinese language shall not be employed in official communications between the two governments, except when there is no Dutch interpreter.

"ARTICLE VIII. — A harbor-master and three skilful pilots have been appointed for the port of Simoda.

"ARTICLE IX. — Whenever goods are selected in the shops, they shall be

marked with the name of the purchaser and the price agreed upon, and then be sent to the Goyoshi, or government office, where the money is to be paid to Japanese officers, and the articles delivered by them.

"ARTICLE X. — The shooting of birds and animals is generally forbidden in Japan, and this law is therefore to be observed by all Americans.

"ARTICLE XI. — It is hereby agreed that five Japanese ri, or miles, be the limit allowed to Americans at Hakodade, and the requirements contained in Article I. of these Regulations are hereby made also applicable to that port within that distance.

"ARTICLE XII. — His Majesty the Emperor of Japan is at liberty to appoint whoever he pleases to receive the ratification of the treaty of Kanagawa, and give an acknowledgment on his part.

"It is agreed that nothing herein contained shall in any way affect or modify the stipulations of the treaty of Kanagawa, should that be found to be contrary to these regulations."

Another important matter, in which the Japanese seem entirely to have carried the day, was the settlement of the value of the American coins to be received in payment for goods and supplies — a subject referred to a commission composed of two United States pursers and nine Japanese.

The Japanese circulating medium was found to consist of old kas, round, with a square hole in the middle, like the Chinese cash, but thinner, and containing more iron; of four-kas pieces, in weight equal to less than two of the others, probably Kämpfer's double seni; but principally of a new coin rated at one hundred kas, — apparently a substitute for the strings of kas mentioned by Kämpfer and others. These are oval-shaped pieces of copper, about the size and shape of a longitudinal section of an egg, introduced within a recent period, and weighing only as much as seven of the old kas (or, compared with our cents, a little less than two of them). This over-valuation has, of course, driven the old kas out of circulation, and made this depreciated coin the integer of the currency. At the same time, it has raised the nominal value of everything, as is evident in the case of silver and gold. Instead of one thousand kas to the tael of silver, the rate in former times, the government, which appears to have the monopoly of the mines, sells silver bullion for manufacturing use at two thousand two hundred and fifty kas for the tael, — a rate fixed probably under some less depreciated state of the currency. But when coined, a tael's weight of silver is reckoned in currency at six thousand four hundred kas, that is, at six

tael and four mas, or precisely the valuation, in Kämpfer's time, of the gold kobang; and as the inchebu of his day, that is, *one fourth part*, as the word signifies in Japanese, represented sixteen hundred kas in real weight of silver, so the inchebu of the present day, of which there is both a silver and a gold one, represents sixteen hundred kas of currency. The bullion price of gold in Japan is only eight and a half times that of silver instead of sixteen times, as with us; while in currency the difference in value is only about as one to three and a half, the price in silver, or copper hundred-kas pieces, of a tael's weight of gold bullion being nineteen tael, and the same when coined passing as twenty-three taels, seven mas and five kanderin. Besides the gold inchebu, the Japanese are represented as having three other gold coins, thin, oval pieces, of the currency value respectively of one, ten and twenty tael;* also a coin, made of gold and silver, worth half an inchebu, or eight hundred-kas pieces, and a small silver piece, worth a quarter of an inchebu, or four hundred-kas pieces.

* It is said that these coin are called kobang, but that ancient name can hardly be applied at the same time to three coins, of such different values. The old kobang of Kämpfer would be worth at present rates about eleven tael; the new kobang of 1708 not quite six tael. For the above account of the Japanese coins and monetary system, on which subject the official report of the two American commissioners is rather blind, I have been much indebted to an elaborate paper on the trade to Japan, written by *S. Wells Williams*, the Chinese interpreter to the embassy, and originally published in the *N. Y. Times*. No person in the fleet was so well prepared by previous studies and the experience of a long residence in China and familiarity with Chinese literature to make intelligent observations in Japan; and some very valuable extracts from the article above referred to make up Note G of the Appendix. Japan has, like Europe, its numismatology. Jancigny mentions a Japanese treatise on this subject, published at Yedo in 1822, in seven volumes, which describes five hundred and fifty coins, with colored prints (the color being given in the impression) of most of them. The Japanese coins are not struck, but cast in a mould. They are, however, exceedingly well finished, and the impression sharp. Siebold speaks of halfs, quarters, and sixteenths of a kobang in gold; and of eighths and sixteenths of a kobang in silver; and, according to his account, there are in some provinces seni and eighths of a kobang in paper notes. This practice might have been borrowed from the Chinese — paper money being one of the numerous inventions in which they anticipated us of the West.

The Japanese commissioners insisted that our coin was but bullion to them, the effect of which is to put our silver dollar, so far as payments in Japan are concerned, precisely on a level with their silver inchebu, which weighs only one third as much. Our gold coins, compared with their gold coins, stand better, the relative weight of our gold dollar and their gold inchebu being as 65.33 to 52.25; but as the copper hundred-kas piece is their standard, and as its value in relation to gold is rated so much higher than with us, our gold dollar, estimated in this way, becomes worth only eight hundred and thirty-six kas, or little more than eight and a third hundred-kas pieces, or not much more than half an inchebu; the effect of all which is to give the Japanese government, through whose hands all payments are made, a profit, after recoinage, of sixty-six per cent. upon all payments in American coin. As the Japanese commissioners would not depart from this scheme, the commission dissolved without coming to any agreement on this point. But the supplies furnished to the squadron were paid for at the rate insisted upon by the Japanese; nor can private traders, as matters stand, expect any better terms.

The rates of pilotage at Simoda were fixed at fifteen dollars for vessels drawing over eighteen feet, five dollars for vessels drawing less than thirteen feet, and ten dollars for those of intermediate size; only half of these rates to be paid in case of anchorage in the outer harbor. Water was to be furnished at fourteen hundred kas the boat-load, the ship finding casks. Wood was to be delivered on board at seven thousand two hundred kas per cube of five American feet.

The price put by the Japanese upon a few tons of inferior coal, brought to Simoda, amounted, at their rate of exchange, to twenty-eight dollars the ton. It did not appear that coal was anywhere else mined except at the spot visited by Kämpfer and Siebold near Kokura, and another mine in the province of Awa, in the island Sikokf.

The business thus completed, a parting entertainment was given on board the Mississippi; and, after an interchange of presents, the vessels, on the 26th of June, took their departure. Stopping at Lew Chew, Commodore Perry negotiated a compact with the author-

ities of that island, which, from all the information he could obtain, he concluded to be a nearly independent sovereignty.

Within fifteen days after Commodore Perry's departure from Simoda, the clipper ship Lady Pierce, from San Francisco, fitted out for the express purpose of being the first American ship to arrive in Japan after the opening of commercial relations, entered the bay of Jedo, with the owner, Silas E. Burrows, on board.

He had with him a Japanese seaman, the sole survivor of a crew of fifteen men, belonging to a junk which had been blown out to sea, and was picked up near the Sandwich Islands, after having drifted about for seven months. This man, who is represented as quite intelligent, and who had resided for some time at San Francisco, was received with lively demonstrations of pleasure by his countrymen.

With a party of the Uragawa officials on board, the Lady Pierce proceeded to within ten miles of Jedo, and her owners expressed a desire to anchor off that city; but this was objected to by the officers, who said, "It is not good; Commodore Perry did not go there, and we hope you will not."

During the stay of the vessel, every part of her was crowded with visitors; and although at one time there must have been several thousands in and around the ship, and although everything, silverware included, was thrown open to their inspection, not a single article was stolen.

Large presents of silk, porcelain, lackered ware, &c., were made to Mr. Burrows, who, however, was informed that henceforward no foreign intercourse would be permitted with Jedo, but that all vessels must proceed either to Simoda or Hakodade. Mr. Burrows himself proceeded to Simoda, but does not seem to have formed a very high idea of the prospects of trade there.*

* The following is given in the *San Francisco Herald* as a copy of the address presented to Mr. Burrows on this occasion:

"With pleasure we welcome you to Jedo Bay, and in doing so, can assure you that your ship, the Lady Pierce, is the first foreign vessel that has been received by us with pleasure.

"Commodore Perry brought with him too many large guns and fighting men to be pleasing to us; but you have come in your beautiful ship, which is superior to any we have before seen, to visit us, without any hostile

On the 18th of September, the steam-frigate Susquehanna again appeared at Simoda, on her way home via the Sandwich Islands, followed on the 21st by the Mississippi; three days after which, the

weapons, and the Emperor has ordered that you shall have all the kindness and liberty extended to you that Commodore Perry received.

"You have, Mr. Burrows, come here, relying on our friendship and hospitality, and we assure you that, although we have been shut out for ages from other nations of the world, yet you shall bear with you, when returning to your country, the knowledge that our Emperor and the Japanese his subjects will never fail of extending protection to those who come as you do to Japan. But the Emperor is particularly desirous that you should extend the terms of the treaty made with Commodore Perry, wherever you may go, to prevent any more ships coming to Jedo Bay, as all must hereafter go to Simoda or Hakodade.

"It has given the Emperor and all the Japanese great pleasure that you have returned to Japan our countryman, Dee-yee-no-skee, who was shipwrecked, and who has been residing for some time in your country, where he states he has been treated with the greatest kindness, and particularly so on board your ship, the Lady Pierce. That you should have made a voyage to Japan to restore him to his friends and home, without any other inducement, as you say, except to see Japan, and to form a friendship with us, merits and will ever receive our most friendly feelings; and, be assured, if any of your countrymen, or other people, are shipwrecked on our shores, we will extend the same kindness to them that you have to our countrymen, and place them at Simoda or Hakodade, and thus open to the world that our religion, which is so different from yours, governs the Japanese, in all their dealings, by as correct principles as yours governs you. We understand what ships of war are; also what whaling ships and merchant ships are; but we never before heard, till you came here, of such a ship as yours, — a private gentleman's pleasure ship, — coming so far as you have, without any money-making business of trade, and only to see Japan, to become acquainted with us, and bring home one of our shipwrecked people, the first that has returned to his country from America or foreign lands.

"You offer us, as presents, all the rare and beautiful articles you have in your ship; but we have received orders from the Emperor that we must not tax your kind feelings by taking anything from you, as you have already been sufficiently taxed in returning Dee-yee-no-skee.

"The Emperor also directs that all the gold pieces you have presented to the Japanese must be collected and returned to you, and to say that he alone must make presents in Jedo Bay. He has directed presents to be made to you, in the Emperor's name, by the governor of Simoda, where he desires you will proceed in your ship, the Lady Pierce, and land Dee-yee-no-skee, which will be in compliance with the treaty.

"Your visit to Japan in the Lady Pierce has been attended with great

Susquehanna left, and the Mississippi on the 1st of October. The reception given to the officers of both ships was very cordial, and their intercourse both with officials and the towns-people was almost entirely free from any marks of that restraint and apparent suspicion exhibited on former occasions. Besides an interchange of visits and dinners, several Japanese officials attended, on a Sunday, divine service on board the Susquehanna.

"Many of us," writes an officer of the Mississippi, "entered houses very frequently, and sat down with the people to smoke or drink tea. One day the sound of a guitar attracted me, and I found an olive girl, of some fifteen or sixteen years, who, not perceiving my presence, continued her play. It was a strange tune, wild and melancholy, and often abruptly interrupted by harsh accords. After a while some women that had assembled around us made the girl aware of my presence; she threw down her instrument and began to cry, and I could not induce her to play again. The guitar was made of wood, with the exception of the upper lid. Of the three strings, two were in the octave, the middle one giving the fifth. The strings were not touched by the fingers, but with a flat piece of horn, held between the thumb and third finger of the right hand, in shape not unlike the one painters use to clean their palettes and mix their colors.

"On another occasion, I heard a young man playing a flute. This instrument was of the most primitive description, consisting only of a piece of hollow bamboo, bored with seven finger-holes, and the hole for the mouth. The tunes were very strange, and appeared to me more like a mass of confused sounds, than a regular harmony.

"At the beginning of the new moon, I saw in several houses a sort of domestic worship. A number of women had assembled before the shrine of the household god, and, divided in two parties, were singing hymns, one party alternately answering the other. Their song was accompanied by strokes upon a little bell or gong,

interest to us, and you will not be forgotten by the Japanese. We hope we may meet you again, and we hope you will come back to Japan.

"The Emperor has directed that two ships like yours shall be built, and we thank you for having allowed us to take drawings of the Lady Pierce, and of all that we desired on board."

with a small wooden hammer; and, as the bells were of different tones, the effect was by no means unpleasant."

"There are a number of temples near Simoda," writes an officer of the Susquehanna, "and attached to each is a grave-yard. At one of these, situated near a village, there is a place set apart for Americans. Here Dr. Hamilton was buried, being laid by the side of two others who had died on the second visit of the ships. Each grave has its appropriate stone, as with us, and by many of them are evergreens set in vases, or joints of bamboo, containing water. Cups of fresh water are also set by the graves, and to these, birds of dazzling plumage and delightful song come and drink. The graves of the Americans were not forgotten."

The officers were permitted to go into the country any distance they wished, and the country people were found pleasant and sociable; but upon this second visit, the advantages of Simoda as a place of trade, or the prospects of traffic under the treaty, do not seem to have struck the visitors very favorably. "The harbor," writes an officer of the Susquehanna to the *Tribune*, "is a small indentation of land, running north-east and south-west, about a half-mile in extent, and is capable of holding five or six vessels of ordinary size. It is, however, entirely unprotected from the south-west winds, which bring with them a heavy sea, and which renders the anchorage very unsafe. With the wind from the north and the east, the vessel rides at her ease at her anchorage. Good wood and sweet water, as well as a few provisions, were obtained from the authorities, for the use of the ship, at the most extravagant prices. Numerous articles, such as lackered and China ware, of a very fine and delicate quality, and far superior to that manufactured in China, were purchased by the officers; but every article had to pass through the hands of the Japanese officers, and the amount due the merchants had to be paid, not to them, but to the Japanese officials who had been appointed for that very purpose by the mayor of the city and the governor of the province. This article of the treaty will be most scrupulously enforced; and this is decidedly its worst feature."

"Simoda," writes another officer, "does not appear well calculated, upon the whole, for a place of trade, and it can never become an active commercial town. Neither is it a manufacturing town.

This, added to the fact that the harbor is a bad one, will make it appear evident that the Japanese commissioners got the better of us in the treaty, as far as this place is concerned.

"The surrounding country (wherever nature will permit it) is highly cultivated. The valley of the creek is broad and well tilled, yielding rice, millet, Egyptian corn and maize.* The ears produced by the last are very small, being not more than from two to four inches in length. Sweet potatoes and the egg-plant are also raised in great abundance. There are no horses about Simoda, and bullocks are made to supply their places. Provisions, with the exception of eggs and vegetables, cannot be obtained here. The shark and banito are the only large fish found in the harbor. Small fish are plentiful, and they seem to form almost the only article of food of the inhabitants, besides rice."

The following description of the houses at Simoda, by Mr. S. Wells Williams, will serve to illustrate the descriptions of Japanese houses already given from Kämpfer and Thunberg, and will show how little, as to that matter, Japan has altered since their time:

"The houses in Simoda are built merely of pine boards, or of plaster thickly spread over a wattled wall of laths, the interstices of which are filled in with mud. In some cases these modes of construction are combined — the front and rear being of boards, or sliding panels, and the sides of mud. When thoroughly dried, the mud is whitewashed, and the plain surface worked into round ridges, three inches high, crossing each other diagonally from the roof to the ground; the ridges are then washed blue, and give the exterior a checker-board look, which, though singular, is more lively than a blue mud wall. The plaster is excellent, and these walls appear very solid and rather pretty when new; at a distance one would even think them to be stone; but after a few years the ridges loosen, the rain insinuates itself beneath the outer coating, and the whole begins to scale and crack off, disclosing the mud and rushes, and then the tenement soon falls to pieces. Still the progress of decay is not so rapid as one would think, judging only by the nature of the materials, and the walls are well protected by the projecting eaves. No bricks are used in building, nor are

* This, probably, is one of the Portuguese legacies to Japan.

square tiles for floors seen; and the manner of making walls common in southern China, by beating sanded clay into wooden moulds, is unknown.

"Some of the best houses and temples have stone foundations, a few only of which are made of dressed stone. Half a dozen or more store-houses occur, faced entirely with slabs of stone, and standing detached from other buildings, and are doubtless fire-proof buildings. There are no cellars under the houses; the floors are raised on sleepers only two feet above the beaten ground, and uniformly covered with straw mats stuffed with chaff, or grass, an inch thick. The frames are of pine, the joists four or five inches square, and held together by the flooring of the attic, as well as the plates and ridge-pole. The houses and shops join each other on the sides, with few exceptions, leaving the front and rear open. There is no uniformity in the width of the lots, the fronts of some shops extending twenty, thirty, or more feet along the street, while intermediate ones are mere stalls, not over ten feet wide.

"The shops succeed each other without any regular order as to their contents, those of the same sort not being arranged together, as is often the case in China. The finer wares are usually kept in drawers, so that, unless one is well acquainted with the place, he cannot easily find the goods he seeks. The eaves of the houses project about four feet from the front, and are not over eight feet from the ground; the porch thus made furnishes a covered place for arranging crockery, fruits, &c., for sale, trays of trinkets on a movable stall, baskets of grain, or other coarse articles, to attract buyers. The entrance is on one side, and the path leads directly through to the rear. The wooden shutters of shops are all removed in the daytime, and the paper windows closed, or thrust aside, according to the weather. On a pleasant day the doors are open, and in lieu of the windows a screen is hung midway, so as to conceal the shopman and his customer from observation, while those goods placed on the stand are still under his eye. A case, with latticed or wire doors, to contain the fine articles of earthen ware, a framework, with hooks and shelves, to suspend iron utensils or wooden ware, or a movable case of drawers, to hold silks, fine lackered ware, or similar goods, constitute nearly all the furniture of the shops. Apothecaries' shops are hung with gilded signs and paper placards, setting forth the variety and virtues of their medi-

cines, some of which are described as brought from Europe. The partition which separates the shops from the dwelling is sometimes closed, but more usually open; and a customer has, generally speaking, as much to do with the mistress as the master of the establishment. When he enters, his straw sandals are always left on the ground as he steps on the mats and squats down to look at the goods, which are then spread out on the floor. A foreigner has need of some thoughtfulness in this particular, as it is an annoyance to a Japanese to have his mats soiled by dirty feet, or broken through by coarse shoes.

"The rear of the building is appropriated to the family. Here the domestic operations are all carried on; here the family take their meals in the day; here, on the same mats, do they sleep at night; receiving visitors and dressing the children are also done here, and sometimes the cooking too. Usually this latter household task is performed in the porch in the rear, or in an out-house, so that the inmates are not so much annoyed with smoke as they are in Hakodade. No arrangements for warming the dwelling are to be found, except that of hand-braziers placed in the middle of the room with lighted charcoal, around which the family gather. In most of the houses there is a garret, reached by a ladder, — a dark and small apartment, where some goods can be stored, or servants can be lodged. There is not a house in the town whose occupants have arranged this attic with windows and stairways to make it a pleasant room; a few such were, however, seen near the capital, at Kanagawa, and in its vicinity.

"The roofs of all the best buildings are hipped, and covered with bluish tiling, each tile being about eight inches square, shaped somewhat like a wedge; the thick side is so made that, when laid on the rafters, it laps sideways over the thin edge of the adjoining tile in the next row, and thus forms gutters somewhat like the Chinese roofs. They are washed in alternate rows of white and blue, which, with the checkered walls, imparts a lively aspect, and contrasts pleasantly with the more numerous dingy thatched roofs. The thatched roofs are made of a species of Arundo, grown and prepared for this purpose, and answering admirably as a cheap and light covering to the wooden tenements occupied by most of the people. It is matted into a compact mass eighteen inches thick, as

it is laid on, and then the surface and the sides are neatly sheared. The ridge-pole is protected by laying the thatch over a row of hoops that enclose it enough to overlap the edges on both slopes, and prevent the rain finding entrance. One cannot feel surprise at the ravages fires make in Japanese towns, where the least wind must blow the flame upon such straw coverings, which, like a tinder-box, would ignite at the first spark. Wires are stretched along the ridges of some of the tiled roofs in Simoda to prevent birds from resting on the houses.

"In the rear yards, attached to a large number of the dwellings, are out-houses, and sometimes, as in the lodging-houses, additional sleeping-rooms. Kitchen-gardens are not unfrequently seen, and more rarely fancy fish-ponds, dwarfed trees, and even stone carvings. A family shrine, made like a miniature house, containing images of penates and lares, is met with in most of the yards. Only a few of them are adorned with large trees, and still fewer of them exhibit marks of care or taste, presenting in this respect an observable contrast to the neatness of the houses. High hedges or stone walls separate these yards when they are contiguous, but the depth of the lots is usually insufficient to allow room for both the opposite dwellings the luxury of a garden.

"There is not much variety in the structure of the various buildings in Simoda, and their general appearance denotes little enterprise or wealth. The paper windows and doors, not a few of them dirty and covered with writing, or torn by children to take a peep inside, impart a monotonous aspect to the streets. Dyers', carpenters', blacksmiths', stone-cutters', and some other shops, have latticed fronts to admit more light, which are elevated above the observation of persons passing by. In front of those dwellings occupied by officials, a white cotton curtain, three feet wide, is stretched along the whole length of the porch, having the coat of arms of the occupant painted on it in black; the names of the principal lodgers are also stuck on the door-posts. Signs are mostly written on the doors, as the windows are drawn aside during the day; but only a portion of the shops have any. Lodging-houses, barbers' shops, restaurants, or tea-houses, apothecaries, and a few others, are almost always indicated by signs. One dealer in crockery and lackered ware has the sign of a celebrated medicine

placed on a high pole, and, the more to attract attention, has written the name in foreign letters. As in China, placards for medicines were the most conspicuous of all, but none are pasted upon blank walls; all are suspended in the shops. However, no dwelling or shop is left unprotected from the ill-usage of malignant spirits, every one having a written or printed charm or picture (sometimes a score or more) over the door to defend the inmates from evil."

In the interval between Commodore Perry's first and second visits to the bay of Jedo, Nagasaki was visited by a Russian squadron. On the 7th of September, 1854, just before the last visit of the Mississippi and Susquehanna to Simoda, a British squadron of three steamers and a frigate arrived at Nagasaki under Admiral Sterling. These British vessels, which found the annual Dutch trading ship, two large Chinese junks, also a Dutch steamer, lying in the harbor, encountered the usual reception, being served with notices, surrounded with boats, and denied liberty to land. At length, however, after a deal of negotiation and threats to proceed to Jedo, it was agreed to furnish supplies, tea, rice, pigs, &c., and to receive payment through the Dutch. On the 15th the admiral landed, and was conducted in state to the governor's house. The guard-boats were withdrawn, and the men were allowed to land on an island to recreate themselves. Other interviews followed, presents were interchanged, and, on the 19th, the squadron left. These particulars are drawn from the published letter of a medical officer on board, who describes the supplies furnished as very good, and the Japanese soy as cheap and nice, but who does not seem to have relished the saki, which he likens in taste to acetate of ammonia water.

The American war-steamer Powhatan, visited Simoda February 21, 1855, to complete the exchange of ratification, which done, she sailed again two days after. The town of Simoda was found in a state of desolation and ruin, from the effects of a disastrous earthquake, on the 23d of December previous, in which the Russian frigate Diana, then lying in the harbor to complete the pending negotiations, was so damaged, as to have sunk in attempting to make a neighboring port for repairs. Osaka and Jedo were reported to have suffered severely, and Jedo still more from a subsequent fire. Such is the last news from Japan.

APPENDIX.

Note A.

THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

The Japanese language has been often represented as a dialect of the Chinese, or, at least, as very closely related to it. This opinion, though totally unfounded, originated in the facts that not only the Chinese written character is understood and extensively used in Japan, but that the Chinese spoken tongue, with a peculiar Japanese pronunciation, consisting principally in the suppression of nasals, and the softening of some consonants, is in general use as a learned language, holding very much the same relation to the vernacular that Latin did two or three centuries ago to the vulgar tongues of the different European nations.

The Japanese, however, have both a spoken and a written language of their own, totally distinct from every other known language, polysyllabic, and differing much more from the Chinese than any European tongue does from the Latin. There are thus in Japan not only two written, but two spoken languages, and in the words and phrases reported by travellers in that country as Japanese there is a complete confusion of these two tongues. The same thing, indeed, is not uncommon with the Japanese themselves, who often employ Chinese and Japanese terms indifferently, though there are cases in which usage requires the one, in exclusion of the other.

For a long time the Japanese, it is probable, had no writing, except the Chinese characters. Books in these characters, many of them imported from China, and others printed in Japan, still abound there; but these cannot properly be considered as expressions of the Japanese language. Those who are able to read these, understand the spoken as well as the written Chinese, or, if there is any exception to this, in such cases the Chinese characters standing for ideas (or, more correctly, for words expressing ideas) will be read into Japanese by one who knows their significance, though not the Chinese sounds to which they correspond, just as a Frenchman, ignorant of Arabic, will read into French a table of logarithms expressed in Arabic figures, or as an Englishman who can read French, though ignorant of its pronunci-

ation, will understand it, and even read it into English, though if read to him by a Frenchman it would be totally unintelligible. This process of reading Chinese characters into Japanese is greatly facilitated by the fact that, though completely different in its words from the Chinese, the Japanese language, in general, follows, as is the case with the Mongol and Mandchu, and many other tongues of Eastern Asia, the same inverse order of construction, placing the attribute before the subject, the adjective before the substantive, the adverb before the verb, the accessory before the principal, the modifying expression before the expression modified, &c.

There is, however, a certain difficulty in representing the Japanese language by these Chinese characters, because Japanese words have many inflections which are unknown in Chinese, and for which the Chinese writing has no symbol.

The missionary monks who transported from India to China, and from China to Japan, the Buddhist system of religion, carried with them, also, the Sanscrit language and the Dewanagari or Sanscrit alphabet, and it was probably to them that the Japanese were indebted, if not for the introduction of the Chinese writing, at least for the syllabary with which the vernacular language is written. This syllabary is limited to forty-seven characters, the precise number of the Sanscrit letters, though the number of syllabic sounds represented is increased to a hundred and forty-four by the use of three additional signs, to be presently described.

The syllabic sounds expressed by these forty-seven signs, arranged in perpendicular columns, according to the Japanese method (except that the Japanese begin at the right), are twice given below; first, according to Klaproth; second, according to Siebold. The discrepancies will be explained by the remark of Siebold, that the sound which he indicates by *l* is, in fact, a sound between *l* and *r*, inclining in some provinces more to the *l*, in others, as, for instance, at Jedo, more to *r*. The same is the case also with the letters *h* and *f*. The *y* in Klaproth's column indicates and better represents to an English eye the same sound with the *j* in Siebold's. The vowel sounds are those respectively of France and Germany. The *ou* and *u* indicate the same sound as that of our English *u*. The *i* represents our English *e*; the *e* our English *a* in *fate*; the *a* our English *a* in *far*.

i	i	ri	li	re	le	i	wi	ko	ko	mi	mi
ro	lo	nou	nu	so	so	no	no	ye	e	si	si
fa	ha	rou	ru	tsou	tsu	wo	o	te	te	ye	we
ni	ni	o	wo	ne	ne	kou	ku	a	a	fi	hi
fo	ho	wa	wa	na	na	ya	ja	sa	sa	mo	mo
fe	he	ka	ka	ra	la	ma	ma	ki	ki	se	se
to	to	yo	jo	mou	mu	ke	ke	you	ju	sou	su
tsi	tsi	ta	ta	ou	u	fou	fu	me	me		

The syllables ka, ki, ku, ke, ko, are occasionally softened into ga, gi, gu, ge, go; sa, si, su, se, so, into za, zi, zu, ze, zo; ta, tsi, tsu, te, and to, into da, dsi, dsu, du, do, which change is indicated by a mark, or accent, affixed to the characters that represent them. A similar change

(especially in foreign words) of ha, hi, hu, he, ho (written by Remusat fa, fi, fe, fo, fu), sometimes into the softer sounds, ba, be, bi, bu, bo, and sometimes into the harder sounds, pa, pi, pu, pe, po, is indicated by another mark. In writing foreign words, especially from the Chinese, an additional character, indicating *n* or *m* final, is also employed, which sound seems, however, to be much oftener introduced into the spoken than the written language. Just as we say A B C, this collection of syllables is called, from the first three, the i-ro-fa, or i-ro-ha.

Generally, in composition, the syllables retain their full sound; but often the vowel part is contracted, or elided, especially at the close of a word. Thus, all syllables, ending in *i*, followed, in composition, by syllables beginning with *y* (otherwise *j*), lose the final *i*: tsi-ya being pronounced ts'ya; ni-yo, n'o, &c. Mi-sa is sounded mis'; mit-si, mits'; fu-tsu, futs'; matsu, mats'; ku-wa-u, k'u; ko-ko-ju, kok'f'; fi-ya-ka, f'yak'; si-ya-tsu, s'yats'. The syllable tsu in the middle of a word, loses its own sound and takes that of the syllable; that follows; thus, i-tsu-ki becomes ikki; i-tsu-si, issi, &c. Where the final *u* sound is elided, the antecedent consonant sound is, as it were, reduplicated, especially in the infinitive of verbs, of which the termination is always in *u*; or if that preceding consonant be *k*, an *f* sound is added to it; thus, i-do-ru becomes idorr'; ma-ku, makf'; to-bu, tobb', to indicate which reduplication a fourth sign is employed.

As the Japanese language is made up so largely of vowels, it ought to be musical, and, as it is composed of so limited a number of syllables, it might be supposed to be easy to represent the sound of Japanese words by European letters. But, in doing this, every writer, from the Jesuit missionaries downward, has been inconsistent, not only with others, but with himself. In addition to the difficulties growing out of the elisions, there is another in the peculiarities of the Japanese sounds.*

To represent the forty-seven syllables, of which, with the variations above stated, their language is composed, the Japanese appear first to have employed a like number of perfect Chinese characters, chosen sometimes, perhaps, with reference to their sound in Chinese, but in some cases, at least, with reference to the sound of the corresponding Japanese word. Thus, for

* "The Japanese pronunciation," says Golownin, — who was in the constant habit of hearing it for two years, during which he acquired a good knowledge of the language spoken, though not allowed to learn to read it, — "is excessively difficult for us Europeans. There are syllables which are not pronounced like *te* or *de*, but something between them, which we are quite unable to produce. In the same manner, there are middle sounds, between *be* and *fe*, *jse* and *sche*, *ge* and *che*, *che* and *se*. No European would succeed in pronouncing the Japanese word for fire. I have studied it for two years, but in vain; when pronounced by the Japanese, it seemed to sound like *fi*, *chi*, *psi*, *fsi*, pronounced through the teeth; but, however we turned and twisted our mouths about, the Japanese persisted in their 'not right;' and such words are very numerous in the Japanese language." Siebold says that the spoken dialects of different provinces vary greatly. The attempts of Europeans to represent Japanese words, often produce words which, on paper, have very little resemblance. Who would suppose that Oxu and Mouts were different attempts to represent the same word — the name of the north-easternmost and largest province of Japan?

instance, the syllable *mi* meaning female, the Chinese symbol for female was employed to represent that sound.

To this syllabary appears to have succeeded another, in which the Chinese characters employed are considerably contracted. In a third, that in ordinary use, called *Hira-kana*, or *Fira-kana*, easy, or woman's writing, the Chinese form of the symbols has quite disappeared. The fourth, called *Kata-kana*, is very easy, distinct, and compact. Fifteen of the symbols are Chinese characters still in use, among the simplest which the Chinese writing affords. The others are parts of characters arbitrarily taken. The Japanese, who call this "man's writing," have an idea that it is the oldest of their syllabary methods; but had it been so, the other never would have come into use; it is evidently the most recent of the whole — a kind of shorthand — and is principally used for notes and comments. Placed under above, or side by side, the Chinese characters, with which all Japanese books abound, these Kata-kana syllables indicate the corresponding Japanese word, the inflections which, though numerous in Japanese, are wanting in Chinese, or, in the case of proper names, their pronunciation. No books are printed in it exclusively. Japanese books, for common use, present, indeed, a strange intermixture of the cursive, scrambling *Kata-kana*, in which each syllable has quite a number of representations, with Chinese characters more or less numerous, which may or may not be explained by an added paraphrase in *Kata-kana;* and which, when once so explained, are often repeated without any explanation. Thus, the printing of a short Japanese novel, accomplished at Vienna, under the editorial care of Dr. Pfizmaier — the first book in the Japanese character ever printed in Europe — required a fount of four hundred and eighty-one types for the Japanese syllabary, besides two hundred and twenty-seven more for the Chinese characters introduced into it.

The higher the pretensions of a Japanese writer the more Chinese he intermingles. Hence, to read Japanese books, a knowledge of Chinese is absolutely necessary; and hence it happens that Chinese scholars, like Remusat, without knowing Japanese, or, like Klaproth, by knowing a little of it, may be able to get at least some general idea of a Japanese book, especially if it be a very learned one. This, however, is a precarious resource; for the Japanese not only sometimes use the Chinese characters in peculiar senses, they have varied their forms, and have even introduced some new ones of their own.

This mixed sort of writing seems to be easily enough mastered by the Japanese themselves, among whom book-printing from wooden plates, and the art of reading, have been common from our earliest knowledge of them. But it puts serious obstacles in the way of learners from abroad, and gave occasion to the Jesuit missionaries to suspect that it had been invented by the devil himself, on purpose to impede the spread of the gospel.

It is to its Chinese element that we are mainly indebted for such knowledge as we have yet obtained of the literature of Japan. Though so long

written and printed, and abounding in books, and once familiarly spoken and read by a considerable number of Europeans, and though a considerable number of books in it exist in European libraries, yet scarcely two or three European scholars are to be found who make any pretensions to be able to read Japanese, notwithstanding that, for two centuries and a half, there have not been wanting European helps to its acquisition.

Four Japanese grammars have been published by missionaries; that of Alvarez, in Latin and Japanese (*De institutione Grammatica libri iii., cum Versione Japonia*), printed at Amacusa in 1593; that of Rodrigues, in Portuguese (*Arte du Lingua de Japan*), printed at Nagasaki in 1604; that of Collado, in Latin (*Ars Grammatica Japonicæ Linguæ*), at Rome, 1632; and that of Oyangusen, in Spanish (*Arte du la Lingæ Japonica*), printed at Mexico in 1738, its author, who was a Franciscan friar, having ended his days there, after having been a missionary in Cochin-China, and superintendent of two convents in the Philippines, where it would appear that some knowledge of the Japanese was long preserved.

All these grammars, composed rather with a view to Japanese as spoken than as written, represent the sounds in Roman letters, and attempt to apply grammatical ideas and forms derived from the Greek and Latin to a language of a totally different structure, thus very superfluously complicating and obscuring a subject difficult enough in itself. These books are also exceedingly rare, except that of Collado, which is both the shortest and the worst. Rodriguez prepared at Macao, in 1620, an abridgment of his grammar, which remained, however, in manuscript till 1825, when, with some omissions, it was printed by the Asiatic Society, at Paris, in a French version, with an introduction by M. Abel Remusat, the distinguished Chinese scholar; to which, the next year, was added a supplement, by Baron G. de Humbolt, containing an account of the grammar of Oyangusen, and some observations on his points of agreement and disagreement, with Rodriguez, and on the Japanese language generally. Siebold has also published in Latin, in the transactions of the Dutch Academy at Batavia, in 1826, an Epitome of the Japanese language (*Epitome Linguæ Japonicæ*), and, more recently, an introduction to the study of Japanese books (*Isagoge in Biblothecum Japonicum et studium Librarum Japonicum*).

Of dictionaries, or vocabularies, there are one in Latin, Portuguese and Japanese, a thick quarto of near a thousand pages, Amacusa, 1595; a vocabulary in Japanese and Portuguese, Nagasaki, 1606; one in Spanish (*Vocabulario de Japon*), Manilla, 1630; all these exceedingly rare; Callado's Thesaurus, a small Latin vocabulary, Rome, 1632; and Medhurst's English and Japanese vocabulary, Batavia, 1830, 8vo, pp. 344, containing about seven thousand Japanese words, compiled by the help of Chinese-Japanese and Japanese-Dutch dictionaries, printed in Japan. Siebold's Thesaurus (Wa Kan Won Si-ki Sio-gen Ziako, THESAURUS LINGUÆ JAPONICÆ *seu illustratio omnium quæ libris receptæ sunt verborum ac dictionum Loquelæ tam Japonicæ quam Sinensis*) is but a mere transcript of a Chinese-

Japanese work, containing a little more than twenty thousand words, with explanations chiefly in Chinese, and an arrangement according to subjects, which renders it, as a dictionary, almost useless. A dictionary, which promises to be much more complete, as well as useful, is now in the course of publication at Vienna, by Pfizmaier, already mentioned.

The Japanese have learned men far better acquainted with the languages of Europe, Russian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and especially Dutch, than Europeans are with the Japanese. In fact, the Dutch may be said to have, in some respects, of late years, taken rank of the Chinese, as the learned language of Japan; and to facilitate the study of it, at least one large Dutch-Japanese Dictionary has been published there.

The nouns in the Japanese language have no discrimination of gender or number, though sometimes for the plural the word is repeated. To distinguish the gender of animals, the words male and female are added to them, as *wo-inou*, male dog, *me-inou*, female dog. The cases are indicated by particles suffixed.* The adjectives (like ours) have neither gender nor number, and are always placed before the noun they qualify. The personal pronouns have no distinction of gender, nor are there any relative pronouns. The prepositions, instead of going before, come after the cases they govern. The present indicative and the infinitive of verbs are the same, and end always in *u*. The perfect indicative is formed by changing the *u* into *i*, and adding *ta*, as *kaku*, *kakita*; the future by changing the *u* into *o*, and adding *u*, as *koku*, *kokou*. The imperative is formed by changing the final *u* into *e*, as *koku*, *koke*. There are no changes for number or person. The tenses of the conjunctive mood and all the other modifications of the verb are formed by nouns of action, with an indication of time, which may be compared to Latin gerunds, and which are construed with particles, as in Mandchu and Mongol. There is also a separate form of conjugation when the verb is used negatively.

Both verbs, nouns and pronouns, undergo certain modifications indicative of humility on the one part, and superiority on the other, by reason of the relative rank of the party speaking and the party spoken to. "To express honor, or to indicate humility," says Rodriguez in his grammar, "two sorts of particles are used; one kind attached to the name it is wished to honor or humilitate, and the other to honorific or humiliating words. There are also words which, without any particle annexed, express respect or humility. In speaking with any person, a certain degree of honor or respect ought always to be expressed proportioned to that person's rank, except, indeed, in speaking to one's son, or servant, or to one of the lowest of the people. Even the absent must always be spoken of in the terms appropriate to their rank. In speaking of two or more persons, both of consideration, but of whom one far

* Thus, for the nominative we have *fito*, or the man; or, sometimes, *fito-ga*, or *fito-ka* (the particles *ga* and *ka* being frequently prefixed to the nominative, with the force, as Rodriguez says, of the definite article in the case of *ka*), *fito-no*, of the man, *fito-ni*, to the man, *fito-wo*, or *fito-we*, man in the accusative or objective case; *fito-yori*, or *fito-kara*, with the man.

passes the other in dignity, — as when Jesus Christ and John the Baptist, or Christ and his apostles, are spoken of in the same sentence,— there must be added to the names of the persons of lesser rank both a honorific particle to mark the speaker's respect for them, and at the same time a particle of humility to indicate their inferiority to the other. In speaking of one's self it is usual to employ a particle of humility, except, indeed, in familiar and domestic conversation, in which simple or neutral words are used." This peculiarity of their diction, no doubt, has an intimate connection with that scrupulous politeness for which the Japanese are distinguished, and is probably the source of the discrepancy in the missionary grammars as to the personal pronouns.

Rodirigues, in his grammar, enumerates the following Japanese writings: 1. *Uta* and *Renga*, poems. 2. *Mai*, historical incidents, theatrically represented, with musical accompaniments. 3. *Sosi*, histories and lives of their great personages (also intended, apparently, to be sung). 4. *Sagheo*, lives of saints. 5. *Monogatari*, histories, entertaining and instructive narratives, in prose. 6. *Taifeki*, history written in a graver style. 7. Laws and customs.

Of the Monogatari, above-mentioned, we may obtain some notion from a brief statement of the contents of three of them, mentioned in the treatise on marriage ceremonies, of which Titsingh has given a translation, as proper to form part of the woman's marriage outfit. These are, Ize Monogatari, "by Ize, a female attendant of one of the wives of the Dairi, showing how a certain Mari Firu had lived in adultery with Nisio-no-Kisaki, one of the wives of the Dairi, which, to his indelible disgrace, was published in a great number of books;" Gensi Monogatari, or "History of Gensi-no-Kami, a kinsman of one of the Dairies, containing an account of his adventures in several countries;" and Jeigawa Monogatari, "History of a Spendthrift, from which may be drawn useful moral precepts of economy." Rodirigues, who mentions also the two first of the above, specifies, as among the best of these writings, the Feike Monogatari, the story of the civil wars between the families of Fieke and Gundsi, and of the downfall of the Sioguns of the family of Feike, — an event which fills a great place in Japanese legendary history. This latter work is also mentioned by Kämpfer, as is also the Osaca Monogatari (of which he brought home with him both the original and a translation), giving an account of the civil war which followed the death of Taiko-Sama, and the elevation of Jesi-Jas to the supreme power.

In this class of Monogatari must also be placed "The Forms of the Passing World; in Six Folding Screens," translated by Dr. Pfizmaier, and of which an analysis is given in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. II.

Of their histories we have a specimen in the *Nipon odai itsi ran*, of which, as translated by the labor of Titsingh and Klaproth, an account is given in p. 423 of the text.

The Uta consist of distiches complete and perfect in themselves. The

first verse is composed of three feet, of which the first and last have five syllables, and the middle one seven syllables. The second verse consists of two feet of seven syllables each. It is a great beauty for these distiches to bear a double signification. Rodriguez gives the following specimen, supposed to be the utterance of a mother weeping for her children :

"Wakete fuku, kaye kosa ukere, fana tomoni
Tsirade kono fawa, nado no kururon."

Kaye signifies death and wind, *ko*, tree and son, and *fawa* mother and leaf. Take the first senses of these words and the distich will signify, "O cruel wind, which, spending thy breath only on my roses, has uprooted them, yet has left the leaves on the trees!" Take the other senses, and the meaning is, "O cruel death, which has struck down my son, while it has spared his wretched mother!"

The poems called *renga*, composed in Chinese only, may extend to a hundred or a thousand verses, each verse dependent (as the name *renga* implies) upon that which immediately precedes it, or at least upon some word in it. These poems are all didactic; they have no narrative poems; Rodriguez mentions, however, that the popular prose observes a certain rhythm which renders it very harmonious, and this corresponds with what Golownin states of their chant-like manner of reading.

NOTE B.

JAPANESE NAMES.

The following curious statements on this subject are drawn chiefly from Rodriguez's Japanese Grammar: The Japanese take successively many sorts of names, and change them at different epochs of their lives. They are, 1. Names designating the individual (corresponding to our Christian names, and to the surnames, or names of addition, of the Romans). 2. Family names, common to all the individuals composing a family, or descended from it. 3. Names indicative of rank or office.

I. The names of the first sort, taken at different epochs, are five. 1. *Azona*, that given by one's parents at birth, generally that of some animal, or of something long-lived, or thought to be of good omen. When the individual employs this name to designate himself, he adds to the particle *maron*. When others use it (unless honorific particles are joined with it), instead of maron the particle *dono* is added. 2. *Kemio* or *Karina*, — the name of the adult man, taken when girded with the sword, and bestowed by some distinguished person who acts the part, as it were, of god-father. This is retained till superseded by some official or religious name. 3. *Nanori*, or *Yatmio*, a kind of personal designation peculiar to nobles and the great, employed by them in signing papers, along with their Kemio, and their name of office. They are all formed of eighty-

two words, combined together two and two ; and in some families the usage is, that all of the same family name should employ in the formation of their nanori some one of these eighty-two words, specially consecrated to the use of that family. Thus the principal chiefs of the family of *Feike* call themselves *Tadamori*, whence all those of the same descent take the word *mori* into their nanori. So princes accord to their courtiers, and great persons to their dependents, the favor of putting the last syllable of the name of the superior at the commencement of the name of the inferior. 4. *Bozu*, *Dogo*, or *Fomio* — the religious name, assumed (as in European monasteries) on shaving the head, withdrawing from the world, and turning bonze. 5. *Wokurina*, a name given especially to princes and the great, after death. Names of this sort given to the Dairi terminate in *tenwo* or *mikado*. Those of the great lords in *jidono ;* those of the inferior lords in *jengiomon*, and those of princesses in *jengioni*.

II. Family names are either derived (as commonly in Europe) from some place of which the lordship is in the family, or from some event. There are in Japan eighty families or stocks (something, it would seem, like the Scotch clans), of which four are particularly illustrious, including those of *Ghenji* and *Feiji ;* and from these eighty stocks all the nobles claim to be descended. But these family names are not peculiar to people of high rank ; they are borne by all not of the very lowest class (by all, probably, entitled to the privilege of wearing two swords). The chief of the family joins the particle *dono* immediately to the family name. Thus, the prince of Arima is called Arimadono ; the prince of Omura, Omuradono. The others write the family name first, and after it their personal name, with the particle *dono* annexed. The term *sama*, meaning lord, seems also to be used much in the same way with the terms of corresponding meaning in the languages of Europe, only appended to the name instead of being prefixed.

III. Names of office are derived either from the particular province of which one is the governor, or from one's place in the general administration. Thus, those princes having the title *kami*, add that to their family name with the intervention of the particle *no*, as Buygen-no-Kami. Most Japanese dignities being imitated from China, have Chinese as well as Japanese designations.

The following additional illustration of this curious subject is from Thunberg :

" The name of each family and individual is used in Japan in a very different manner from what it is in Europe. The family name of the Japanese remains unchanged, but is never used in daily conversation or in the ordinary course of life, but only when they sign any writings. There is, likewise, this singularity in the affair, that the family name is not put after, but always before, the adscititious name, in like manner as in botany, where the generic name of a plant always precedes the specific. The adscititious or adopted name is that by which they are addressed, and this is changed several times in the course of their lives. As soon as a child is born it receives

from the parents a certain name, which, if a son, he keeps till he arrives at years of maturity. At that period it is changed. If afterwards he obtains an office, he again changes his name; and if, in process of time, he is advanced to other offices, the same change always takes place; and some, but especially emperors and princes, have a new name given them after their death. The names of women are less subject to change, and are frequently taken from certain beautiful flowers. Titles are given to place-men of a superior order on entering on their employments; and to the chief of them various names of honor are added by the Dairi."

Note C.

USE OF FIRE-ARMS IN THE EAST.

Even the inhabitants of southern India, notwithstanding the long intercourse carried on with them by Arab traders from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and the invasions of their country by Mahometans from the north, seem to have been mainly indebted for their first possession of fire-arms to Europeans; as witness the following extract from Rickard Eden's translation, first published in 1576, of the "Navigations and Voyages of Lewis Vertomannus, Gentleman, of the city of Rome, to the Regions of Arabia, Egypt, Persia, Syria, Ethiopia, and East India, both within and without the river Ganges, &c., in the year of our Lord, 1503," contemporary, that is, with the earliest Portuguese expeditions: "Entering into the city of Calicut, we found there two Christians, born in the city of Milan; the one named John Maria, the other Peter Antonio. These were jewellers, and came from Portugal with the king's license to buy precious stones. When I had found these men I rejoiced more than I am able to express. At our first meeting them, seeing them to be white men (for we went naked, after the manner of the inhabitants), I asked them if they were Christians. They said yea. Then said I that I was also a Christian, by the grace of God. Then, taking me by my hand, they brought me to their house, where, for joy of our meeting, we could scarcely satisfy ourselves with tears, embracing and kissing; for it seemed now to me a strange thing to hear men speak mine own language, or to speak it myself. Shortly after, I asked them if they were in favor with the king of Calicut. We are, said they, in great favor with him, and very familiar. Then again I asked them what they were minded to do. We desire, said they, to return to our country, but we know not the means how. Then, said I, return the same way that you came. Nay, said they, that may not be; for we are fled from the Portugals, because we have made many pieces of great ordinance and other guns for the king of Calicut, and therefore we have good cause to fear; and now especially, for that the navy of Portugal will shortly be here. I answered that if I might escape to the city of Canonor, I doubted not but that I would get their pardon of the gov-

ernor of the navy. There is small hope of mercy, said they, we are so famous and well known to many other kings in the way, which favor the Portugals, and lay wait to take us. In which their talk I perceived how fearful a thing is a guilty conscience, and called to remembrance the saying of the poet :

' Multa male timeo, qui feci multa proterve.'

That is, 'I fear much evil because I have done much evil.' For they had not only made many such pieces of artillery for the infidels, to the great damage of Christians, and contempt of the holy name of Christ and his religion, but had also taught the idolaters both the making and use of them ; and at my being there I saw them give a model or mould to certain idolaters, whereby they might make brazen pieces, of such bigness that one of them may receive the charge of a hundred and five tankards (cantoros) of powder. At the same time, also, there was a Jew, which had made a very fair brigantine, and four great pieces of artillery of iron. But God shortly afterwards gave him his due reward ; for, when he went to wash him in the river, he was drowned."

Nor did the two Christians escape much better. The Portuguese commander agreed to pardon them ; but, in attempting to escape to him, they were killed. Maffei, in his Indian History, refers to the aid which the native princes derived from these and other Christian renegadoes.

Note D.

FERNAM MENDEZ PINTO.

The ill fortune of which Pinto complained as having pursued him through life, did not spare him even after he was laid in the grave, the narrative of his adventures which he left behind him having been assailed by the wits and critics with hardly less ferocity than poor Pinto himself was while alive by the corsairs, infidels and barbarians, with whom he came in contact. He is indeed chiefly known to English readers by an ill-natured fling of Congreve, who, in his " Love for Love," makes one of his characters address another in those oft-quoted words : — " Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude ! " It is said also that Cervantes, three or four years before whose death Pinto's book was published, speaks of him somewhere as the " prince of liars." I have not been able to find the passage ; but likely enough Cervantes might have been a little vexed to find his *Persiles and Sigismunda*, a romance, under the guise of a book of travels, first published about the time with Pinto's book, so much outdone by what claimed to be a true narrative of real adventures.

As Pinto, however, in spite of all his ill luck, found, in writing his memoirs, some topics of consolation, so also his character as an author and a

narrator has by no means been left entirely in the lurch. Though little read now, he has enjoyed, in his day, a popularity such as few authors attain to. To the first edition of his "Peregrinations," in the original Portuguese, succeeded others in 1678, 1711 and 1725; and second, third and fourth editions are compliments which Portugal very rarely pays to her authors. A Spanish translation appeared at Madrid in 1620, in which, however, great and very unwarrantable liberties were taken by the translator. A French translation was published at Paris in 1628, and an English translation in 1663. To the Spanish and French translation defences of Pinto's veracity are prefixed, and both passed through several editions. Purchas, who gives a synopsis of that part of Pinto's book relating to China and Japan, strongly defends his credibility, observing that he little spares his own company and nation, but often and eagerly lays open their vices. "I find in him," says Purchas, "little boasting, except of other nations, none at all of himself, but as if he intended to express God's glory, and man's merit of nothing but misery. And, however it seems incredible to remember such infinite particulars as this book is full of, yet an easy memory holdeth strong impressions of good and bad, especially new-whetted, filed, furbushed, with so many companions in misery, their best music in their chains and wanderings being the mutual recounting of things seen, done and suffered. More marvel is it, if a liar, that he should not forget himself and contradict his own relations.

"I would not have an author rejected for fit speeches framed by the writer, in which many historians have taken liberty; nor if sometimes he doth *mendacia dicere* [say false things], so as that he doth not *mentiri* [lie]; as I will not sware but of himself he might mistake, and by others be misled. The Chinese might, in relating their rarities to him, enlarge and *de magnis majora loqui* [exaggerate things really great], so as he still might be religious in a just and true delivery of what himself hath seen, and belei not his own eyes. * * * All China authors, how diversified in their lines, yet all concur in a certain centre of *Admiranda Sinarum* [admirable things of the Chinese], * which if others have not so largely related as this, they may thank God they paid not so dear a price to see them; and, for me, I will rather believe, where reason evicts not, *ejectione firma* [with a firm ejection], than seek to see at the author's rate; and if he hath robbed the altars of truth, as he did those of the Calumplay idols, yet, in Pekin equity, we will not cut off his thumbs (according to Nanquin rigor), upon bare surmise, without any evidence against him."

The countries in which Pinto's adventures chiefly lay, still remain, for the most part, very little known; but the more they have been explored, the more has the general correctness of Pinto's statements been admitted. The editor of the great French collection, *Annales des Voyages*, who gives a full abstract of Pinto, remarks that, having had occasion, in preparing the vol-

* The title of a work ascribed to Valignani, the same visitor of the Jesuit missions in the East, repeatedly mentioned in p. 84, et seq., of the text, and whom Purchas elsewhere calls the "great Jesuit."

ume of that work on China, to consult all accessible works about that country, he had been more and more confirmed in his opinion of the reality of Pinto's adventures and the general correctness of his memory. Remusat, the eminent Chinese scholar, cites Pinto as good authority for facts, and it was, I believe, by his procurement, or that of the *Société Asiatique*, that the French translation of his travels was reprinted at Paris in 1830.

Note E.

EARLIEST ENGLISH AND DUTCH ADVENTURERS IN THE EAST. — GOA.

Prior to the first Dutch and English India voyages, both Englishmen and Dutchmen had reached India, some by way of Lisbon and the Cape of Good Hope, others over land. Pinto speaks of Christians of various nations as among the adventurers with whom he acted. Hackluyt gives (vol. II.) a letter written by Thomas Stevens, an English Jesuit, dated in 1579, at Goa, which he had reached by way of Lisbon and the Cape of Good Hope. This curious letter was addressed by Stevens, who was attached to that very seminary of St. Paul (or the Holy Faith), of which we have had occasion to make mention, to his father in England. Hackluyt also gives in the same volume some very interesting memorials of the adventures of John Newbury, who, attended by Ralph Fitch, Story, a painter, Leeds, a jeweller, and others, was sent over land in 1583, simultaneously with the first English attempts at exploration and settlement in North America, by some London merchants of the Turkey Company, as bearer of letters from Queen Elizabeth to Zelabdim Echabar, king of Cambia [Ackbar, the Great Mogul] and to the king of China —both which letters, proposing trade and commerce, Hackluyt gives at length. Newbury proceeded by way of Ormus, which he had visited before, and where he found merchants of almost all nations, not Portuguese only, but Frenchmen, Flemings, Germans, Hungarians, Greeks, Armenians, Turks, Arabs, Jews, Persians, Muscovites, and especially Italians, who seem by this time to have recovered a great share of the trade to the East. By one of these Italians Newbury and his company were accused as spies of Don Antonio (the claimant as against Philip II., of the Portuguese throne, and at that time a refugee in England). The fact also that Drake, in his recent voyage round the world, had, while at the Moluccas, fired two shot at a Portuguese galleon, was alleged against them. They were sent prisoners to the viceroy at Goa; but, by the good offices of the English Jesuit, Stevens, abovementioned, and of John Huigen Van Linschoten, a Dutchman in the service of the archbishop, they were released on giving sureties not to depart without leave of the viceroy, which sureties they procured by placing goods in the hands of certain parties who became bound for them.

Story, the painter, had indeed previously procured his discharge by joining the Jesuits of St. Paul, where he was admitted as a probationer, and was

employed in painting the church. The others, finding that the viceroy would not discharge their sureties, left secretly, or, as Fitch expresses it, "ran from thence," April, 1585, and, passing to Golconda, travelled north to Agra, then the capital of the Great Mogul. Here Leeds, the jeweller, entered into the Mogul's service, who gave him "a house, five slaves, and every day six S.S. [qu. sequins?] in money." Newbury went from Agra to Lahore, expecting to go thence to Persia, and, by way of Aleppo and Constantinople, to reach England; and he sent Fitch meanwhile to Bengal and Pegu, promising to meet him in Bengal in two years in a ship from England. Fitch passed on to Benares, and thence to Bengal, and, Nov. 28, 1586, sailed for Pegu, whence the next year he proceeded to Malacca. Returning again, in 1588, to Pegu, he went thence to Bengal in the following November; whence, in February, 1589, he took shipping for Cochin, touching at Ceylon on the way, a "brave island," where he spent five days. At Cochin he stayed eight months before he could get a passage to Goa. From Goa he proceeded to Ormus, whence, by way of Basora, Mosul and Aleppo, he reached England April 29, 1591.

Linschoten, mentioned above, who had arrived at Goa in 1583, from Lisbon, as one of the archbishop's suite, returned to Holland in 1589, where he published his travels in 1595, — the first Dutch account of the East. From him we learn that Story, the painter, after the departure of his companions, grew sick of the cloister of St. Paul, and, as he had not yet taken the vows, left and set up as a painter in Goa, where he had abundant employment, and, "in the end, married a mestizo's daughter of the town, so that he made his account to stay there while he lived," — the first permanent English resident in Hindostan.

There is in the *Asiatic Journal*, for Dec. 1838, a very striking description of the present ruinous state of the once splendid and magnificent city of Goa. It has been abandoned for Pongi, now known as New Goa, six miles nearer the sea, and the present seat of the shrunken Portuguese viceroyalty. The only inhabitants of Old Goa are a few hundred monks, nuns and their attendants, attached to the splendid churches and monasteries still standing, among which towers conspicuous the church of the Jesuits, in a beautiful chapel attached to which is the monument of St. Francis Xavier. His body, removed thither from the college of St. Paul, in which it was first placed, reposes upon a sarcophagus or bier of Italian marble, faced with bronzes, representing his missionary labors, and enclosed in a shrine of brass and silver. It is alleged still to be in as good preservation as ever, and is occasionally exhibited in public. The last of these exhibitions was in 1783.

Note F.

Japanese daring and adventure exterior to the limits of Japan.

The same Davis, who had been Houtman's pilot in the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies, sailed from England in 1604, as master of the Tiger, a

ship two hundred and forty tons. While on her course from Bantam to Batavia, the Tiger encountered a little junk of seventy tons, with ninety *Japanese* on board, "most of them in too gallant a habit for sailors." They had left home, as it turned out, in a larger vessel, which had been "pirating along the coast of China and Cambodia," — much the same business, by the way, in which the Tiger was herself engaged, — but, having lost their vessel by shipwreck, they had seized upon this little junk, laden with rice, and were trying to reach Japan in it. In hopes to get some information out of them, they were entertained for two days with "gifts and feasting;" but, at the same time, their junk was searched for treasure which might be concealed under the rice. While part of the Tiger's men were employed in this search, the Japanese made a desperate effort to get possession of that ship. Davis himself was killed in the first surprise, but the Japanese were finally forced into the cabin, where, by breaking down a bulkhead, some of the ship's guns, loaded with bullets and case shot, were brought to bear upon them. They disdained to ask quarter, and all perished from effects of the shot except one, who jumped into the sea. The narrative of this affair, given by Purchas (Pilg., Part I., p. 137), and apparently written by an officer of the Tiger, winds up as follows: "The Japanese are not suffered to land in any port of India with weapons, being accounted a people so desperate and daring that they are feared in all places where they come."

In conformity to this character of the Japanese is the account given by Floris, cape merchant of the Globe, an English ship, which touched at Siam in 1612, while performing the voyage mentioned p. 161 of the text. A short time previously, two hundred and eighty Japanese, the slave-soldiers of a principal Siamese noble, who had been put to death by the royal authority, had revenged their master by seizing on the king of Siam, whom they compelled to subscribe to such terms as they dictated, "after which, they had departed with great treasure, the Siamese not being able to right themselves."

The good service rendered to the Portuguese by Japanese mercenaries at the siege of Molucca, in 1606, is mentioned in the text, p. 142. It appears, from a curious tract concerning the Philippines, preserved by Thevenot, that when De Silva, governor of those islands, undertook, in 1608, to drive the Dutch from the Moluccas, he was obliged to send to Japan for saltpetre, metal, and even for founders to cast cannon. A body of Japanese formed, in 1619, a part of the Dutch garrison in their fort at Jacatara (named about that time Batavia), while besieged by the natives on the island, and blockaded at the same time by an English squadron, as mentioned p. 188 of the text. Of the Japanese settled on the island of Amboyna, and involved with the English in the massacre there, mention is made on p. 186. Haganaar, who was at Cambodia in 1687, found among the inhabitants of that city seventy or eighty families of Japanese, whom he describes as not daring to return to their own country, with which, however, they carried on trade, by means of Chinese ships. They were in great favor with the king of Cam-

bodia, to whom they had rendered valiant assistance in suppressing a dangerous rebellion, and were greatly feared by the other inhabitants of the city, whether Chinese or Malays. To this day one of the channels of the great river of Cambodia is known as *Japanese river* — a name given, indeed, on some maps, to the main river itself, and probably taking its origin from this Japanese colony.

The conquest of the Lew Chew Islands, by the king of Satsuma, took place about 1610; and, much about the same time, some Japanese made an establishment on the island of Formosa, for the purpose of trading with the Chinese; but in this they were soon superseded by the Dutch. The narrative of Nuyts' affair, as given in the text (p. 199), is derived from a detailed account appended in *Voyages au Nord*, tom. IV., to Caron's Memoir, addressed to Colbert, on opening an intercourse with Japan; but, from a paper embodied in the Voyage of Rechteren (*Voyages des Indes*, tom. V.), and written, apparently, in 1632, by a person on the spot, it would appear that the conduct of Nuyts, instead of being prompted by personal antipathy, was merely an attempt to exclude the Japanese from the trade with the Chinese, and to engross it for the Dutch East India Company; "a desire good in itself," so this writer observes, "but which should have been pursued with greater precaution and prudence."

In the Chinese writings, the Japanese figure as daring pirates; but, as the appellation bestowed on them is equally applied to other eastern and south-eastern islanders, it is not so easy to say to whose credit or discredit the exploits referred to by these Chinese writers actually belong.

Note G.

PRODUCTS OF JAPAN. — PROBABLE EFFECT OF OPENING JAPAN TO FOREIGN TRADE. BY S. W. WILLIAMS.

There is much exaggeration, doubtless, in the minds of many persons in the United States, respecting the population, wealth, resources and civilization, of the Japanese, in all of which points they have been generally rated much higher than the Chinese, in proportion to the extent of their country. Further examination will show that the trade with them is to grow slowly, and only after they and their foreign customers have learned each other's wants, and the rates at which they can be supplied. They have yet to acquire a taste for foreign commodities, and ascertain how they are to pay for them; and their rulers may interpose restrictions, until they see what course the trade will take, and how the experiment of opening the country to the Americans is likely to affect their own political position. Foreigners will need some data, too, before they can see their way clear to embark much in such a traffic. The intercourse, it is to be hoped, will be conducted amicably, even if the first adventures should not prove to be very profitable.

In articles of food and raw produce, the Japanese have hitherto raised only such as they needed, as wheat, rice, barley, cotton, silk, iron, copper, and such like, most of which can be more profitably taken there than carried away. The copper of Japan, long famous for its purity, is used to a small extent by the Japanese in preserving their junks, but much more in ornamenting them; even those whose bottoms are not coppered are curiously overlaid and adorned on the bows and gunwales with many plates and pieces of this metal. On shore, we saw very few copper utensils, either in the kitchen or work-shop, and the metal does not seem to be extensively used in any way, compared with what one might have anticipated.

Charcoal and fossil coal are both procurable; the former to a great amount, as it forms the fuel of all classes, and is of an excellent quality. The fossil coal is obtained from the islands of Kiusiu and Sikokf, in the principalities of Tchikugen and Awa, and the specimens obtained appear to be surface coal, not of a very good quality of bituminous, but which might turn out better on digging deeper. The demand for it to supply steamers running between China and California may stimulate more energy in bringing it to market, but, until we know more, there is not much on which to ground large hopes in respect to this article.

Camphor is produced in Japan, and both the unrectified gum and timber can doubtless be obtained. The pine wood of the country is also of the finest quality, and might be carried away for cabinet work, as well as curly maple and other woods which further investigation may discover. At Simoda, good building-stones are quarried, in blocks of three or four cubic feet, and in small slabs, both of which might be taken to San Francisco, for the foundations of houses, when the trade there in other articles is sufficient to load a ship.

A few specimens of tea were obtained, all of which were sun-dried, and only one of them of a pleasant flavor. In order to make the tea grateful to western palates, a different process of manipulation must be introduced. If the cultivators were taught the various processes of fining tea-leaves, it is probable that their tea would soon be in demand, as the leaf is as fine as that grown in China. The plant is common in hedges and yards, in the villages on the shores of the Bay of Yedo, and its cultivation could be indefinitely extended. The Japanese often use sugar with their tea, and drink it moderately strong.

The specimens of lackered ware, both inlaid shell, mosaic, gilded and plain, which the Japanese produce, are superior to anything produced in the East, as those who have visited the Handel-Maabschappy's (or Dutch East India Company's) warehouse, at Batavia, know. Those articles are chiefly made for a foreign market, and more could be supplied, as demand arose, and manufacturers directed their attention to them, while their beauty and finish would always secure a moderate sale.

Raw cotton is often woven into cloth by the family which raised it, and intends to wear it. Silks are worn by the gentry, but the common people

usually dress in cotton. The specimens of silk fabrics furnished by the Japanese show that they can manufacture almost every variety of these goods. Crapes, pongees, challies, camlets, and gauze, are all made, especially the first, which is the favorite article of dress among the gentry, as it is in China. Cheap combinations of cotton and silk are woven, and form substitutes for pure silk among the poor. The dyes in all kinds of silk, and the stamps on cottons, further prove that the arts of ornamenting the products of the loom have been carried to a high degree of excellence; some of the tints are superior to those in China, and the variety of patterns stamped on cotton is great and novel. The figures on crapes are frequently large and grotesque, those on cotton small and of a single color; but, doubtless, any patterns can be produced after time has been given. The trade in manufactured silks may, by-and-by, form an important branch of the traffic. So far as can be ascertained, the native manufacture now consumes most of the raw silk, so that there is little probability of Japan furnishing any of that at present; it is highly probable, even, that it is imported from China.

Besides the articles already enumerated, a few minor articles may also be sought after. Paper, of a coarse quality, is used in enormous quantities for nose-wipers, and for wrapping up articles; and, though all the specimens seen are in sheets less than three feet square, it can probably be made in longer sheets. It is all manufactured from the bark of the paper-mulberry (*Broussonetia*), which grows wild about Simoda; and the fine sorts would serve for engravers' uses and printing. Some of the specimens seen are extremely fine and smooth, not so white as cotton or linen, but silky and soft. The soy made by the Japanese is of an excellent flavor, and this and their sweet saki, or rice whiskey, might find a few customers. Kittisols, or paper umbrellas, and rain-cloaks made of oiled paper, afterwards varnished, are neatly-made articles, which last longer than one would suppose so frail a material would endure. There is not the same unpleasant smell about them that renders the Chinese kittisols so disagreeable. Fine porcelain is made by this people, of a superior quality, and could, probably, be manufactured according to any pattern. The small saki and tea-cups constitute the greatest portion of the pieces which we saw in the shops; and though china-ware is common, and of a good quality, it is not used to nearly the extent it is in China. Some of the specimens of Japanese porcelain exceed anything to be found elsewhere, for thinness and clearness of ware, and the demand for them is likely to increase. Coarse pottery and earthen ware are cheap, and many of the pieces are worked into grotesque and elegant shapes. Whether it could be furnished of the proper sorts, and in sufficient quantity, for exportation, is, perhaps, doubtful. Besides these articles, nothing that seems likely to be in demand was brought to our notice, but further investigations may show that raw lacker, India ink, tobacco, fish-oil, rape-seed, and other miscellaneous products, will be worth seeking for exportation.

Amid the vast variety of foreign articles likely to be in demand among the Japanese, those which are cheap and durable for wear, or in constant use as

food, rank the first. Cheap woollens, blankets, glass-ware, fancy colored and drilled cottons, cutlery, watches, soaps, and, perhaps, lead, tin, iron, ginseng, and perfumery, will commend themselves to the people. Rice, wheat and barley in the grain, sugar, and, perhaps, flour, too, are such products as can be readily disposed of in a country whose population seems to live very near its production. At present there is no knowledge among the mass of people as to what they can get from abroad, and no desire for it, since all their wants have been hitherto supplied among themselves, and they have been content with what they had.

The produce of the country is not much beyond the wants of its inhabitants, and there is, therefore, a difficulty in paying for cloths and other things which the common people might be glad to take. The proportion of rich men is, probably, small, and wealth generally belongs to the class of noblemen, or monopolists, by whom the industry of the masses is either compelled or farmed for their benefit. These classes might be willing to take fine things, articles of ornament or excellence, such as glass ware for the toilet or table, fine cutlery, broadcloth, or watches, and pay for them in crapes, silks, lackered ware, or gems; but such a barter would extend very slowly, and never amount to much. It is, however, likely to be the commencement of the trade at Simoda, as the rich and noble can sooner gratify their inclinations than the poor, and each party will desire to see the most beautiful specimens of skill and art the other can furnish, and at first they are most likely to be remunerative.

The most likely way to commence the trade with Japan is, it appears to me, for ships going from China to California to stop at Simoda for water and provisions, and pay for them in cotton, woollen, or other goods, of which a larger assortment than could be disposed of might be had in readiness to show. A few calls of this sort would make the people around the town aware, practically, that the produce of their farms and gardens was likely to meet with a steady sale, for returns which were valuable and appreciated by their neighbors. The demands of a few ships for provisions would begin to turn the attention of the people to supplying them, while an exchange of each other's commodities would, probably, ere long, attract capitalists from Yedo, Okosaka, and other large towns, to enter more largely into the opening commerce, and take orders to be fulfilled by a certain date. Merchants will find little encouragement to reside at Simoda for many seasons yet.

In conducting a barter trade with the Japanese, the foreigner must understand their determination in respect to the currency, and charge three times the cash price for his goods, in order to make them equal with the market prices of provisions and merchandise. However, further investigations are still wanted to ascertain how much bread, cotton, and labor, can be obtained for an *ichibu*, before the comparison of the currency of Japan with that of China, England, or America, is perfectly satisfactory.

It is idle to speculate on the effects of the new influences likely soon to

operate upon this inquisitive, touchy, and high-spirited people, through the openings now made in their seclusive policy; but it is earnestly to be hoped that the personal bearing of Americans resorting to Simoda and Hakodade will not be such that the Japanese will conclude that, while there are some things to be afraid of in their new customers, they have more to despise and reject, from what they see of their conduct.

Note H.

Account of Japan, chiefly extracted from Japanese works.*

The archipelago, of which the Japanese empire is composed, is inhabited by a race that, at first sight, greatly resemble the Chinese in form and exterior. In carefully examining their characteristic features, however, and comparing them with those of the Chinese, it is easy to perceive the discrimination between them; I have myself made the experiment at the Russian and Chinese frontier, where I met with individuals of both nations at the same time. The eye of the Japanese, although placed almost as obliquely as that of the Chinese, is, however, wider near the nose, and the centre of the eyelid appears drawn up when opened. The hair of the Japanese is not uniformly black, but of a deep brown hue. In children below the age of twelve it may be found of all shades, even to flaxen. There are also individuals to be met with who have hair completely black, and almost crisped, with eyes very oblique, and a skin extremely dark. At a distance, the complexion of the lower orders appears yellow, like the color of cheese; that of the inhabitants of towns is diversified according to their mode of life, whilst in the palaces of the great may be often seen complexions as fair and cheeks as ruddy as those of European females. The vagabonds on the highways, on the other hand, have a skin of a color between copper and a brown earthy hue. This is the prevailing complexion of the Japanese peasantry, of those parts of the body particularly which are much exposed to the heat of the sun.

The distinct origin of the Chinese and the Japanese is completely established by the language of the latter, which is wholly different, in respect to radicals, from that of all people in the vicinity of Japan. Although it has adopted a considerable number of Chinese words, those words do not form a radically integral part of the language; they have been introduced by Chinese colonies, and principally by the Chinese literature, which has formed the basis of that of Japan. The Japanese radicals have as little resemblance to those of the Corean tongue; they are equally alien to the dialects of the Aynos or Kuriles, who inhabit Jeso. Lastly, the Japanese language has no affinity

* From an article furnished by M. Klaproth to the *Asiatic Journal*, new series, vol. VI.

to the dialects of the Manchoos and Tungooses, who inhabit the continent of Asia opposite to Japan.

In manufacturing industry the Japanese rival the Chinese and the Hindus. They have excellent workmen in copper, iron and steel; their sabres are not inferior to those of Damascus and Korasan. Many arts, such as the manufacture of silk and cotton fabrics, of porcelain, of paper from the bark of the mulberry-tree and from the filaments of various plants, of lackered ware, glass ware and other articles, have reached a high degree of perfection amongst them. The Japanese have practised the art of printing ever since the beginning of the thirteenth century, in the same manner as the Chinese. The most celebrated presses are at Miako and Jedo. These two cities, with Osaka, Nagasaki, Yosida, and Kasi-no-mats, are the principal marts of industry in the empire.

In the same proportion that the external commerce of Japan is circumscribed, its internal trade is active and flourishing. No imposts check its operations, and communication is facilitated by the excellent condition of the roads. Although the ports of Japan are sealed against foreigners, they are crowded with vessels, both great and small. Shops and markets overflow with every species of commodities, and large fairs attract a prodigious number of people to the trading towns, which are scattered throughout the empire.

The three principal islands which constitute the Japanese empire are, for the most part, studded with lofty volcanic mountains, particularly that of Nipon, which is traversed in its whole length by a chain almost of uniform elevation, and in many places crowned with peaks covered with perpetual snow. This chain divides the streams which flow to the south and east, and which fall into the Pacific Ocean, from those which pursue a course more or less northerly to the sea of Japan. The highest mountain of the empire forms, however, no part of this chain; it is that of Foosi-no-yama, an enormous pyramid crowned with snows, situated in the province of Suruga, on the frontier of that of Kaï.

An empire composed of islands cannot, of course, have very considerable rivers. It is only in the largest, the island of Nipon, that the most considerable streams are found, chiefly in the western portion, which is larger than the eastern. The Jodogawa is the efflux of Lake Biwano-mitsu-oomi, called on our maps the Lake of Oitz, situated in the province of Oomi, seventy-two and a half English miles long, and twenty-two and a quarter in its greatest width, and much the largest in Japan. The Jodogawa passes before the cities of Jodo and Osaka, and falls into the gulf of that name. The Kiso-gawa rises in the province of Sinano, flows to the southwest, enters Mino, where it is reïnforced by several large rivers, forms the boundary between this province and that of Owari, and, under the name of Sayagawa, falls into the gulf of Iseh. The Tenriogawa, or river of the heavenly dragon, flows out of Lake Suwa, in the province of Sinano, enters Toôtomi, and there disembogues itself by three mouths into the sea; it is very wide, and its current is extremely rapid. The Kamanafi originates at Mount

Yatuga-oka, in Kai. At the boundary between this province and that of Suruga, it separates into two branches: the western, called the Oôygawa, divides Suruga from Toôtomi, and falls into the sea a short distance from Iro; the eastern branch, named Foosi-no-gawa, runs at the base of Mount Foosi-no-yama, and enters the bay of Taga. The sources of the Aragawa are at the lofty mountain of Fosio-daken, situated between the provinces of Kootsukeh and Musasi. It flows through the latter, and soon separates into two branches; the western, receiving the name of Todagawa, falls into the gulf of Jedo, to the eastward of the city of that name, which is watered by branches and canals from the Todagawa. Upon one of these canals is the celebrated Nipon-bas, or bridge of Japan, from whence distances are computed throughout the empire. The other branch of the Aragawa falls into the great lake Tukgawa, formed in Kootsukeh province by the three great rivers, Takasina, Atsuma and Kawagawa. It divides Musasi from Kootsukeh and Simosa, and falls by one branch into the gulf of Jedo, and by the other into the great lake Kasmiga-oora, whose waters are discharged, by the large issue called Saragawa, into the Eastern Ocean. This lake, situated in the province of Fitats, is fed by a number of considerable streams flowing from the mountains of Moots, Simotsukeh and Fitats. The Oôkumigawa and the Figanigawa are two large mountain streams; they discharge themselves into the Eastern Ocean. The source of the Kasabagawa is in the province of Sinano. Its course is northerly, entering Yetsingo, where it takes the name of Finegawa, and falling into the sea of Japan, near the city of Ituwogawa. In Sinano it detaches a branch on its right, the Saïgawa, which flows to the northeast, and unites itself to the Sinanogawa. This large stream originates in the Akiyama mountain, in the province of Sinano; it enters the Yetsingo, where it discharges itself by three arms into the estuary of Niegata, which communicates with the sea of Japan. The Ikogawa rises on Mount Sanôtoôki, on the frontier of Sinano and Moots; it traverses a part of the latter, where it receives the Datami on the left, and on the right the waters of the salt lake Inaba. It enters Yetsingo, where it takes the name of Tsugawa, and falls by one of its branches into the estuary of Niegata, and by the easternmost into that of Fukusimagata. The largest river in the province of Dewa is the Mogami, called at its embouchure the Sakadagawa. It is formed by several large streams, which flow from the snowy mountains of Moots, and it falls into the sea of Japan.

The empire is distributed into eight grand divisions or countries, denominated *Do*, or "ways," namely, Gokynay, Tokaydo, Tosando, Foo-koo-ro-kosdo, San-in-do, San-yo-do, Nan-kay-do, and Say-kay-do. These are subdivided into sixty-eight kokfs, or provinces, which again consist of six hundred and twenty-two koris, or districts.

I. *Gokynay* consists of five provinces, which compose the peculiar state or demesne of the emperor; they are as follows:

1. Yamasiro (eight districts); principal cities, Kio, or Miako, the residence of the Dairi, Nisio and Yodo; productions, damasks, satins, taffetas,

and other silk fabrics of every kind, lackered articles, caps, *kesas*, or scarfs for the Buddhist priests, screens, fans, pins, bow-strings, white paint, tea-boxes, images of Buddhist divinities, porcelain and earthen ware, melons, tender sprouts of the bamboo for eating, dry ginger, stones for grinding ink, tea, grindstones, dolls, fish. 2. Yamato (fifteen districts); principal cities, Kori-yama, Toka-tori, Kara ; productions, *saki*, or Japanese wine, excellent ink, parasols, pottery-vessels, cotton, deer, lacker, paper (plain and varnished), flour of the *katsoora* root, tobacco, melons, medical herbs, edible roots. 3. Kawatsi (fifteen districts) ; city Sayansa ; productions, fruit, barrelled figs, sugar of rice, perfumes, cucumbers, tree-cotton, diamonds, *matricaria*, bridles, bells for hawks used for hunting, raisins, black yams, coals, edible roots of the lotus. 4. Idzumi (three districts) ; city, Kisi-no-wata ; productions, gold-flowered gauses, taffetas, brass guns, white paint, shoes, vinegar, umbrellas, knives, melons, gold-fish, rock spari, soles, paper, salt, summer hats, water-jars, tobacco, combs, sieves. 5. Sets (thirteen districts) ; cities, Osaka, one of the chief commercial emporia in the empire, Taka-tsuki, Ayaka-saki ; productions, raw cotton (both tree and herbaceous), cotton fabrics, salt-water fish, salted fish, grain, medicinal plants, wood for building, oil for burning, *saki*, soy, vinegar, umbrellas for the rain and the sun, tiles, melons, turnips, a sort of mustard of which the tender sprouts are eaten (*kaburana*), iron kettles, gingerbread.

II. Tokaydo, or eastern sea-way, consists of fifteen provinces ; namely :

1. Iga (four districts); capital, Wooye-no. 2. Izeh (fifteen districts); cities, Koowana, Kameyama, Tsu, Mats-saka, Kambeh, Kwe, Nagasima, Yoda, the Daysingu temples ; productions, raw cotton (tree and herbaceous), taffetas, sea-crabs (highly-prized), the best pearls in Japan, a great quantity of fish and shell-fish, mosses, large radishes, *daucus Indica*, acorns (*totsi nomi*, barrelled figs, excellent tea, mercury (crude and sublimed), white paint, whalebone, almanacs, sugar of rice, matches, flutes, straw shoes. 3. Sima (two districts); capital, Toba ; productions, pearls, nearly as fine as those of Izeh. 4. Owari (eight districts); cities, Nakoya, Inogama ; productions, pearls, loadstones, edible roots, gourds. 5. Mikawa (eight districts); cities, Yosida, Nisiwo, Kariya, Tawara, Oka-saki, Koromo ; productions, talc, anchors, arrow-heads, stones for playing drafts and chess, paper, fish, shell-fish, amongst which is the *cancer Bernhardus*. 6. Tutumi (fourteen districts); cities, Kakegawa, Yakosuka, Famamats ; productions, potatoes, oranges of different sorts, eels and other fish, sugar of rice, peas, light summer cloths, made of the katsoora plant, other cloths, edible shoots of the bamboo, birds of prey for the chase, arrow-heads. 7. Suruga (seven districts); cities, Foo-tsiu, Tanaka ; productions, paper, bamboo utensils, melons; tea, sweet oranges, rock spari and other sea-fish, moss from Mount Foosi-no-yama. 8. Idsu (three districts); capital, Simoda ; productions, *saki* or Japanese wine (from Yekawa), paper, astrological almanacs from the great temple of the Sintos at Misima, ginger. 9. Kay (four districts); capital, Footsiu ; productions,

taffetas, paper, stamped gold of the country, varnish, wax, chestnuts peaches, raisins, barrelled figs, trained horses. 10. Sagani (eight districts); cities, Odawara, Tamanawa; productions, safflower, shrimps (the coast abounds with fish). 11. Moosasi (twenty-one districts); cities, Jedo, the second capital of the empire, and the residence of the Seogun or military emperor of Japan; Kawagobe, Iwatski, Osi; productions, melons, fish, oysters, divers shell-fish, moss, cotton, human hair, lime. 12. Awa (four districts); cities, Yakata-yama, Tosio, Fosio; productions, cotton, moss, fish. 13. Kadzusa (eleven districts); cities, Odaghi, Sanuki, Kooruri; productions, safflower, moss, oysters (in the bay of Ootaki-ura very fine rock spari are taken). 14. Simoosa (twelve districts); cities, Seki-yado, Sakra, Kooga, Yughi; productions, moss, chestnuts, gauzes and other silk fabrics. 15. Fitats (eleven districts); cities, Mits, Samodats, Kodats, Kasama; productions, large paper, carp, and many other fish.

III. Tosando, or way of the eastern mountains, consists of eight provinces:

1. Oomi (thirteen districts); cities, Fikoneh or Sawa-yama, Zeseh; productions, bones of snakes, dead grasshoppers, yellow dye-root (*kariasu*), lime, rush mats, spiders' webs, hempen cloths, a variety of fish, paper made of grass, earthen dishes, timber for building, grindstones, stones for grinding ink, porcelain of Sikara-ki, arrow-heads, tobacco-pipes, parasols, models (*sisineh*), rock crystal, saddles, whips, crupers, lamp-wicks, kettles, measures, ink, *moxa* (a substance to burn, made from the tops and leaves of a species of *artemesia*), asbestos, cotton thread, peas and beans, paper, pins and needles, calculating boards (*abacus*). 2. Mino (eighteen districts); cities, Oogani, Kanora, or Kanara; productions, silk manufactures, various sorts of paper, melons, knives and daggers, carp, birds of prey for hunting. 3. Fida (four districts); capital, Taka-yama; productions, cotton, saltpetre, silver, copper, fish, silk goods. 8. Sinano (ten districts); cities Uyeda, Matsumoto, Iyi-yama, Takatô, Omoro, Iyida, Takasima; productions, *sinsi* or ginseng (a small species, and of inferior quality), buckwheat, hempen garments, salt, tobacco. 5. Kootskeh (fourteen districts); cities, Tatsfayan, Mayi-bas, Numada, Yasinaka, Takeseki; productions, silk manufactures of various qualities, lacker, celebrated carp from the river Negawa. 6. Simotskeh (nine districts); cities, Ootsu-miya (containing the temple of the Sintos, in high repute), Kurafa, Mifu, Odawara (also Mount Nikwô-san, with a celebrated Buddhic temple); productions, paper (strong and of a large size), lacker, fine taffeta, straw hats, fans, umbrellas, copper from Mount Rôwo-yama. 7. Moots (fifty-four districts), the largest province in Japan; cities, Senday, the capital of an almost independent prince; Sira-issi, Waku-mats, Niphon-mats, Morioka, or Great Nambu, Yatsdo, Tana-koora, Taira, Sirakawa, Nakamura, Fook-sima, Minuwaru, Firo-saki (in the district of Tsugar), Ina-basi, and, lastly, Matsmai, at the southern extremity of the island of Jeso; productions, provisions, silk fabrics, summer garments made of paper, ashes and potash, gold-dust, hawks for hunting, grain, large sea-shells,

salted fish, bear-skins, trained horses, horse-tails, lacker, wax, wooden bowls, rock-crystal, amber, red earth ; the best horses in Japan are from the district of Nanbu, where are extensive pastures ; the productions of Jeso, in particular, are as follows : *konbu*, or sea-cabbage, birds of prey for hawking, whales and other sea-fish, skins of otters, beavers, seals, and stags, castoreum, gold, silver, adamantine spar. 8. Dewa (twelve districts); cities, Yone-sawa, Yama-gata, Onewe-no-yama, Sinsio, Sionay, Akita ; productions, sea-cabbage, safflower, a very large kind of hemp, wax, lacker, oiled paper, madder, tin, lead, silver, sulphur, deer-skins, horses.

IV. Fookoorokudo, or way of the northern districts, comprehends seven provinces :

1. Wakasa (three districts); capital, Kobama ; productions, white rice pionies, pulp of lotus-flowers, perfume-bags, cloths, mosses, paper, *saki*, pencils, stones for grinding ink, black stones for draft or chess boards, lime, many kinds of fish. 2. Yetsisen (twelve districts); towns, Fookie, Foocheu, Maruôka, Ono, Sabafe, Katsu-yama ; productions, lead, different sorts of paper, cloths, silk fabrics, cotton goods, hats woven from the filaments of herbs, grindstones, oil extracted from the seeds of the *dryandra cordata*, much fish. 3. Yetsiu (four districts); capital, Toyama ; productions, saltpetre, yellow lotus, lead, cotton cloths, taffetas, fish. 4. Yetsingo (seven districts); cities, Takata, Naga-ôka, Simbota, Mura-kami, Itsumo-saki, Moramats ; productions, lead, lacker, wax, white mustard, various cotton fabrics, white hares, sturgeons and other fish, deal and larch wood. 5. Kaga (four districts); cities, Kanazawa (with the celebrated Buddhic temple Daïsiu-si), Komats ; productions, paper, skins for drums, small thread, wine of motherwort, yellow lotus, sulphur, silk, satins. 6. Noto (four districts); this province has no cities ; the most considerable towns are Soos-no-misaki, Kawasiri, Nanao ; productions, sea-fish, divers kinds of mosses, colored stones washed up by the sea. 7. Sado (three districts); the capital of this isle is Koki ; productions, gold, silver, yellow lotus, deal and larch-wood.

V. Sanindo, or way of the northern sides of the mountains, contains eight provinces :

1. Tango (five districts); cities, Miyazu, Tanabeh ; productions, hemp, baskets, silk, taffetas, fish and shell-fish, umbrellas, iron, timber for building. 2. Tonba (six districts); cities, Kame-yama, Sasa-yama, Fooktsi-yama ; productions, China-root, wax, quinces, chestnuts, tobacco, cloths, tea, topazes, sheaths for knives and sabres. 3. Tasima (six districts); cities, Idzusi or Daisi, Toyo-ôka ; productions, small ginseng, pionies, yellow lotus, medicinal and edible herbs, cotton, hawks for hunting, pepper, silver, grindstones. 4. Inaba (seven districts); capital, Totstori ; productions, vegetable wax, paper, melons, dried fish, ginger. 5. Fôki (six districts); capital, Yonego ; productions, iron, steel, bear's-gall, a medicine greatly in repute among the Japanese, pans to fry fish. 6. Idzumo (ten districts); capital, Matsugeh ; productions, iron, steel, sabres, fish, shell-fish, melons, cloths. 7. Iwami (six districts); cities, Tsoowano, Famada ; productions,

silver, tin, draftmen, honey. 8. Oki (four districts); this province consists of two large isles, of the same name, the one called the hither, the other the hinder; it has no cities, only small towns and villages; productions, cloth and sea-fish.

VI. Sanyodo, or way of the southern side of the mountains, has eight provinces:

1. Farima (twelve districts); cities, Fimedzi, Akasi, Ako, Tatafu; productions, fish, shell-fish, salt, saddles, leather, looking-glasses, kettles, steel, cast-iron, a kind of very viscous rice, which is used to distil excellent *saki*. 2. Mimasaka (seven districts); cities, Tsuyama, Katsu-yama; productions, saltpetre, stones for grinding ink. 3. Bizen (eight districts); capital, Oka-yama; productions, large cuttle-fishes, sea-fish, mosses, porcelain, edible marine herbs. 4. Bitsiu (nine districts); capital, Matsu-yama; productions, paper of various kinds and colors, pears, lacker, iron. 5. Bingo (fourteen districts); capital, Fuku-yama; productions, silk fabrics, summer-hats, rock-spari and other sea-fish. 6. Aki (eight districts); capital, Firosima; productions, paper, baskets, saltpetre, rock-crystal, dried figs, mallows, fish. 7. Suwo (six districts); cities, Tok-yama, Fook-yama; productions, paper, red color, cloths, edible bamboo. 8. Nagata (six districts); cities, Faki, Tsio-fu, Fu-naka; productions, porcelain, green color, fish, stones to grind ink, lime, shell-fish, models.

VII. Nankaydo, or southern way of the sea, contains six provinces:

1. Kiy (seven districts); cities, Waka-yama, Tona-be, Sinmiya (with a celebrated temple, dedicated to the god of physic, surrounded with several others); productions, medicinal plants, oranges, various kinds of wine, soles, mallows, shell-fish, whales, carp, oysters, pulse, and edible plants, melons, honey, vegetable glue, mosses, chestnuts, timber, ink, wooden bowls, paper to make parasols, bows, jewelry articles, draftmen, grindstones. 2. Awasi (two districts); capital of this isle, Sumoto or Smoto; fish, stones of different colors, tree cotton. 3. Awa (nine districts); capital, Toksima; productions, oysters, precious stones of a blue color (lapis lazuli?), cloths, firewood, flints. 4. Sanuki (eleven districts); cities, Take-mats, Marukameh; productions, fish, oysters and other shell-fish, sea-crabs. 5. Iyo (fourteen districts); cities, Matsu-yama, Uwa-yama, Imobari, Sayziô, Komats, Daisu, Dago; productions, pulse, fish, edible marine herbs, paper, hawks, mats, cloths. 6. Tôsa (seven districts); capital, Kotsi; productions, trained horses, monkeys, salted fish, shell-fish, cloths, paper, ink, baskets, honey, hemp, timber. — *Note.* The provinces of Awa, Sanuki, Iyo, and Tôsa, belong to the island called Sikokf; that is, "of the four provinces."

VIII. Saykaydo, or western way of the sea, comprehends nine provinces of the large island of Kiusiu, formerly also called Tsin-sae-fu, or "the western military government":

1. Tsikoozen (fifteen districts); cities, Fookoo-ôka, Akitsuki; productions, silk manufactures like the Chinese, *saki*, fish, wild geese, cast-iron

kettles. 2. Tsi-knngo (ten districts); cities, Kurome, Yana-gawa; productions, carp, safflower, radishes. 3. Buzen (eight districts); cities, Kokura, Nakatsu; productions, cotton fabrics, rock-crystal, sulphur. 4. Bungo (eight districts); cities, Osuki, Takeda, Saeki, Foonae or Fnae, Finode; productions, saltpetre, sulphur, rock-crystal, tin, lead, large bamboos, chestnuts, hawks and dogs for hunting, fish, frying-pans, bricks. 5. Fizen (eleven districts); cities, Saga, Karatsu, Omura, Simabara, Osima, Firando, Nagasaki; productions, whales and other sea-fish, shell-fish, echini, edible roots, water-melons, raisins, earthen ware, silk stuffs, knives, brass guns, porcelain, mats, cotton cloths, sugar. 6. Figo (fourteen districts); cities, Kuma-moto, Yatsu-siro, Oodo, Amakusa; productions, salted fish, sweet oranges, tree cotton, mosses, grindstones, flints, earthen ware, tobacco pipes, leather trunks. 7. Finga (five districts); cities, Jyiñ, Takanabeh, Nobi-ôka, Sadowara; productions, lacker, pears, deal for building. 8. Osumi (eight districts); capital, Kokobu; productions, brass cannon. 9. Satsuma (fourteen districts); capital, Kagosima; productions, camphor, a species of ginseng, safflower, melons, edible roots, tobacco, vegetable wax, cinnamon, trained horses, deer-skins, cloths, combs, *saki*.

The island of Iki is divided into two districts; its capital is Katu-moto; its productions are fish, cloths and gauzes.

The island of Tsu-sima, between Corea and Japan, is also divided into two districts; the capital is Futsiu; its productions are ginseng, lead, grindstones and frying-pans.

The empire is governed by eight administrations or boards; namely, *Tsiu jô-no-siô*, the general central board; *Sik-boo-no-siô*, the board of legislation and of public instruction; *Dzi-boo-no-siô*, the general board for the interior; *Min-boo-no-siô*, the board for the affairs of the people, or general police; *Fio-boo-no-siô*, the general board of war; *Ghio-boo-no-siô*, the board of criminal affairs; *Oô-koora-siô*, the treasury board; *Koo-naï-no-siô*, the ministry of the imperial dwelling.

Note I.

OMITTED DOCUMENTS.

I. Letter of the Emperor Ge-Jas (Ogosho-Sama) to the king of England — (James I.).*

"Your majesty's kind letter, sent me by your servant, Captain John Saris (who is the first that I have known to arrive in any part of my dominions), I heartily embrace, being not a little glad to understand of your great wisdom and power, as having three plentiful and mighty kingdoms under your powerful command. I acknowledge your majesty's great bounty

* See *ante*, page 171.

in sending me so undeserved a present of many rare things, such as my land affordeth not, neither have I ever before seen; which I receive not as from a stranger, but as from your majesty, whom I esteem as myself. Desiring the continuance of friendship with your highness, and that it may stand with your good liking to send your subjects to any part or port of my dominions, where they shall be most heartily welcome, applauding much their worthiness, in the admirable knowledge of navigation, having with much facility discovered a country so remote, being no whit amazed with the distance of so mighty a gulf, nor greatness of such infinite clouds and storms, from prosecuting honorable enterprises of discoveries and merchandising, wherein they shall find me to further them according to their desires. I return unto your majesty a small token of my love (by your said subject), desiring you to accept thereof as from one that much rejoiceth in your friendship. And whereas your majesty's subjects have desired certain privileges for trade and settling of a factory in my dominions, I have not only granted what they demanded, but have confirmed the same unto them under my broad seal, for better establishing thereof. From my castle in Suruga, this fourth day of the ninth month, in the eighteenth year of our Dairi, according to our computation. Resting your majesty's friend, the highest commander in the kingdom of Japan.

"[Signed,] MINNA. MONTONO. YER. YE. YEAS."

II. An ordinance of the emperor of Japan sent to all the governors of the maritime districts to prevent the landing of Portuguese: *

"The express and reiterated commandments against the promulgation of the religion and doctrine of the Christians have been duly published and everywhere proclaimed; but it being found that these edicts were not efficacious, they [that is, the Christians] were forbidden to approach the coasts of Japan with their galliots and other sea vessels; and some of them, in contempt of this prohibition, having come to Nagasaki, orders were given, in punishment of this offence, to put them to death. It was commanded, last year, by a special edict, that in case any sea vessel were seen on the coasts of Japan or entered any port, it might be permitted to anchor, with a strong guard on board, till what they proposed was sent to the emperor. This commandment is now revoked; and it is ordered instead that these vessels [that is, Portuguese and Spanish vessels], without hearing a word which those on board have to say, shall be destroyed and burnt, whatever pretence they may set up, and all their crews to the last man be put to death.

"It is also commanded to erect watch-towers on the mountains and all along the coast, and to keep constant watch to discover Portuguese vessels, so that news of their arrival may at once be spread everywhere; and if such a vessel shall first be discovered from a more distant point, it shall be imputed as a crime to those in charge of the nearer watching places, and the

* See *ante*, page 192.

governors thus guilty of negligence shall be deprived of their offices. As soon as a Portuguese vessel shall be discovered, news shall be sent express to all the neighborhood, to the governors of Nagasaki and Osaka, and to the lord of Aruna [Omura?].

"It is expressly forbidden to attack or molest any Portuguese vessel at sea, but only in some road, port or haven of the empire, as to which you will conform to the orders that may be sent you from the governors of Nagasaki or the lord of Aruna, except where necessity obliges instant action, in which case you will act as already commanded.

"As to vessels of other nations, you will, according to the tenor of former ordinances, visit and examine them; and, after placing a strong guard on board, without allowing a single person to land, send them in all safety to Nagasaki."

III. Letter from Louis XIV. to the emperor of Japan.*

"To the sovereign and highest emperor and regent of the great empire of Japan, over subjects very submissive and obedient, the king of France wishes a long and happy life and a most prosperous reign:

"Many wars, carried on by my ancestors, the kings of France, and many victories gained by them, as well over their neighbors as over distant kingdoms, having been followed by profound peace, the merchants of my kingdom, who trade throughout Europe, have taken occasion very humbly to beg me to open for them the way into other parts of the world, to sail and to trade thither like the other European nations; and I have the rather inclined to accede to their request, from its being seconded by the wishes of the princes and nobles among my subjects, and by my own curiosity to be exactly informed of the manners and customs of the great kingdoms exterior to Europe, of which we have hitherto known nothing but from the narratives of our neighbors who have visited the East. I have therefore, to satisfy as well my own inclination as the prayers of my subjects, determined to send deputies into all the kingdoms of the East; and as my envoy to your high and sovereign majesty, I have selected *Francis Caron*, who understands Japanese, and who has many times had the honor of paying his respects to your majesty, and of audience from you. For that express purpose I have caused him to come into my kingdom, knowing him very well to be of good extraction, though by misfortunes of war stripped of his property; but reëstablished by me in his former condition, and even elevated in honor and dignity, to

* See *ante*, page 204. Colbert's East India Company and scheme of opening the commerce of China and Japan, was simultaneous with his West India Company, and his attempts to strengthen and build up the establishments of the French in the Carribee Islands and in Canada. La Salle, who immortalized himself as the discoverer of the Upper Mississippi, and as first having traced that river to its mouth in the gulf of Mexico, came originally to Canada with a view to the discovery of an overland western passage to China and Japan. See Hildreth's *History of the United States*, vol. II., p. 113. The Japan enterprise, however, proved a failure, and the letter given above never actually reached Japan.

make him more worthy to approach your high and sovereign majesty with all due respect. An additional motive for selecting him was the fear lest another person, from ignorance of the wise ordinances and customs established by your majesty, might do something in contravention of them, and so might fall under your majesty's displeasure ; whence I have judged the said Francis Caron the most capable to present my letter and my requests, with such solemnities as might secure for them the best reception on the part of your majesty, and to make known my good affection and my frank desire to grant to your sovereign majesty whatever you may ask of me, in return for the grant of what I ask : which is, that the merchants of my kingdoms, who have united themselves into a company, may have free commerce throughout your majesty's empire, without trouble or hindrance. I send you the present of trifling value here noted. * * * * I hope it may be agreeable to your majesty, and that some things useful to your majesty may be found in my country, of which I voluntarily leave open and free all the ports.

"At Paris, the twenty-fourth year of my reign.

"THE KING LOUIS."

NOTE. — What is said above of Caron's good extraction, of his having lost his fortune by the chances of war, and of his reëstablishment in his former position by the favor of the king, was, it is probable, merely intended to reconcile the Japanese to receiving as an envoy from the king of France a man whom they had known only in the — according to their ideas — low character of a Dutch merchant.

In the instructions drawn up for the bearer of this letter, the following curious directions were given as to the answer to be made to the inquiries of the Japanese on the topic of religion : "As to the article of religion you will say, that the religion of the French is of two kinds — one the same with that of the Spaniards, the other the same with that of the Dutch;* and that his majesty, knowing that the religion of the Spaniards is disliked in Japan, has given orders that those of his subjects who go thither shall be of the Dutch religion ; that this distinction will be carefully attended to ; and that no Frenchman will ever be found wishing to contravene the imperial orders.† Should they advance as an objection, that the king of France depends upon the Pope, like the king of Spain, you will answer, that he does not depend upon him ; that the king of France acknowledges no superior, and that the nature of his dependence upon the Pope may easily be seen in what has happened within two years, in consequence of an outrage at Rome upon the person of his majesty's ambassador. The Pope not making a sufficiently speedy reparation, his majesty had sent an army into Italy, to the great terror of all the Italian princes, and of the Pope himself, who sent a legate to him charged with the most humble and pressing supplications, whereby his majesty was induced to recall his troops, which already had encamped in the Pope's territories. So that the king is not only sovereign and absolute in his own domain, but also gives the law to many other potentates ; being a young prince, twenty-five years of age, valiant, wise, and more powerful than any of his ancestors ; and, withal, so curious that, besides a particular knowledge of all Europe, he eagerly seeks to know the constitution of the other countries of the world."

* This was before the revocation of the edict of Nantz.

† This reads very much like the third clause in the American letter.

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